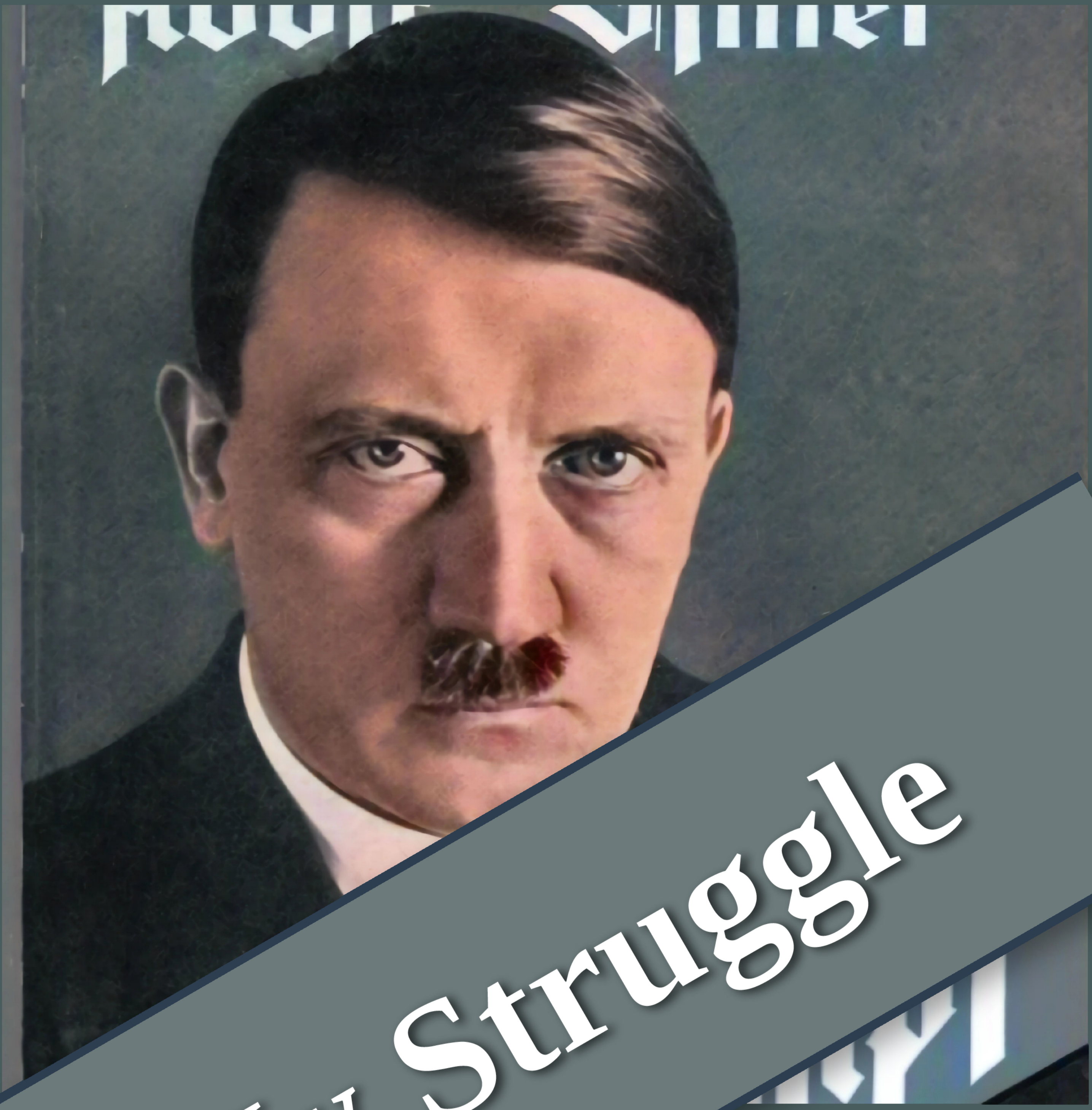
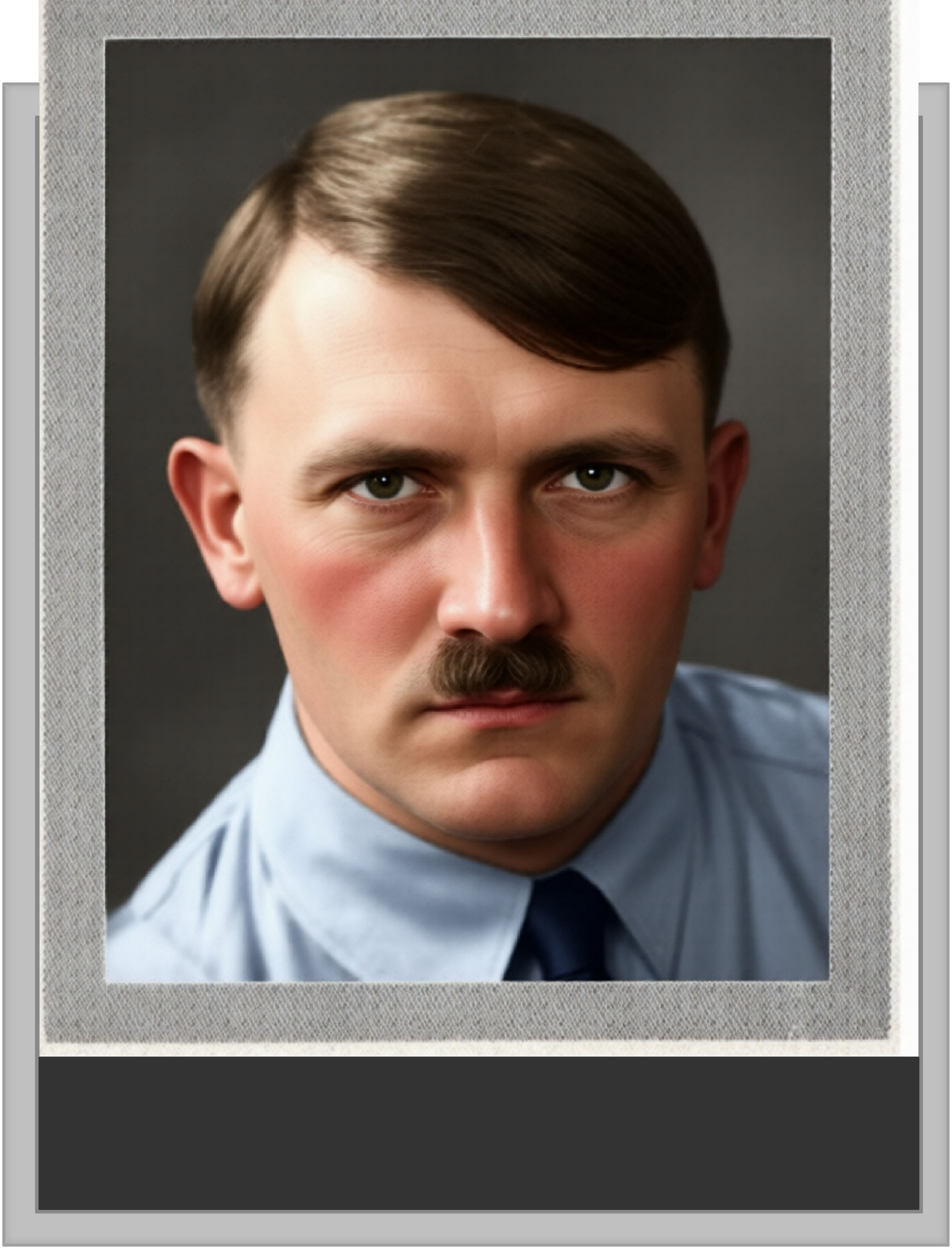
Adolf Hitler



My Struggle

Eher Verlag

ADOLF HITLER / MEIN KAMPF



Adolf Hitler

ADOLF HITLER

MEIN KAMPF

Two volumes in one volume
Unabridged Edition

Central Publishing House of the NSDAP, Frz. Eher Nachf., G.m.b.H., Munich

851st–855th Edition 1943

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Copyright Volume I 1925, Volume II 1927 by Verlag Franz Eher Nachf.,
G.m.b.H., Munich

Printed in Germany

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Total circulation
of all editions 10,240,000 copies

Printed by August Pries GmbH. in Leipzig

Table of Contents

Page

Index of Persons and Subjects VII

Preface XXVII

Dedication XXIX

Volume One:
A Reckoning

Chapter 1: In the Parental Home 1

Chapter 2: Years of Apprenticeship and Suffering in Vienna 18

Chapter 3: General Political Considerations from my Vienna Period 71

Chapter 4: Munich 138

Chapter 5: The World War 172

Chapter 6: War Propaganda 193

Chapter 7: The Revolution 205

Chapter 8: Beginning of my Political Activity 226

Chapter 9: The "German Workers' Party" 236

Chapter 10: Causes of the Collapse 245

Chapter 11: Nation and Race 311

Chapter 12: The First Period of Development of the National Socialist German Workers' Party 363

Volume Two:
The National Socialist Movement

Chapter 1: Worldview and Party 409

Chapter 2: The State 425

Chapter 3: Subjects and Citizens 488

Chapter 4: Personality and the Völkisch State Concept 492

Chapter 5: Worldview and Organization 504

Chapter 6: The Struggle of the Early Period – The Importance of the Speech 518

Page

Chapter 7: The Struggle with the Red Front 538

Chapter 8: The Strong is Mightiest Alone 568

Chapter 9: Basic Ideas Regarding the Meaning and Organization of the SA 579

Chapter 10: Federalism as a Mask 621

Chapter 11: Propaganda and Organization 649

Chapter 12: The Trade Union Question 670

Chapter 13: German Alliance Policy After the War 684

Chapter 14: Eastern Orientation or Eastern Policy 726

Chapter 15: Self-Defense as a Right 759

Conclusion 782

Preface

On April 1, 1924, I had to begin my term of imprisonment in the fortress of Landsberg am Lech, following the sentence passed by the Munich People's Court on that day.

Thus, after years of uninterrupted work, I was offered for the first time the opportunity to embark upon a task which many had requested and which I myself felt to be expedient for the Movement. I have therefore decided to set forth, in two volumes, not only the goals of our Movement but also to draw a picture of its development. From this, more can be learned than from any purely doctrinal treatise.

In doing so, I also had the opportunity to provide an account of my own development, insofar as this is necessary for the understanding of both the first and second volumes and may serve to destroy the foul legends about my person circulated by the Jewish press.

With this work, I do not address myself to strangers, but to those followers of the Movement who belong to it with their hearts and whose minds now strive for a more profound enlightenment.

I know that people are won over less by the written word than by the spoken word, and that every great movement on this earth owes its growth to great orators and not to great writers.

Nevertheless, for the uniform and consistent representation of a doctrine, its fundamental principles must be set down forever. In this regard, these two volumes shall serve as building blocks which I contribute to the common work.

Landsberg am Lech,
Fortress Prison.

The Author

On November 9, 1923, at 12:30 in the afternoon, the following men fell in front of the Feldherrnhalle as well as in the courtyard of the former Ministry of War in Munich, in loyal faith in the resurrection of their people:

- **Alfarth, Felix**, Merchant, born July 5, 1901
- **Bauriedl, Andreas**, Hatter, born May 4, 1879
- **Casella, Theodor**, Bank Clerk, born Aug. 8, 1900
- **Ehrlich, Wilhelm**, Bank Clerk, born Aug. 19, 1894
- **Faust, Martin**, Bank Clerk, born Jan. 27, 1901
- **Hechenberger, Ant.**, Locksmith, born Sept. 28, 1902
- **Körner, Oskar**, Merchant, born Jan. 4, 1875
- **Kuhn, Karl**, Head Waiter, born July 26, 1897
- **Laforce, Karl**, Student of Engineering, born Oct. 28, 1904
- **Neubauer, Kurt**, Valet, born March 27, 1899
- **Pape, Claus von**, Merchant, born Aug. 16, 1904
- **Pfordten, Theodor von der**, Counselor at the Supreme State Court, born May 14, 1873
- **Rickmers, Joh.**, Cavalry Captain (Ret.), born May 7, 1881
- **Scheubner-Richter, Max Erwin von**, Dr. Eng., born Jan. 9, 1884
- **Stransky, Lorenz, Ritter von**, Engineer, born March 14, 1899
- **Wolf, Wilhelm**, Merchant, born Oct. 19, 1898

So-called national authorities
denied the fallen heroes
a common grave.

Thus I dedicate to them, for our common memory, the first volume of this work, that as its blood witnesses they may forever light the way for the followers of our movement.

Landsberg a. L., Fortress Prison, October 16, 1924

Adolf Hitler

Volume One

A RECKONING

Chapter 1

In the Parental Home

Today it seems to me a happy destiny that Fate assigned Braunau am Inn to me as my birthplace. For this little town lies on the border of those two German states whose reunification appears, at least to us of the younger generation, as a life task to be carried out by all possible means!

German-Austria must return to the great German motherland, and not for any economic considerations. No, no: even if this union, from an economic standpoint, were indifferent, or even if it were harmful, it would nevertheless have to take place. Common blood belongs in a common Reich. The German people possess no moral right to colonial-political activity as long as they are unable to unite even their own sons in a common state. Only when the borders of the Reich include even the last German, without being able to offer the security of his food supply, does the moral right to acquire foreign soil arise from the need of one's own people. The plow is then the sword, and from the tears of war grows the daily bread for posterity. Thus this small border town seems to me the symbol of a great task. But in another respect as well, it stands as a warning to our present day. More than a hundred years ago, this inconspicuous place, as the scene of a tragic misfortune that gripped the entire German nation, had the privilege of being immortalized forever in the annals of at least German history. In the time of the deepest hu...

humiliation of our fatherland, there fell for his Germany, dearly beloved even in misfortune, the Nuremberg citizen Johannes Palm, a bourgeois bookseller, a stubborn "nationalist" and enemy of the French. He had obstinately refused to name his accomplices, or rather, the primary culprits. Just like Leo Schlageter. He, too, was denounced to France by a government representative, exactly like the latter. An Augsburg police director earned this dismal fame, thus providing the model for modern German authorities in the Reich of Mr. Severing.

In this little town on the Inn, gilded by the rays of German martyrdom, Bavarian by blood and Austrian by state, my parents lived at the end of the eighties of the last century; the father as a dutiful civil servant, the mother absorbed in the household and, above all, devoted to us children with ever-constant loving care. Little remains in my memory from this time, for after only a few years my father had to leave the beloved border town again to go down the Inn and take up a new position in Passau; thus in Germany itself.

However, the lot of an Austrian customs official back then often meant "wandering." Only a short time later, my father came to Linz and finally retired there. Of course, "rest" was not to be for the old gentleman. As the son of a poor, small-scale crofter, he had once been unable to endure staying at home. Before he was even thirteen years old, the little boy of that time packed his knapsack and ran away from his homeland, the Waldviertel. Despite the advice of "experienced" villagers, he had wandered to Vienna to learn a trade there. That was in the fifties of the last century. It was a bitter decision to set out on the road into the unknown with only three guilders for provisions. But by the time the thirteen-year-old had turned seventeen, he had passed his journeyman's examination, yet had not gained satisfaction. Rather the opposite. The long period of hardship at that time, of eternal misery and woe strengthened the resolve to give up the trade once again in order to become something "higher." If once the village priest had appeared to the poor boy as the epitome of all humanly attainable heights, now, in the city that vastly expanded his horizon, it was the dignity of a state official. With all the tenacity of one who had become "old" through need and grief even in mid-childhood, the seventeen-year-old dug into his new resolution—and became an official. After nearly twenty-three years, I believe, the goal was reached. Now the prerequisite for a vow that the poor boy had once promised himself also seemed fulfilled, namely, not to return to the beloved paternal village until he had become something.

Now the goal was reached, but in the village no one could remember the former little boy, and the village itself had become foreign to him.

When he finally retired as a fifty-six-year-old, he would not have been able to endure this rest for a single day as a "do-nothing." He bought an estate near the Upper Austrian market town of Lambach, farmed it, and thus returned to the origin of his ancestors in the cycle of a long, hardworking life.

During this time, my first ideals were probably formed. The much romping about in the open air, the long way to school, as well as an association with extremely robust boys—which sometimes filled my mother with bitter concern—made me anything but a stay-at-home. So even if at that time I hardly gave any serious thought to my future career, my sympathy was by no means in line with the course of my father's life. I believe that even then my oratorical talent was being trained in the form of more or less forceful arguments with my comrades. I had become a little ringleader, who learned easily and at that time also very well in school, but was otherwise quite difficult to handle. Since I, in my free time, in the choirmonastery at Lambach, where I received singing lessons, I had the best opportunity to intoxicate myself time and again with the solemn splendor of the extremely brilliant church festivals. What was more natural than that, just as the little village priest had once appeared to my father, the Abbot should now appear to me as the most desirable ideal. At least temporarily, this was the case. However, after my father, for understandable reasons, was unable to appreciate the oratorical talents of his quarrelsome boy enough to draw favorable conclusions for the future of his offspring, he naturally could not gain an understanding for such youthful thoughts either. He probably observed this inner conflict of nature with concern.

In fact, the temporary longing for this profession vanished very quickly, making room for hopes that better suited my temperament. While rummaging through my father's library, I had come across various books of military content, including a popular edition of the Franco-Prussian War of 1870/71. They were two volumes of an illustrated periodical from those years, which now became my favorite reading. It did not take long before the great heroic struggle became my greatest inner experience. From then on, I became more and more enthusiastic about everything that was somehow connected with war or at least with soldiering.

But this was to become significant for me in another respect as well. For the first time, the question was forced upon me, even if in a still vague conception, whether and what kind of difference there was between the Germans fighting these battles and the others? Why did Austria not also fight in this war, why not my father and all the others as well?

Are we not also the same as all the other Germans?

Do we not all belong together? This problem began to stir for the first time in my small brain.

to rummage. With inner envy, I had to hear the answer to cautious questions that not every German possessed the good fortune to belong to Bismarck's Empire.

I could not understand this.

◆

I was supposed to study.

From my entire nature and even more from my temperament, my father believed he could draw the conclusion that a humanistic gymnasium would represent a contradiction to my disposition. A Realschule seemed to him to be a better fit. He was particularly strengthened in this opinion by an evident talent for drawing; a subject which, in his conviction, was neglected in the Austrian gymnasiums. Perhaps, however, his own difficult life's work was also a contributing factor, which made him value humanistic studies less, as they were impractical in his eyes. Fundamentally, however, he was of the firm opinion that, just as he had, his son would naturally also become a civil servant, indeed, must become one. His bitter youth naturally made what he later achieved appear all the greater to him, as it was, after all, the exclusive result of his iron diligence and his own energy. It was the pride of the self-made man that moved him to want to bring his son into the same, and if possible naturally higher, position in life, all the more so since he was able to make the process of becoming so much easier for his child through the diligence of his own life.

The thought of a rejection of that which had once become the content of an entire life appeared to him as incomprehensible. Thus, the father's decision was simple, definite, and clear, self-evident in his own eyes. Finally, to his nature, which had become domineering in the bitter struggle for existence of an entire life, it would have seemed quite intolerable to leave the final decision in such matters to the boy himself, who in his eyes was inexperienced and therefore not yet responsible.

to leave it at that. This would also have been seen as a bad and reprehensible weakness in the exercise of the paternal authority and responsibility due to him for the later life of his child, and would have been impossible to reconcile with his otherwise strict conception of the fulfillment of duty.

And yet it was to turn out differently.

For the first time in my life, though then hardly eleven years old, I was forced into opposition. However hard and determined my father might be in the implementation of plans and intentions once conceived, his boy was just as stubborn and resistant in the rejection of an idea that did not appeal to him at all, or only very little.

I did not want to become a civil servant.

Neither persuasion nor "serious" representations were able to change anything about this resistance. I did not want to become a civil servant, no and again no. All attempts to awaken a love or desire for this profession by describing scenes from my father's own life turned into the opposite. I became yawningly sick at the thought of one day being allowed to sit in an office as an unfree man; not being able to be master of my own time, but having to force the content of an entire life into forms to be filled out.

What thoughts could this awaken in a boy who was truly everything else, but certainly not "good" in the conventional sense! The ridiculously easy learning at school gave me so much free time that the sun saw me more than my room did. When today my life is scrutinized by my political opponents with affectionate attention right back to the time of my youth, so that they can finally establish with relief what unbearable pranks this "Hitler" had already committed in his youth, I thank Heaven that it still gives me something from the memories of that blissful time. Meadow and forest were then the fencing ground on which the ever-present "oppositions" were fought out.

Even the subsequent attendance at the Realschule could do little to stop it.

Admittedly, another conflict now had to be fought out.

As long as my father's intention to have me become a civil servant was only opposed by my principled aversion to the civil service profession itself, the conflict was easily bearable. For a long time, I could hold back somewhat with my inner views; I did not always have to contradict him immediately. My own firm resolve not to become a civil servant later on was enough to completely calm me inwardly. However, I held this resolve unalterably. The question became more difficult when my father's plan was met with one of my own. This happened as early as the age of twelve. How it came about, I do not know myself today, but one day it was clear to me that I would become a painter, an artist.

My talent for drawing was certainly established; it was even one of the reasons for my father to send me to the Realschule, but never and in no way would he have thought of having me trained professionally in such a direction. On the contrary. When for the first time, after a renewed rejection of my father's favorite idea, I was asked the question of what I actually wanted to become myself and I blurted out my resolve, which had meanwhile become firmly established, quite abruptly, my father was initially speechless.

"Painter? Artist?"

He doubted my sanity, perhaps also believed he had not heard or understood correctly. After he was enlightened about it, however, and especially felt the seriousness of my intention, he threw himself against it with all the determination of his being. His decision here was very simple, whereby any weighing of my possibly truly existing abilities could not come into question at all.

"An artist, no, as long as I live, never." Since, however, his son, precisely with various other characqualities might also have been inherited from a similar stubbornness, a similar answer came back. Only, of course, reversed in sense.

On both sides, it remained at that. My father did not abandon his "Never" and I reinforced my "Nevertheless."

Admittedly, this did not have very pleasant consequences. The old gentleman became embittered and, as much as I loved him, so did I. My father forbade any hope that I would ever be trained as a painter. I went a step further and declared that I then no longer wanted to learn at all. Since I naturally came out on the losing end with such "declarations," insofar as the old gentleman now prepared to ruthlessly assert his authority, I remained silent in the future, but put my threat into reality. I believed that once my father saw the lack of progress in the *Realschule*, he would, for better or worse, let me go toward my dreamed-of happiness.

I do not know if this calculation would have been correct. Initially, only my obvious failure in school was certain. What pleased me, I learned, especially everything that I thought I would later need as a painter. What appeared meaningless to me in this regard, or otherwise did not attract me, I sabotaged completely. My report cards of this time represented, depending on the subject and its estimation, always extremes. Alongside "praiseworthy" and "excellent" stood "sufficient" or even "insufficient." By far my best achievements were in Geography and even more so in World History. These were the two favorite subjects in which I led the class.

When I now, after so many years, examine the result of this period before my eyes, I see two prominent facts as particularly significant:

First: I became a Nationalist.

Second: I learned to understand and grasp history according to its meaning.

Old Austria was a "state of nationalities."

A citizen of the German Reich could basically not even grasp, at least back then, what significance this fact held for the daily life of the individual in such a state. Following the wonderful victory march of the heroic armies in the Franco-Prussian War, people had gradually become more and more estranged from the Germandom abroad, partly no longer being able to appreciate it, or perhaps no longer being capable of doing so. Especially regarding the German-Austrians, people too easily confused the decayed dynasty with the people who were fundamentally healthy at their core.

It was not understood that, had the German in Austria not truly still been of the best blood, he could never have possessed the strength to imprint his character so deeply upon a state of 52 million people that even in Germany the erroneous opinion could arise that Austria was a German state. An absurdity with the gravest consequences, yet a brilliant testimony to the ten million Germans of the Ostmark. Only very few Germans from the Reich had any inkling of the eternal, relentless struggle for the German language, for German schools, and the German way of life. Only today, when this sad distress has been forced upon many millions of our people from the Reich itself—who dream of the common fatherland under foreign rule and, longing for it, try at least to maintain the sacred right of their mother tongue—is it understood in wider circles what it means to have to fight for one's ethnicity. Now, perhaps, one or another can measure the greatness of Germandom from the old Ostmark of the Reich, which, standing alone, for centuries first shielded the Reich to the east, only to finally hold the German linguistic border in a grueling war of attrition, at a time when the Reich was indeed interested in colonies, but not for its own flesh and blood before its gates.

As everywhere and always, in every struggle, there were also in the language struggle of old Austria, there were three layers: the fighters, the lukewarm, and the traitors.

This sifting began to occur as early as in school. For it is the remarkable thing about the language struggle in general, that its waves perhaps wash most heavily around the school, as the nursery of the coming generation. This struggle is waged for the child, and the first appeal of this dispute is addressed to the child:

> "German boy, do not forget that you are a German," and "Girl, remember that you are to become a German mother!"

Whoever knows the soul of youth will be able to understand that it is precisely they who most joyfully open their ears to such a battle cry. In a hundred different forms, they then tend to wage this struggle, in their own way and with their own weapons. They refuse to sing un-German songs; they rave all the more for German heroic greatness the more one tries to alienate them from it; they collect pennies saved from their own mouths for the war chest of the adults; they are incredibly keen-eared toward the un-German teacher and recalcitrant at the same time; they wear the forbidden emblems of their own ethnicity and are happy to be punished or even beaten for it. They are, therefore, in miniature, a faithful reflection of the adults, only often with a better and more sincere disposition.

I too once had the opportunity, in relatively early youth, to participate in the nationality struggle of old Austria. Collections were made for the *Südmark* and the School Association; convictions were emphasized through cornflowers and black-red-gold colors; greetings were made with "Heil," and instead of the Imperial Anthem, "Deutschland über alles" was preferred, despite warnings and punishments. The boy was thereby politically schooled in a time when the member of his so-called national state usually still knows little more of his ethnicity than the language. That I already did not belong to the lukewarm back then goes without saying. In a short time, I had become a fanatical "German-national," although this is certainly not identical with our current concept of a party.

This development made very rapid progress in me, so that by the age of fifteen I had already reached an understanding of the difference between dynastic *"patriotism"* and folkish *"nationalism"*; and at that time I already knew only the latter.

For one who has never taken the trouble to study the internal conditions of the Habsburg Monarchy, such a process may perhaps not be entirely explicable. Only the instruction in school about world history in this state had to lay the seed for this development, for there is a specifically Austrian history only to the smallest extent. The fate of this state is so closely linked with the life and growth of all Germandom that a separation of history into, say, a German and an Austrian one does not seem conceivable at all. Indeed, when Germany finally began to split into two spheres of power, this very separation became German history.

The imperial insignia of former imperial glory preserved in Vienna seem to continue to act as a wonderful magic, as a pledge of an eternal community.

The elementary outcry of the German-Austrian people in the days of the collapse of the Habsburg state for union with the German motherland was, after all, only the result of a feeling of longing for this return to the never-forgotten ancestral home, slumbering deep in the hearts of the entire people. But this would never be explicable if the historical education of the individual German-Austrian had not been the cause of such a general longing. In it lies a well that never runs dry; which, especially in times of forgetfulness, as a silent reminder, beyond momentary prosperity, will time and again whisper of a new future through the memory of the past.

The instruction of world history in the so-called secondary schools, however, even today still lies very much in the...

badly. Few teachers realize that the goal of history lessons can never, ever consist in the rote learning and rattling off of historical dates and events; that it does not matter whether the boy knows exactly when this or that battle was fought, when a general was born, or even when some (usually very insignificant) monarch had the crown of his ancestors placed upon his head. No, by the living God, that matters very little.

To "learn" history means to seek and find the forces that lead as causes to those effects which we then see before our eyes as historical events.

The art of reading as well as of learning is also here: to retain the essential, to forget the unessential.

It was perhaps decisive for my entire later life that fortune once gave me a teacher for history who was one of the very few who understood how to make this viewpoint dominant for instruction and examination. In my professor at the time, Dr. Leopold Pötsch, at the Realschule in Linz, this requirement was embodied in a truly ideal way. An elderly gentleman, with a manner as kind as it was firm, he was able, particularly through a dazzling eloquence, not only to captivate us but truly to carry us away. Even today, I remember with slight emotion the gray-haired man who, in the fire of his presentation, sometimes made us forget the present, conjured us back into past times, and formed dry historical memory into living reality out of the mist of millennia. We would sit there, often inspired to a bright glow, sometimes even moved to tears.

The good fortune was all the greater because this teacher understood how to illuminate the past from the present, and how to draw consequences for the present from the past. Thus, he brought about, more than anyone else, an understanding of all the daily problems that kept us breathless at that time. Our little national fanaticism became a means for our education, in that he, appealing more than once to national pride, by that alone brought us rascals into order more quickly than would have been possible by any other means.

This teacher made history my favorite subject.

To be sure, I became a young revolutionary even then, though probably unintentionally on his part.

Who, indeed, could study German history under such a teacher without becoming an enemy of the state which, through its ruling house, influenced the destinies of the nation in such a disastrous way?

Who, finally, could still maintain loyalty to the Emperor toward a dynasty which, in the past and present, betrayed the interests of the German people again and again for the sake of shameful personal advantages?

Did we not know even as boys that this Austrian state possessed no love for us Germans, indeed, could not possess any at all?

The historical insight into the workings of the House of Habsburg was further supported by daily experience. In the north and in the south, the foreign poison of other peoples ate away at the body of our nationality, and even Vienna was visibly becoming more and more an un-German city. The "Arch-house" Czechized wherever possible, and it was the fist of the Goddess of Eternal Right and inexorable retribution that let the deadliest enemy of Austrian Germanism, Archduke Franz Ferdinand, fall by the very bullets he himself had helped to cast. For he was the patron of the Slavization of Austria, directed from above.

Enormous were the burdens imposed upon the German people, unheard of were its sacrifices in taxes and in blood, and yet anyone who was not completely blind had to recognize that all this would be in vain. What pained us most was the fact that this entire system was morally covered by the alliance with Germany, whereby the slow extermination of the of Germandom in the old Monarchy was also, to a certain extent, granted sanction from Germany itself. The Habsburg hypocrisy, with which they managed to create the outward appearance that Austria was still a German state, increased the hatred against this House to a level of sheer indignation and contempt at the same time.

Only in the Reich itself did those who even then were the only "called" ones see nothing of all this. As if struck with blindness, they walked by the side of a corpse and believed they could even discover signs of "new" life in the symptoms of decomposition.

In the ill-fated alliance of the young Reich with the Austrian sham-state lay the seed of the later World War, but also of the collapse.

In the course of this book, I shall have to deal with this problem more thoroughly. It suffices here to state that I basically arrived at an insight in my earliest youth that never left me, but only deepened:

That namely the securing of Germandom presupposed the destruction of Austria, and furthermore that national feeling is not identical with dynastic patriotism; that above all the Habsburg House of Archdukes was destined to be the misfortune of the German nation.

I had already drawn the consequences from this realization back then: a fervent love for my German-Austrian homeland, and a deep hatred against the Austrian state.

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The way of historical thinking that was taught to me in school in this manner never left me in the time that followed. World history became for me more and more an inexhaustible source of understanding for the historical actions of the present, that is, for politics. I do not want to "learn" it; rather, it should teach me.

If I had become a political "revolutionary" so early, I became an artistic one no less early.

The Austrian provincial capital at that time possessed a relatively not-bad theater. Pretty much everything was played. At twelve years of age, I saw "William Tell" there for the first time, and a few months later, the first opera of my life, "Lohengrin." In one stroke, I was captivated. My youthful enthusiasm for the Bayreuth Master knew no bounds. Again and again I was drawn to his works, and today I feel it as a special stroke of luck that, through the modesty of the provincial performance, the possibility of a later intensification remained preserved for me.

All of this solidified, especially after overcoming the awkward years of adolescence (which in my case took place only very painfully), my deep inner aversion to a profession such as my father had chosen for me. More and more I came to the conviction that I would never be happy as a civil servant. Since my drawing talent had now also been recognized in the Realschule, my decision stood only firmer.

Neither pleas nor threats could change anything about that anymore.

I wanted to become a painter and, for no power in the world, a civil servant.

It was only peculiar that, with increasing years, more and more interest in architecture set in.

At that time, I considered this the natural supplement to my painterly ability and only rejoiced inwardly over the expansion of my artistic framework.

That it should one day turn out differently, I did not suspect.

* * *

The question of my profession was now to be decided more quickly than I could have expected before.

In my thirteenth year of life, I suddenly lost my father. A stroke hit the otherwise still so vigorous gentleman.

and ended his earthly journey in the most painless way, plunging us all into the deepest sorrow. What he most yearned for—to help create a livelihood for his child so as to preserve him from his own bitter career path—seemed at that time not to have succeeded. Yet, though entirely unconsciously, he sowed the seeds for a future that neither he nor I would have understood at the time.

At first, nothing changed outwardly.

My mother felt obliged, in accordance with my father's wish, to continue directing my education; that is, to have me study for a career as a civil servant. I myself was more determined than ever before not to become a civil servant under any circumstances. To the same extent that the secondary school distanced itself from my ideal in terms of subject matter and training, I became inwardly more indifferent. Then, suddenly, an illness came to my aid and decided the dispute of the paternal home. My severe lung ailment led a doctor to most urgently advise my mother that I should under no circumstances be placed in an office later on. Attendance at the *Realschule* also had to be suspended for at least a year. What I had longed for in silence for so long, what I had always fought for, had now suddenly become a reality almost of its own accord through this event.

Under the impression of my illness, my mother finally agreed to take me out of the *Realschule* later and let me attend the Academy.

Those were the happiest days, which appeared to me almost like a beautiful dream; and a dream was all it was meant to be. Two years later, the death of my mother brought a sudden end to all the beautiful plans.

It was the conclusion of a long, painful illness that from the beginning left little prospect of recovery. Nevertheless, the blow struck me particularly terribly. I had honored my father, but I loved my mother.

Necessity and harsh reality now forced me to make a quick decision. The meager paternal...

Means had been largely exhausted by my mother's severe illness; the orphan's pension due to me was not enough even to live on, so I was now dependent on somehow earning my own bread.

With a suitcase of clothes and linen in my hands, and an unshakeable will in my heart, I thus set off for Vienna. What my father had succeeded in doing 50 years before, I too hoped to wrest from fate; I too wanted to become "something," though—under no circumstances a civil servant.

Chapter 2

Years of Apprenticeship and Suffering in Vienna

When my mother died, fate had already made its decision in one respect.

During her final months of suffering, I had traveled to Vienna to take the entrance examination for the Academy. Equipped with a thick bundle of drawings, I had set out at that time, convinced that I would be able to pass the exam with ease. In the Realschule, I had already been by far the best artist in my class; since then, my ability had developed quite extraordinarily further, so that my own satisfaction made me proud and happy to hope for the best.

A single clouding sometimes occurred: my talent for painting seemed to be surpassed by my talent for drawing, especially in almost all fields of architecture. At the same time, however, my interest in the art of building itself grew more and more. This was further accelerated since I, not yet 16 years old, was allowed to travel to Vienna for the first time for a two-week visit. I went there to study the picture gallery of the Court Museum, but had eyes almost only for the museum itself. From early morning until late at night, I ran from one sight to another, but it was always the buildings that captivated me in the first place. For hours I could stand like this in front of the Opera, for hours admire the Parliament; the whole Ringstraße affected me like a magic spell from the Thousand and One Nights.

Now, therefore, I was in the beautiful city for the second time and waited with burning impatience, but also with proud confidence in the result of my entrance examination. I was so convinced of success that the announcement of my rejection hit me like a sudden bolt from the blue. And yet it was so. When I presented myself to the Rector and requested an explanation of the reasons for my non-admission to the general school of painting at the Academy, the gentleman assured me that from the drawings I had brought with me, my unsuitability for painting was clearly evident, but that my talent obviously lay in the field of architecture; for me, the school of painting would never be an option, but only the Academy's school of architecture. That I had hitherto neither attended a building school nor received any other instruction in architecture was something they could not understand at first.

Beaten, I left Hansen's magnificent building on Schillerplatz, for the first time in my young life at odds with myself. For what I had heard about my ability now seemed all at once, like a bright flash of lightning, to reveal a conflict from which I had long suffered, without having been able to give myself a clear account of the why and wherefore.

In a few days, I knew for myself that I would one day become a master builder.

Admittedly, the path was incredibly difficult; for what I had previously neglected out of defiance in the Realschule was now to take its bitter revenge. Attendance at the Academy's school of architecture was dependent on attendance at the technical building school, and entry into the latter required a previously completed Matura at a secondary school. All of this was completely lacking in me. By human estimation, therefore, a fulfillment of my artist's dream was no longer possible.

When, after the death of my mother, I moved to Vienna for the third time, and this time for many years, calm and determination had returned to me with the time that had passed in the interval. The former defiance had returned, and my goal was finally set in my sights. I wanted to become a master builder, and obstacles do not exist so that one surrenders before them, but rather that one breaks them. And I wanted to break these resistances, always with the image of my father before my eyes, who had once struggled upward from a poor village and cobbler's boy to become a state official. My ground was already better then, the possibility of the struggle so much easier; and what appeared to me then as the hardness of fate, I praise today as the wisdom of Providence. As the Goddess of Necessity took me into her arms and often threatened to break me, the will to resistance grew, and finally, the will remained the victor.

I thank that time for the fact that I became hard and can be hard. And even more than this, I praise it for tearing me away from the hollowness of a comfortable life, for pulling the mother's boy out of the soft down and giving him Lady Sorrow as a new mother, for throwing the reluctant one into the world of misery and poverty and thus letting him get to know those for whom he was later to fight.

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In this time, my eyes were also to be opened to two dangers, both of which I previously hardly knew by name, but in no case understood in their appalling significance for the existence of the German people: Marxism and Jewry.

Vienna, the city which to so many counts as the epitome of harmless cheerfulness, as a festive space for joyful people, is for me, unfortunately, only the living memory of the saddest time of my life.

Even today, this city can only awaken gloomy thoughts in me. Five years of misery and wretchedness are contained for me in the name of this Phaeacian city. Five years in which I first had to earn my bread as a day laborer, then as a small painter; my truly meager bread, which never sufficed to still even ordinary hunger. He was then my faithful guardian, who almost never left me as the only one, who in everything shared honestly with me shared. Every book I acquired aroused his interest; a visit to the opera would then make him keep me company again for days afterward; it was a constant struggle with my pitiless friend. And yet, during this time, I learned as never before. Aside from my architecture and the rare visit to the opera, saved from my very mouth, books were my only remaining joy.

I read an infinite amount back then, and thoroughly at that. Whatever free time remained from my work was spent entirely on my studies. In a few years, I thereby created the foundations of my knowledge, upon which I still draw today.

But even more than this.

During this time, a world picture and a worldview formed within me, which became the granite foundation of my current actions. To that which I once created for myself, I have had to add only a little; I have needed to change nothing.

On the contrary.

Today I firmly believe that, in general, all creative thoughts appear fundamentally in youth, provided such thoughts exist at all. I distinguish between the wisdom of age, which can only be regarded as a greater thoroughness and caution resulting from the experiences of a long life, and the genius of youth, which pours out thoughts and ideas in inexhaustible fertility without initially being able to even process them due to their sheer number. It provides the building materials and plans for the future, from which wiser age takes the stones, hews them, and carries out the construction, provided that the so-called wisdom of age has not stifled the genius of youth.

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The life I had led until then in my father's house differed little or not at all from that of all the others. I could await the new day without worry, and for me, a social problem did not exist.

The environment of my youth was composed of the circles of the petty bourgeoisie, that is, a world which has very few points of contact with the pure manual laborer. For, however strange it may seem at first sight, the gulf between these levels, which are by no means in a brilliant economic position, and the manual laborer is often deeper than one thinks. The reason for this—let us say almost—hostility lies in the fear of a social group, which has only just recently risen above the level of the manual laborer, of sinking back into the old, little-respected class, or at least of still being counted as part of it. Added to this, for many, is the repulsive memory of the cultural misery of this lower class, the frequent coarseness of social intercourse with one another, whereby one's own position in social life, however small it may be, makes any contact with this outgrown stage of culture and standard of living an intolerable burden.

Thus it happens that often the person of higher standing descends more unreservedly to his lowliest fellow man than seems even possible to the "upstart."

For an upstart is anyone who, through his own energy, fights his way up from a previous position in life to a higher one.

But finally, this often very bitter struggle causes compassion to die out. One's own painful struggle for existence kills the feeling for the misery of those left behind.

In this respect, fate had mercy on me. By forcing me to return to this world of poverty and insecurity, which my father had already left in the course of his life, it pulled the blinkers of a narrow petty-bourgeois education from my eyes. Only then did I learn to know people; I learned to distinguish between hollow appearance or a brutal exterior and their inner essence.

After the turn of the century, Vienna was already among the socially most unfavorable small cities.

Radiant wealth and repulsive poverty alternated with one another in abrupt succession. In the center and in the inner districts, one truly felt the pulse of the 52-million empire, with all the dubious charm of the multi-national state. The Court, in its dazzling splendor, acted like a magnet on the wealth and intelligence of the rest of the state. Added to this was the strong centralization of the Habsburg monarchy in and of itself.

In it lay the only possibility of holding this mash of peoples together in a solid form. The consequence of this, however, was an extraordinary concentration of high and highest authorities in the capital and residential city.

Yet Vienna was not only the political and spiritual center of the old Danube Monarchy, but also the economic one. Opposing the army of high officers, state officials, artists, and scholars stood an even larger army of workers; opposing the wealth of the aristocracy and commerce was a bloody poverty. In front of the palaces of the Ringstrasse, thousands of unemployed loitered, and beneath this *via triumphalis* of old Austria, the homeless dwelled in the twilight and mud of the sewers.

In hardly any other German city could the social question be studied better than in Vienna. But let no one be deceived. This "studying" cannot happen from the top down. Whoever has not himself been in the clutches of this strangling viper will never get to know its venomous fangs. Otherwise, nothing comes of it but superficial chatter or mendacious sentimentality. Both are harmful. The one, because it is never able to penetrate to the core of the problem; the other, because it passes it by. I do not know what is more devastating: the disregard of social distress, as the majority of those favored by fortune or elevated through their own merit demonstrate daily, or that equally haughty and sometimes obtrusively tactless, but always gracious condescension of certain "fashionable women" in skirts and trousers who "feel for the people." These people certainly sin more than they, in their instinctless minds, are only capable of grasping at all. Therefore, to their own astonishment, the result of a social "disposition" exercised by them is always zero, but frequently even indignant rejection; which then, of course, is regarded as proof of the people's ingratitude.

That a social activity has nothing at all to do with this, and above all must not claim any gratitude whatsoever, since it is not intended to distribute favors but rather to establish rights, is something that only reluctantly dawns on such a type of mind.

I was preserved from learning the social question in such a way. By drawing me into the sphere of its suffering, it seemed not to invite me to "learn," but rather to want to test itself upon me. It was not its merit that the guinea pig nevertheless survived the operations safe and sound.

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If I now want to try to reproduce the series of my feelings at that time today, this can never be even approximately complete; only the most essential and, for me, often most shattering impressions shall be presented here, along with the few lessons I already drew during that time.

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At that time, it was usually not very difficult for me to find work as such, since I was not a skilled craftsman, but had to try to earn my daily bread only as a so-called unskilled worker and sometimes as a casual laborer.

In doing so, I took the standpoint of all those who shake the dust of Europe from their feet with the relentless determination to establish a new existence in the New World, to conquer a new home. Detached from all previous paralyzing ideas of staof profession and status, of environment and tradition, they now reach for every earning opportunity that presents itself to them, tackling every job, thus becoming more and more convinced of the view that honest work never disgraces, no matter what kind it may be. Thus, I too was determined to jump with both feet into the world that was new to me and to fight my way through.

I soon learned that there is always some kind of work available, but just as quickly, how easy it is to lose it again.

The uncertainty of the daily bread-earning appeared to me in a short time as one of the most difficult dark sides of the new life.

To be sure, the "skilled" worker will not be put out on the street as often as is the case with the unskilled; however, even he is not entirely immune to this fate. In his case, instead of the loss of bread due to a lack of work, there is the lockout or his own strike. Here, the uncertainty of daily earnings already takes its most bitter revenge on the entire economy itself.

The farm boy who migrates to the big city, attracted by the supposedly or perhaps even truly easier work, the shorter working hours, but most of all by the dazzling light that the big city is able to radiate, is still accustomed to a certain security of earnings. He usually only leaves his old post when a new one is at least in prospect. Finally, the shortage of agricultural workers is great, so the probability of a prolonged lack of work is in and of itself very low. It is now a mistake to believe that the young lad heading to the big city is somehow carved from poorer wood from the outset than the one who continues to nourish himself honestly on the rural soil. No, on the contrary: experience shows that all emigrating elements consist rather of the healthiest and most energetic natures, than the other way around. Among these "emigrants," however, belongs not only the wanderer to America, but also the young farmhand who decides to leave his home village to move to the unfamiliar big city. He, too, is ready to take an uncertain fate upon himself. Usually, he arrives in the big city with some money, so he does not have to despair on the very first day if misfortune prevents him from finding work for a longer period. It becomes worse, however, if he loses a job he has found after a short time. Finding a new one is often difficult, if not impossible, especially in winter. For the first few weeks, things still manage to work out. He receives unemployment benefits from the funds of his trade union and gets by as best as he possibly can. But when the last of his own pennies and cents are spent, and the fund also stops the support due to the long duration of unemployment, great hardship sets in. Now he loiters around hungry, often pawning or selling his last possessions, thus becoming more and more dilapidated in his clothing and thereby also sinking outwardly into an environment that now poisons him spiritually in addition to his physical misfortune. If he then becomes homeless, and if this (as is often the case) happens in winter, the misery becomes very great indeed. Finally, he finds some work again. But the game repeats itself. A second time it hits him similarly, a third time perhaps even harder, so that he gradually learns to endure the eternally insecure with more indifference. Finally, the repetition becomes a habit.

Thus, the otherwise industrious person becomes loosened in his entire outlook on life, gradually ripening into an instrument for those who only use him for the sake of base advantages. He was unemployed so often through no fault of his own that now it suddenly does not matter much more or less, even if it is no longer a matter of fighting for economic rights, but rather of destroying state, social, or general cultural values. He will be, if not eager to strike, then at least indifferent to strikes.

I was able to follow this process with open eyes in a thousand examples. The longer I watched the game, the more...

the more my aversion grew toward the city of millions, which first greedily drew people to itself, only to then crush them so cruelly.

When they came, they still belonged to their people; when they stayed, they were lost to them.

I too had been tossed about by life in the metropolis in such a way and could therefore experience the effects of this fate on my own body and taste them spiritually. I saw something else there: the rapid change from work to unemployment and vice versa, as well as the eternal fluctuation of income and expenditure caused by it, destroys in the long run the sense of thrift in many, as well as the understanding of a wise life management. The body apparently slowly gets used to living in abundance in good times and starving in bad times. Yes, hunger overthrows every resolution for later sensible management during the better times of earnings, by dangling before the tormented person, in a permanent mirage, images of a saturated well-being and knowing how to increase this dream to such a longing that such a morbid desire becomes the end of all self-restraint as soon as earnings and wages somehow permit it. This is why the person who has barely obtained a job immediately forgets any management in the most irrational way, in order instead to live life to the fullest for the day. This even leads to the overturning of the small weekly household budget, as even here wise management is lacking; at first it lasts for five days instead of seven, later only for three, finally for barely one day, only to be squandered away in the very first night at the end.

At home there are then often a wife and children. Sometimes they too are infected by this life, especially if the man is inherently good to them, indeed even loves them in his own way. Then the weekly wage is spent together at home in two or three days; they eat and drink as long as the money lasts, and the last days are likewise spent starving together.

Then the woman creeps into the neighborhood and surroundings, borrows a little, runs up small debts with the grocer, and thus tries to endure the wicked last days of the week. At noon they all sit together before meager bowls, sometimes before nothing at all, and wait for the coming payday, talk of it, make plans, and while they hunger, they are already dreaming again of the coming happiness.

Thus, the small children are made familiar with this misery in their earliest youth.

But it ends badly when the man goes his own way from the beginning and the woman, precisely for the sake of the children, opposes him. Then there is strife and discord, and to the extent that the man now becomes a stranger to the woman, he comes closer to alcohol. Every Saturday he is now drunk, and in the instinct of self-preservation for herself and her children, the woman fights for the few pennies that she must snatch from him, mostly on the way from the factory to the dive. When he finally comes home himself on Sunday or Monday night, drunk and brutal, but always relieved of the last farthing and penny, then scenes often play out that would make God have mercy.

In hundreds of examples, I have experienced all of this, at first disgusted or perhaps even outraged, only later to grasp the whole tragedy of this suffering, to understand the deeper causes. Unfortunate victims of bad circumstances.

The housing conditions back then were almost even gloomier. The housing misery of the Viennese unskilled worker was a terrible one. I still shudder today when I think of these wretched dwelling-caves, of the hostels and mass quarters, of these dismal pictures of refuse, loathsome filth, and worse.

How must this have become, and how must it one day become, when from these caves of misery the stream of unleashed slaves pours over the other, so thoughtless contemporary world and fellow human beings!

For this other world is thoughtless.

Thoughtlessly, it just lets things drift, without even suspecting in its lack of instinct that sooner or later fate must step in for retribution, unless men reconcile with fate in time.

How grateful I am today to that Providence which allowed me to go through this school. In it, I could no longer sabotage what did not please me. It educated me quickly and thoroughly.

If I did not want to despair of the people in my surroundings at that time, I had to learn to distinguish between their outward nature and life and the reasons for their development. Only then could all this be endured without having to lose heart. Then, out of all the misery and wretchedness, out of filth and external depravity, there no longer grew human beings, but the sad results of sad laws; whereby the severity of my own, yet no easier, struggle for life preserved me from now perhaps capitulating in miserable sentimentality before the depraved end-products of this developmental process.

No, this is not how it should be understood.

Even then, I saw that only a twofold path could lead to the goal of improving these conditions:

The deepest sense of social responsibility
for the establishment of better foundations for
our development, paired with brutal
determination in the breaking down of
incorrigible offshoots.

Just as nature concentrates its greatest attention not on the preservation of what exists, but on the breeding of the offspring as the carrier of the species, so too in human life it can be less a matter of artificially refining existing evil—which is ninety-nine percent impossible given the disposition of man—than of securing healthier paths for a coming development from the very beginning.

Already during my struggle for existence in Vienna, it had become clear to me that

> social activity must never and under no circumstances see its task in charity-drunkenness, which is as ridiculous as it is useless, but rather in the elimination of those fundamental deficiencies in the organization of our economic and cultural life which must lead, or at least can entice, the individual toward degeneracy.

The difficulty of proceeding with the ultimate and most brutal means against anti-state criminality lies, not least of all, precisely in the uncertainty of judgment regarding the inner motives or causes of such contemporary phenomena.

This uncertainty is only too well-founded in the feeling of one's own guilt for such tragedies of depravity; it now paralyzes every serious and firm resolve and thus contributes to the—because wavering, also weak and half-hearted—execution of even the most necessary measures of self-preservation.

Only when an era is no longer haunted by the shadows of its own sense of guilt does it obtain, along with inner peace, the outward strength to brutally and ruthlessly cut out the wild offshoots and to weed out the tares.

Since the Austrian state knew almost nothing of social jurisprudence and legislation at all, its weakness in suppressing even evil excesses was conspicuously great.

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I do not know what horrified me most at that time: the economic misery of my companions of that period, their ethical and moral coarseness, or the low level of their intellectual culture.

How often does our bourgeoisie not rise up in all moral indignation when it hears from the mouth of some wretched vagabond the remark that it is all the same to him whether he is German or not, that he feels equally well everywhere as long as he only has his necessary livelihood.

This lack of "national pride" is then most deeply deplored, and strong expression is given to the abhorrence of such a mindset.

But how many have already asked themselves the question of what actually constitutes the cause of their own better mindset?

How many understand the myriad of individual memories of the greatness of the fatherland, of the nation, in all fields of cultural and artistic life, which, as a collective result, provide them with the justified pride of being allowed to be members of such a blessed people?

How many suspect how much pride in the fatherland depends on the knowledge of its greatness in all these fields?

Do our bourgeois circles reflect on the ridiculous extent to which this prerequisite for pride in the fatherland is conveyed to the "people"?

One should not talk one's way out of it by saying that in "other countries this is no different," but the worker there "nevertheless" stands by his nationality. Even if this were so, it could not serve as an excuse for one's own omissions. But it is not so. For what we always describe as a "chauvinistic" education, e.g., of the French people, is nothing other than the excessive highlighting of France's greatness in all fields of culture, or as the Frenchman is accustomed to say, of "civilization." The young Frenchman is precisely not educated for objectivity, but for the most subjective view imaginable, as far as the significance of the political or cultural greatness of his fatherland is concerned.

This education will always have to limit itself to general, very broad viewpoints, which, if necessary, are to be impressed upon the memory and the feelings of the people through eternal repetition.

But now, in our case, to the negative sin of omission is added the positive destruction of the little that the individual is lucky enough to learn in school. The rats of the political poisoning of our people eat even this little out of the hearts and memories of the broad masses, insofar as need and misery have not already done their part.

Just imagine the following for once:

In a basement apartment, consisting of two damp rooms, lives a working-class family of seven. Among the five children is also a boy of, let us assume, three years. This is the age at which the first impressions come to a child's consciousness. In gifted individuals, traces of memory from this time can be found even into old age. Already the narrowness and overcrowding of the space do not lead to favorable conditions. Strife and discord will very often arise in this way alone. People do not live with each other, but rather press against each other. Every disagreement, even the smallest, which in a spacious apartment could be balanced out by a slight separation and thus resolve itself, leads here to a never-ending, loathsome quarrel. Among the children, this is of course still bearable; they always quarrel in such circumstances and forget it among themselves again quickly and thoroughly. When this struggle is fought out among the parents themselves, and indeed almost every day, in forms that often really leave nothing to be desired in terms of inner brutality, then finally the results of such visual instruction must show themselves in the little ones, however slowly. What kind they must be, when this mutual discord takes the form of brutal excesses by the father against the mother, leading to maltreatment in a state of drunkenness, can be someone who does not know such a milieu can only imagine with difficulty. At six years old, the little, pitiable boy senses things that even an adult could only feel horror toward. Morally poisoned, physically malnourished, the poor little head lice-ridden, thus the young "citizen" wanders into the elementary school. That he manages to read and write with great effort is pretty much all. There can be no talk of learning at home. On the contrary. Mother and father themselves speak, and indeed to the children, in an unspeakable manner about teachers and school, and are much more ready to say those rudenesses to them than, for instance, to lay their little offspring across their knee and bring them to reason. What else the little fellow hears at home does not lead to a strengthening of respect for his dear fellow world. Nothing good is left of humanity here, no institution remains unchallenged; starting from the teacher up to the top of the state. Whether it concerns religion or morality in itself, the state or society, it is all the same, everything is insulted, dragged in the most filthy way into the muck of the lowest mindset. When the young person is then released from school at fourteen years old, it is already difficult to decide what is greater in him: the incredible stupidity, insofar as it concerns real knowledge and ability, or the corrosive insolence of his demeanor, combined with an immorality already at this age that could make one's hair stand on end.

But what position can this person, to whom by now hardly anything is sacred anymore, who has learned nothing great just as he conversely senses and knows every low point of life, take in the life into which he is now preparing to step out?

From the three-year-old child, a fifteen-year-old despiser of all authority has emerged. The young person has only come into contact with filth and refuse and has not yet learned anything that could inspire him to any higher enthusiasm.

But now he first enters the high school of this existence.

Now the same life begins that he had absorbed from his father throughout the years of childhood. He roams around and comes home God knows when, for a change even beats the broken-down creature that was once his mother himself, curses God and the world, and is finally sentenced for some particular reason and sent to a juvenile prison.

There he receives the final polish.

The dear bourgeois world around him, however, is quite astonished at the lack of "national enthusiasm" of this young "citizen."

It sees how in theater and cinema, in trashy literature and the yellow press, the poison is poured into the people by the bucketful day after day, and then marvels at the low "moral content," the "national indifference" of the masses of this people. As if cinematic kitsch, the trashy press, and the like could provide the foundations for the recognition of national greatness. Quite apart from the earlier education of the individual.

What I had never suspected before, I learned to understand quickly and thoroughly then:

The question of the "nationalization" of a people is primarily a question of creating healthy social conditions as the foundation for the possibility of educating the individual. For only those who, through education and school, learn to know the cultural, economic, but above all the political greatness of their own fatherland, can and will also gain that inner pride in being allowed to be a member of such a people. And I can only fight for something that I love, love only what I respect, and to respect what I at least know.

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Insofar as my interest in the social question was awakened, I also began to study it with all thoroughness. It was a new, previously unknown world that thus opened up to me.

In the years 1909 to 1910, my own situation had also changed somewhat, in that I myself no longer needed to earn my daily bread as an unskilled laborer. At that time, I was already working independently as a small-scale draftsman and watercolorist. As bitter as this was in terms of earnings—it really barely sufficed for a living—it was just as good for my chosen profession. Now I was no longer, as before, dead tired in the evening after returning from the workplace, unable to look into a book without nodding off in a short time. My current work ran parallel to my future profession. Also, as the master of my own time, I could now organize it significantly better than had been possible before. I painted to earn my bread and learned for pleasure.

Thus it was also possible for me to gain the necessary theoretical supplement to my visual instruction on the social problem. I studied pretty much everything I could obtain in books on this entire field, and otherwise immersed myself in my own thoughts.

I believe my surroundings at that time probably considered me an oddity.

That I served my love for architecture with fiery zeal in the process was natural. To me, it appeared alongside music as the queen of the arts: my occupation with it under such circumstances was also no "work," but rather the highest happiness. I could read or draw until late into the night; I never became tired then. Thus my belief strengthened that my beautiful dream of the future, even if after many years, would yet become reality.

would. I was firmly convinced that I would one day make a name for myself as a master builder.

That I also possessed the greatest interest in everything related to politics seemed to me not to mean much. On the contrary: in my eyes, this was the self-evident duty of every thinking person anyway. Whoever had no understanding of it simply lost the right to any criticism and any complaint.

Here, too, I read and learned a great deal.

Admittedly, by "reading" I perhaps understand something different than the broad average of our so-called "intelligentsia."

I know people who "read" infinitely much, namely book after book, letter by letter, and whom I would nevertheless not wish to describe as "well-read." They certainly possess a vast amount of "knowledge," but their brain does not understand how to carry out a classification and registration of this absorbed material. They lack the art of separating what is valuable to them from the worthless in a book, then keeping the one in their head forever, and if possible, not seeing the other at all, but in any case not dragging it along as useless ballast. Reading, too, is not an end in itself, but a means to one. It should primarily help to fill the framework that disposition and ability draw for everyone; therefore, it should provide tools and building materials that the individual needs in his life's vocation, regardless of whether this serves only for primitive breadwinning or represents the satisfaction of a higher destiny; secondarily, however, it should convey a general worldview.

In both cases, however, it is necessary that the content of what is read at any given time is not committed to memory for storage in the order of the book or even the sequence of books, but receives its place as a mosaic stone in the general worldview at the spot appropriate to it and thus helps to form this image in the reader's head. Otherwise, a confused jumble of learned stuff arises, which likewise is worthless, just as it, on the other hand, makes the unfortunate owner conceited. For he now truly believes in all seriousness that he is "educated," that he understands something of life, and possesses knowledge, while with every new increase of this kind of "education" he in truth becomes more and more alienated from the world, until he not infrequently ends up either in a sanatorium or as a "politician" in a parliament.

Never will such a mind succeed in extracting from the jumble of his "knowledge" that which is appropriate for the demands of the hour, since his intellectual ballast is not arranged in the lines of life, but rather in the sequence of the books as he read them and as their content now sits in his head. If fate, in its demands of daily life, were always to remind him of the correct application of what he once read, it would also have to mention the book and page number, otherwise the poor soul would never find the right thing in all eternity. Since it does not do this, however, these "know-it-alls" fall into the most terrible embarrassment at every critical hour, searching frantically for analogous cases and, with deadly certainty, naturally grabbing the wrong prescriptions.

Were it not so, one could not comprehend the political achievements of our learned government heroes in the highest positions, unless one decided to assume villainous baseness instead of pathological disposition.

But he who has mastered the art of correct reading will, while studying any book, magazine, or brochure, immediately be made aware by his feeling of everything that, in his opinion, is suitable for permanent retention, because it is either practical or generally worth knowing. As soon as what has been gained in such a way finds its meaningful integration into the image—which is always already present in some form—that the imagination has created of this or that matter, it will act either as a correction or a supplement, thus...

increase either the correctness or the clarity of the same. Now, if life suddenly presents any question for examination or answering, with such a method of reading, the memory will instantly reach for the standard of the already existing mental image and extract from it all the individual contributions concerning these questions collected over decades, submitting them to the intellect for examination and new insight, until the question is clarified or answered.

Only in this way does reading then have meaning and purpose.

A speaker, for example, who does not provide his intellect with the necessary foundations in such a manner, will never be in a position to represent his view compellingly in the face of contradiction, even if it should correspond a thousand times to the truth or reality. In every discussion, his memory will shamefully leave him in the lurch: he will find neither reasons to corroborate what he asserts, nor those to refute his opponent. As long as it is primarily a matter of personal embarrassment, as with a speaker, this may still be tolerable; but it becomes dire when fate appoints such a "know-it-all" who is actually a "do-nothing" as the leader of a state.

Since my early youth, I have strived to read in the correct way and was supported in this in the most fortunate manner by memory and intellect. And viewed in such a sense, the Vienna period was particularly fruitful and valuable for me. The experiences of daily life provided the stimulus for ever-new study of the most diverse problems. By finally being in a position to ground reality theoretically and to test theory against reality, I was preserved from either suffocating in theory or becoming superficial in reality.

Thus, during this time, in two of the most important questions, besides the social one, the experience of daily life became decisive and stimulating for the most thorough theoretical study.

Who knows when I would have ever immersed myself in the teachings and the essence of Marxism if the time then had not literally shoved my head into this problem!

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What I knew of Social Democracy in my youth was heartily little and plenty incorrect.

That it led the struggle for universal and secret suffrage pleased me inwardly. For even then my reason told me that this must lead to a weakening of the Habsburg regime which I so greatly detested. In the conviction that the Danube State could never be maintained except by sacrificing Germandom, but that even the price of a slow Slavization of the German element would by no means have meant the guarantee of a then truly viable empire—since the state-preserving power of Slavism must be estimated as highly doubtful—I welcomed every development which, in my conviction, had to lead to the collapse of this impossible state, which condemned Germandom in ten million people to death. The more the linguistic hullabaloo also corroded and tore apart the parliament, the closer the hour of the collapse of this Babylonian empire had to approach, and with it also the hour of freedom for my German-Austrian people. Only thus could the annexation to the old motherland eventually come again one day.

Thus, this activity of Social Democracy was not unsympathetic to me. That it finally sought to raise the living conditions of the worker, as my then harmless mind was still stupid enough to believe, also seemed to speak for it rather than against it. What repelled me most was its hostile position toward the struggle for the preservation of Germandom, the wretched wooing for the favor of the Slavic "comrades," who probably accepted this courtship, insofar as it was associated with practical concessions, took part, but otherwise held themselves back with arrogant snobbery, giving the intrusive beggars their deserved reward in this manner.

Thus, at the age of seventeen, the word "Marxism" was still little known to me, while "Social Democracy" and Socialism appeared to me as identical concepts. Here, too, it first required the fist of fate to open my eyes to this unprecedented betrayal of nations.

Until then, I had only known the Social Democratic Party as a spectator at a few mass demonstrations, without having even the slightest insight into the mentality of its followers or even into the essence of the doctrine; now, at a single stroke, I came into contact with the products of their upbringing and "worldview." And what might otherwise have occurred only after decades, I now received in the course of a few months: an understanding of a pestilence walking under the mask of social virtue and brotherly love, from which humanity should quickly rid the earth as soon as possible, for otherwise the earth could very easily become free of humanity.

My first encounter with Social Democrats took place at the construction site.

It was not very pleasant from the very beginning. My clothing was still somewhat in order, my speech refined, and my nature reserved. I was still so preoccupied with my own fate that I was able to care little about my surroundings. I was only looking for work so as not to starve, in order to maintain the possibility of further education, however slow it might be. I would perhaps not have cared about my new environment at all if, already on the third or fourth day, an event had not occurred that immediately forced me to take a stand. I was requested to join the organization.

My knowledge of trade union organization was still zero at that time. I would not have been able to judge either the expediency or the inexpediency of its existence...

been able to show. Since it was explained to me that I had to join, I refused. I justified this by saying that I did not understand the matter, but above all, I would not allow myself to be forced into anything. Perhaps the former was the reason why I was not thrown out immediately. They might have hoped to have converted me or worn me down in a few days. In any case, they were thoroughly mistaken in that. After fourteen days, however, I could no longer stay, even if I had still wanted to. During these fourteen days, I got to know my surroundings better, so that no power in the world could have moved me to join an organization whose representatives had meanwhile appeared to me in such an unfavorable light.

For the first few days, I was annoyed.

At noon, some went to the nearest taverns, while others remained at the construction site and consumed a mostly very meager midday meal there. These were the married men, whose wives brought them the midday soup in wretched containers. Towards the end of the week, this number grew larger and larger; why, I only understood later. Now, politics were discussed.

I drank my bottle of milk and ate my piece of bread somewhere off to the side and cautiously studied my new surroundings or reflected on my miserable lot. Nevertheless, I heard more than enough; it also often seemed to me as if people were intentionally moving closer to me, perhaps to induce me to take a stand. In any case, what I heard was suited to provoke me to the utmost. They rejected everything there: the nation, as an invention of the "capitalist"—how often I had to hear this word alone!—classes; the fatherland, as an instrument of the bourgeoisie for the exploitation of the working class; the authority of the law as a means for the suppression of the proletariat; the school, as an institution for the breeding of slave material, but also of slave owners; religion, as a means of stupefying the people intended for exploitation; morality, as a sign of stupid sheep-like patience, etc. There was absolutely nothing left, which was not dragged into the filth of a terrible depth.

At first, I tried to remain silent. Finally, however, it was no longer possible. I began to take a stand, began to contradict. But then I had to realize that this was completely hopeless as long as I did not at least possess certain knowledge about the points that were, after all, controversial. So I began to search in the sources from which they drew their supposed wisdom. Book after book, pamphlet after pamphlet now had its turn.

On the construction site, however, things often got heated. I argued, from day to day better informed about their own knowledge than my adversaries themselves, until one day that means was applied which, of course, defeats reason most easily: terror, violence. Some of the spokesmen for the opposing side forced me either to leave the construction site immediately or to be thrown off the scaffolding. Since I was alone and resistance seemed hopeless, I preferred, enriched by one more experience, to follow the first piece of advice.

I left, filled with disgust, but at the same time so moved that it would have been quite impossible for me to turn my back on the whole matter now. No, after the first surge of indignation, stubbornness regained the upper hand. I was firmly determined to go back to a construction site anyway. I was further strengthened in this resolve by the necessity which, a few weeks later, after consuming the small amount of saved wages, took me into its heartless arms. Now I had to, whether I wanted to or not. And the game started all over again, only to end in a similar way to the first time.

At that time, I wrestled within myself: Are these still human beings, worthy of belonging to a great people?

An agonizing question; for if it is answered with "Yes," then the struggle for a national identity is truly no longer worth the effort and sacrifice that the best have to make for such dregs; but if the answer is "No," then our people are already poor in men.

With restless trepidation, I saw in those days of brooding and burrowing the mass of those no longer to be counted among their people swell into a threatening army.

With what different feelings did I now stare into the endless rows of four of a mass demonstration of Viennese workers taking place one day! For almost two hours I stood there and watched with bated breath the enormous human dragon-worm that slowly rolled past. In anxious depression, I finally left the square and wandered homeward. On the way, I spotted in a tobacco shop the "Arbeiterzeitung" (Workers' Newspaper), the central organ of the old Austrian Social Democracy. In a cheap people's café, which I often visited to read newspapers, it was also laid out; however, I had not yet been able to bring myself to look into the wretched sheet, whose entire tone acted on me like spiritual vitriol, for longer than two minutes. Under the depressing impression of the demonstration, an inner voice now urged me to buy the paper for once and then read it thoroughly. In the evening, I did so, overcoming the sudden rage that sometimes rose within me over this concentrated solution of lies.

More than from all theoretical literature, I could now study the inner essence of these lines of thought from the daily reading of the Social Democratic press.

For what a difference between the phrases of freedom, beauty, and dignity shimmering in the theoretical literature, the will-o'-the-wisp-like word-flummery laboriously expressing seemingly deepest wisdom, the disgustingly humane morality—all written down with the iron brow of a prophetic certainty—and the brutal daily press of this doctrine of salvation for the new humanity, shrinking from no baseness, working with every means of slander and a truly beam-bending virtuosity of lying! The one is intended for the stupid simpletons from the middle and, of course, also higher "intellectual strata," the other for the masses.

For me, immersing myself in the literature and press of this doctrine and organization meant finding my way back to my people.

What at first appeared to me as an unbridgeable chasm was now to become the occasion for a greater love than ever before.

Only a fool, knowing of this enormous work of poisoning, can still go on to condemn the victim. The more I became independent in the following years, the more my perspective on the inner causes of Social Democratic successes grew with increasing distance. Now I understood the significance of the brutal demand to keep only red newspapers, to attend only red meetings, to read red books, etc. In plastic clarity, I saw the inevitable result of this doctrine of intolerance before my eyes.

The psyche of the broad masses is not receptive to anything half-hearted or weak.

Like a woman, whose spiritual perception is determined less by reasons of abstract intellect than by an indefinable, emotional longing for complementary strength, and who therefore prefers to bow to the strong rather than dominate the weakling, the masses also love the ruler more than the petitioner and feel inwardly more satisfied by a doctrine that tolerates no other beside it than by the granting of liberal freedom; they usually know very little what to do with it and even easily feel abandoned. They are as little aware of the impudence of their intellectual terrorization as they are of the outrageous mistreatment of their human freedom, for they do not suspect the inner madness of the entire doctrine in any way. Thus, they see only the ruthless strength and brutality of its purposeful expressions, to which they finally always bow.

If Social Democracy is countered by a doctrine of better truthfulness, but equal brutality of execution—

challenged, it will prevail, even if after the most difficult struggle.

Before even two years had passed, both the doctrine and the technical tools of Social Democracy were clear to me.

I understood the infamous spiritual terror which this movement exercises, especially on the bourgeoisie, which is neither morally nor mentally a match for such attacks; by letting loose, at a given signal, a veritable drumfire of lies and slanders against the adversary who seems most dangerous, until the nerves of those attacked break and they sacrifice the hated one just to have peace again.

But these fools do not obtain peace nonetheless.

The game begins anew and is repeated so often until the fear of the wild cur becomes a suggestive paralysis.

Since Social Democracy knows the value of strength best from its own experience, it also storms most fiercely against those in whose nature it scents something of this—anyway so rare—substance. Conversely, it praises every weakling on the other side, sometimes cautiously, sometimes more loudly, depending on the recognized or suspected mental quality.

It fears an impotent, will-less genius less than a forceful nature, even if of modest intellect.

Most urgently, it recommends weaklings in both spirit and strength together.

It knows how to create the appearance as if only in this way could peace be maintained, while in doing so, with clever caution but nevertheless undeterred, it conquers one position after another, sometimes through quiet extortion, sometimes through actual theft in moments when general attention is turned to other things, either not wanting to be disturbed or considering the matter too small to cause a great stir and provoke the evil opponent anew.

It is one based on the precise calculation of all human

...weaknesses found in tactics, the result of which must lead almost mathematically to success, unless the opposing side also learns to fight poison gas with poison gas. Weak natures must be told that this is simply a matter of to be or not to be.

No less understandable to me became the significance of physical terror toward the individual and toward the masses. Here, too, there is a precise calculation of the psychological effect.

Terror at the workplace, in the factory, in the meeting hall, and on the occasion of mass demonstrations will always be accompanied by success as long as it is not met by an equally great terror.

Then, of course, the party will wail "murder and mayhem" in a terrible outcry; as an old despiser of all state authority, it will shriek for the latter, only to actually achieve its goal in most cases in the general confusion—namely: it will find the "dumb ox" of a high official who, in the foolish hope of perhaps thereby making the dreaded opponent well-disposed for later, helps to break the adversary of this world-pest.

What impression such a blow makes on the senses of the broad masses, both of the followers and the opponents, can only be measured by one who knows the soul of a people not from books, but from life. For while in the ranks of its followers the victory achieved is now regarded as a triumph of the rightness of their own cause, the defeated opponent in most cases despairs of the success of any further resistance at all.

The more I became acquainted especially with the methods of physical terror, the greater became my apology toward the hundreds of thousands who succumbed to it.

For this I thank most fervently my period of life at that time, that it alone gave me back my people.

that I learned to distinguish the victims from the seducers.

The results of this human seduction cannot be described as anything other than victims. For if I now endeavored in a few pictures to draw the essence of these "lowest" layers from life, this would not be complete without the assurance that in these depths I also found lights again in the forms of an often rare willingness to sacrifice, the most loyal comradeship, extraordinary frugality, and reserved modesty, especially as far as the older workforce of that time was concerned. Even if these virtues were lost more and more in the younger generation, already through the general influences of the big city, there were still many even here in whom the existing fundamentally healthy blood became master over the common meanness of life. If then these often kind-hearted, brave people nevertheless entered the ranks of the mortal enemies of our folkdom in their political activity and helped to close them, then this was because they neither understood nor could understand the baseness of the new doctrine, that no one else took the trouble to care for them, and that finally the social conditions were stronger than any other existing contrary will. The misery to which they fell victim one day, one way or another, drove them into the camp of Social Democracy after all.

Since the bourgeoisie now, countless times and in the most clumsy but also most immoral way, took a stand against even generally humanly justified demands, often without gaining or even being able to expect any benefit from such an attitude, even the most decent worker was driven from the trade union organization into political activity.

Millions of workers were certainly in their hearts initially enemies of the Social Democratic Party, but were defeated in their resistance by a sometimes truly insane manner in which the bourgeois parties took a stand against every social demand. The simply narrow-minded rejection of all attempts to improve working conditions, safety devices on machinery, the prohibition of child labor, as well as the protection of women at least in the months when she already carries the future compatriot under her heart, helped to drive the masses into the net of Social Democracy, which gratefully seized upon every such case of wretched sentiment. Never can our political "bourgeoisie" make amends for what was thus sinned. For by resisting all attempts to eliminate social grievances, it sowed hatred and seemingly justified the assertions of the mortal enemies of the entire nation, that only the Social Democratic Party alone represented the interests of the working people.

It thus created, in the first instance, the moral justification for the actual existence of the trade unions, the organization that has always performed the greatest recruitment services for the political party.

During my years of apprenticeship in Vienna, I was forced, whether I wanted to or not, to also take a position on the question of trade unions.

Since I viewed them as an inseparable part of the Social Democratic Party itself, my decision was quick and—wrong.

I naturally rejected them outright.

In this infinitely important question, too, fate itself gave me instruction.

The result was an overturning of my first judgment.

By the age of twenty, I had learned to distinguish between the trade union as a means for the defense of the general social rights of the employee and for the struggle for better living conditions for the same in detail.

and of the trade union as an instrument of the party of the political class struggle.

That Social Democracy understood the enormous importance of the trade union movement secured for it the instrument and thus the success; that the bourgeoisie did not understand this cost it its political position. It believed it could put an end to a logical development with a pert "rejection," only to actually force it into illogical paths. For the idea that the trade union movement is somehow inherently hostile to the fatherland is nonsense and, moreover, an untruth. The opposite is rather true. If trade union activity has as its goal the improvement of a social class that belongs to the fundamental pillars of the nation and carries this out, it acts not only not hostile to the fatherland or the state, but in the truest sense of the word "national." For it helps to create the social conditions without which a general national education is unthinkable. It earns the highest merit by attacking both mental and physical pathogens through the elimination of social cancers, thus contributing to the general health of the national body.

The question of its necessity is therefore truly superfluous.

As long as there are people among employers with little social understanding or even a lack of a sense of justice and fairness, it is not only the right but the duty of those employed by them, who after all form a part of our people, to protect the interests of the general public against the greed or unreasonableness of an individual; for the preservation of good faith in a national body is in the interest of the nation just as much as the preservation of the health of the people.

Both are seriously threatened by unworthy entrepreneurs who do not feel themselves to be a member of the entire national community. From the evil effects of their greed or ruthlessness, deep damages grow for the future.

To eliminate the causes of such a development means to earn merit for the nation, and not the other way around.

One should not say that every individual is free to draw the consequences of an injustice actually or supposedly inflicted upon him, i.e., to leave. No! This is mere shadow-boxing and must be seen as an attempt to distract attention. Either the elimination of bad, antisocial occurrences is in the interest of the nation or it is not. If so, then the fight against them must be taken up with the weapons that offer the prospect of success. The individual worker, however, is never in a position to assert himself against the power of the large entrepreneur, since this cannot be a question of the victory of a higher right—for if that were recognized, the entire dispute would not exist at all due to the lack of any cause—but rather a question of greater power. In the other case, the existing sense of justice alone would end the dispute in an honest manner, or more correctly, it could never come to such a dispute.

No, if antisocial or unworthy treatment of human beings calls for resistance, then this struggle, as long as no legal or judicial authorities have been created to eliminate these damages, can only be decided by greater power. With that, however, it is a matter of course that the individual person, and thus the concentrated power of the enterprise, can only be confronted by the number of employees combined into a single person, in order not to have to renounce the possibility of victory from the very beginning.

Thus, the trade union organization can lead to a strengthening of the social idea in its practical effect in daily life and thereby to a...

elimination of causes of irritation, which repeatedly provide the occasion for dissatisfaction and complaints.

That this is not the case is due in very large part to the account of those who knew how to place obstacles in the way of any legal regulation of social grievances or who suppressed them by means of their political influence.

To the same extent that the political bourgeoisie then failed to understand the importance of the trade union organization or, better, did not want to understand it and resisted it, Social Democracy took up the controversial movement. With foresight, it thus created a firm foundation which has already proven itself several times in critical hours as a final support. To be sure, the internal purpose gradually perished in the process, to make room for new goals.

Social Democracy never thought of maintaining the professional movement it embraced for its original task.

No, it certainly did not mean it that way.

In a few decades, under its expert hand, the means for defending social human rights had become the instrument for the destruction of the national economy. The interests of the workers were not to hinder them in the slightest. For politically, too, the use of economic means of pressure allows for the exercise of extortion at any time, as long as the necessary lack of conscience on the one side and stupid sheep-like patience on the other are present in sufficient measure.

Something that, in this case, applies to both sides.

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Already by the turn of the century, the trade union movement had long since ceased to serve its former task. From year to year, it had fallen more and more into the sphere of influence of Social Democratic politics, only to finally find application as a battering ram of the class struggle. It was intended to [destroy] the entire, laboriously built-up econ—

to finally bring the corporate body to collapse through constant blows, so as to be able to more easily inflict the same fate on the state structure after withdrawing its economic foundations. The representation of all the real needs of the working class thus became less and less of an issue, until political prudence finally made it seem no longer desirable at all to remedy the social and even cultural distress of the broad masses, since otherwise one ran the risk of no longer being able to use them forever as a will-less fighting force once their wishes were satisfied.

Such an evolution, sensed with foreboding like an approaching storm, struck such fear into the leaders of the class struggle that they finally, without further ado, rejected any truly beneficial social improvement—indeed, they took a stand against it with the utmost determination.

They never had to worry about finding a justification for such seemingly incomprehensible behavior. By pushing demands ever higher, the possible fulfillment of them appeared so small and insignificant that the masses could be persuaded at any time that this was merely a devilish attempt to weaken, and if possible paralyze, the striking power of the working class in a cheap way through such a ridiculous satisfaction of most sacred rights. Given the limited thinking capacity of the broad masses, one should not be surprised at the success.

In the bourgeois camp, people were indignant at such obvious untruthfulness of Social Democratic tactics, without, however, drawing even the slightest conclusions for the guidelines of their own actions. Precisely the fear of Social Democracy regarding any actual lifting of the working class out of the depths of its previous cultural and social misery should have led to the greatest efforts in exactly this direction, in order to gradually wrest the instrument from the hands of the representatives of the class struggle.

This, however, did not happen.

Instead of taking the opposing position in its own attack, one preferred to let oneself be pressed and pushed, only to finally resort to completely inadequate makeshifts which, because they were too late, remained ineffective, and because they were too insignificant, were also easily rejected. Thus, in truth, everything remained as it was, only the dissatisfaction was greater than before.

Like a threatening thundercloud, the "free trade union" already hung over the political horizon and over the existence of the individual back then.

It was one of those terrible instruments of terror against the security and independence of the national economy, the stability of the state, and the freedom of the person.

It was, above all, what turned the concept of democracy into a disgusting, ridiculous phrase, desecrated freedom, and immortally mocked brotherhood in the sentence: "And if you will not be a comrade, we will bash your skull in."

That is how I got to know this "friend of humanity" back then. In the course of the years, my view of it has expanded and deepened; I have not needed to change it.

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The more insight I gained into the external nature of Social Democracy, the greater became the longing to grasp the inner core of this doctrine.

The official party literature could, of course, be of little use here. Insofar as it deals with economic questions, it is incorrect in assertion and proof; insofar as political goals are treated, it is mendacious. In addition, I felt inwardly repelled especially by the newer rabulistic mode of expression and the manner of presentation. With an enormous expenditure of words of unclear content or incomprehensible meaning, sentences are stammered together there that are intended to be as witty as they are senseless. Only the decadence of our metropolitan bohemia may find itself in this labyrinth of conreason to feel comfortably at home, in order to claw out "inner experience" from the manure of this literary Dadaism, supported by the proverbial modesty of a part of our people, who always sense a deeper wisdom in that which is personally most incomprehensible.

However, as I weighed the theoretical untruths and nonsense of this doctrine against the reality of its appearance, I gradually gained a clear picture of its inner will. In such hours, gloomy forebodings and evil fear crept over me. I then saw a doctrine before me, consisting of egoism and hatred, which according to mathematical laws can lead to victory, but must thereby also bring the end of humanity.

In the meantime, I had learned to understand the connection between this doctrine of destruction and the nature of a people who, until then, had been virtually unknown to me.

Only the knowledge of Jewry alone
offers the key to grasping the inner
and thus real intentions of
Social Democracy.

For whoever knows this people, the veils of erroneous conceptions about the goal and meaning of this party fall from their eyes, and from the haze and fog of social phrases, the grinning grimace of Marxism rises up.

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It is difficult for me today, if not impossible, to say when the word "Jew" first gave me cause for special thought. In my father's house, I do not remember ever having even heard the word during my father's lifetime. I believe the old gentleman would have seen a cultural backwardness in the mere special emphasis of this designation. In the course of his life, he had arrived at more or less cosmopolitan views which, despite the most abrupt national sentiments, had not only been maintained but had also rubbed off on me.

Even in school, there was no occasion that could have led to a change in this adopted image for me.

In the Realschule, I did indeed get to know a Jewish boy, who was treated with caution by all of us, but only because we did not particularly trust him regarding his reticence, having been made wise by various experiences; any other thought occurred to me as little as it did to the others.

It was not until my fourteenth or fifteenth year that I frequently encountered the word Jew, partly in connection with political conversations. I felt a slight aversion toward it and could not help an unpleasant feeling that always crept over me when denominational bickering was carried out in my presence. At that time, however, I did not view the question as anything else.

Linz possessed only very few Jews. In the course of centuries, their outward appearance had become Europeanized and had become human; yes, I even took them for Germans. The nonsense of this delusion was not very clear to me, because I saw the only distinguishing feature merely in the foreign denomination. That they had been persecuted for that reason, as I believed, sometimes let my aversion toward unfavorable remarks about them turn almost into loathing.

I had no inkling at all of the existence of a systematic opposition to Jews.

Thus I came to Vienna.

Preoccupied by the abundance of impressions in the field of architecture, depressed by the weight of my own lot, I possessed in the early period no eye for the inner stratification of the people in the giant city. Although Vienna in those years already counted nearly two hundred thousand Jews among its two million people, I did not see them. My eye and my mind were not yet equal to the onslaught of so many values and thoughts in the first weeks. Only as all-gradually peace returned and as the agitated picture began to clear, I looked around more thoroughly in my new world and now also came across the Jewish question.

I do not want to claim that the way in which I was to get to know it seemed particularly pleasant to me. I still saw in the Jew only the religious denomination and therefore, for reasons of human tolerance, maintained the rejection of religious struggle in this case as well. Thus, the tone, especially that adopted by the anti-Semitic Viennese press, seemed to me unworthy of the cultural tradition of a great people. I was oppressed by the memory of certain events of the Middle Ages that I did not like to see repeated. Since the newspapers in question were generally considered not to be outstanding—where this came from, I did not know exactly myself at the time—I saw in them more the products of angry envy than the results of a fundamental, even if wrong, view in general.

I was strengthened in this opinion of mine by what seemed to me to be the infinitely more dignified form in which the truly great press responded to all these attacks or, what seemed even more commendable to me, did not mention them at all, but simply ignored them to death.

I eagerly read the so-called world press ("Neue Freie Presse", "Wiener Tagblatt", etc.) and was astonished at the scope of what was offered to the reader in it, as well as at the objectivity of the presentation in detail. I appreciated the noble tone and was actually only occasionally not quite satisfied inwardly or even unpleasantly touched by the exuberance of the style. Yet this might lie in the momentum of the entire metropolis.

Since I considered Vienna to be such at the time, I believed I could let this explanation, which I gave myself, pass as an excuse.

What repeatedly repelled me, however, was the unworthy form in which this press courted the Court. There was hardly an event in the Hofburg that was not presented to the reader either in tones of ecstatic enthusiasm or plaintive consternation was communicated, a fuss that, especially when it concerned the "wisest monarch" of all time himself, almost resembled the courtship display of a capercaillie. To me, the matter seemed contrived.

With this, liberal democracy, in my eyes, became stained.

To court the favor of this court, and in such indecent forms, meant surrendering the dignity of the nation.

This was the first shadow that was to cloud my intellectual relationship with the "great" Viennese press.

As always before, I followed all events in Germany with the greatest fervor while in Vienna, regardless of whether they were political or cultural questions. In proud admiration, I compared the rise of the Reich with the wasting away of the Austrian state. But if foreign policy events usually excited undivided joy, then the less pleasant ones of domestic political life often caused somber concern.

The struggle being waged against Wilhelm II at that time did not find my approval then. I saw in him not only the German Emperor but, first and foremost, the creator of a German fleet. The prohibitions on speaking imposed on the Emperor by the Reichstag annoyed me so extraordinarily because they originated from a place that, in my eyes, really had no cause to do so, since in a single session these parliamentary "goslings" cackled more nonsense together than a whole dynasty of emperors could ever manage in centuries, including their very weakest members.

I was indignant that in a state where every half-fool not only claimed the right to speak his criticism for himself, but was even unleashed upon the nation in the Reichstag as a "legislator," the bearer of the imperial crown could receive "reprimands" from the shallowest institution of chatterboxes of all time.

But I was even more incensed that the same Viennese press, which would still show the most honmost respectful bow and went out of bounds over an accidental wagging of the tail, now expressed its concerns about the German Kaiser with a seemingly worried mien, but, as it seemed to me, with ill-concealed malice. It claimed to be far from wanting to interfere in the affairs of the German Empire—no, God forbid—but by placing its fingers on these wounds in such a friendly manner, it was fulfilling the duty imposed by the spirit of the mutual alliance just as much as it was, conversely, satisfying journalistic truth, etc. And then this finger would bore into the wound to its heart's content.

In such cases, the blood rushed to my head.

This was what gradually made me view the big press more cautiously.

I had to acknowledge for once that one of the anti-Semitic newspapers, the "Deutsche Volksblatt," behaved more decently on the occasion of such a matter.

What further got on my nerves was the truly loathsome cult that the big press already practiced with France back then. One almost had to be ashamed of being German when one saw these sugary hymns of praise to the "great cultural nation." This wretched Francophilia caused me more than once to put down one of these "world newspapers." I now occasionally reached for the "Volksblatt," which admittedly seemed much smaller to me, but somewhat cleaner in these matters. I did not agree with the sharp anti-Semitic tone, but here and there I read justifications that caused me some reflection.

In any case, from such occasions I slowly came to know the man and the movement that determined Vienna's fate at that time: Dr. Karl Lueger and the Christian Social Party.

When I came to Vienna, I was hostile toward both.

In my eyes, the man and the movement were considered "reactionary."

However, the ordinary sense of justice had to modify this judgment in the same measure as I received the opportunity to get to know the man and his work; and slowly, the just assessment grew into undisguised admiration. Today, I see in the man even more than before the most powerful German mayor of all time.

How many of my preconceived views were overturned by such a change in my stance toward the Christian-Social movement!

If, as a result, my views regarding anti-Semitism also slowly underwent the change of time, then this was probably my most difficult transformation of all.

It cost me the most internal spiritual struggles, and only after months of wrestling between reason and feeling did victory begin to lean toward the side of reason. Two years later, feeling had followed reason, to be from then on its most faithful guardian and warner.

During the time of this bitter struggle between spiritual education and cold reason, the visual instruction of the Viennese streets had rendered me invaluable services. The time came when I no longer wandered blindly through the mighty city as in the first days, but with an open eye, I looked at the people as well as the buildings.

Once, as I was strolling through the inner city, I suddenly encountered an apparition in a long caftan with black locks.

Is this also a Jew? was my first thought.

They certainly did not look like that in Linz. I observed the man stealthily and cautiously, but the longer I stared into this strange face and examined it searchingly feature by feature, the more the first question transformed in my brain into another question:

Is this also a German?

As always in such cases, I now began to try to resolve my doubts through books. At that time, for a few hellers, I bought the first anti-Semitic pamphlets of my life. Unfortunately, they all started from the point of view that, in principle, the reader probably already knew or even understood the Jewish question to at least a certain degree. Finally, the tone was usually such that doubts came to me again as a result of the partly shallow and extraordinarily unscientific argumentation for the assertion.

I then relapsed again for weeks, even once for months at a time.

The matter seemed so monstrous to me, the accusation so excessive, that I, tormented by the fear of doing an injustice, became anxious and uncertain again.

Admittedly, I could no longer well doubt that this was not a matter of Germans of a particular denomination, but of a people for themselves; for since I had begun to occupy myself with this question, once I became aware of the Jew, Vienna appeared to me in a different light than before. Wherever I went, I now saw Jews, and the more I saw, the more sharply they stood out to the eye from other people. Especially the inner city and the districts north of the Danube Canal swarmed with a people who, even outwardly, no longer possessed a similarity to the German.

But if I had still doubted that, the hesitation was finally removed by the position taken by a part of the Jews themselves.

A great movement among them, which was not a little extensive in Vienna, advocated most sharply for the confirmation of the national character of Jewry: Zionism.

It certainly appeared as if only a part of the Jews would approve of this position, while the great majority condemned such a definition, even inwardly rejected it. On closer inspection, however, this appearance dissolved into a foul mist of excuses brought forward for reasons of pure expediency, not to say lies. For the so-called liberal Jewry way of thinking did not reject the Zionists as non-Jews, but only as Jews of an impractical, perhaps even dangerous, public profession of their Judaism.

Nothing at all changed in their inner sense of belonging together.

This apparent struggle between Zionist and liberal Jews soon disgusted me; for it was thoroughly untrue, and therefore mendacious, and moreover poorly suited to the always-claimed moral height and purity of this people.

In general, the moral and other cleanliness of this people was a point in itself. That these were no lovers of water could be seen from their outward appearance, unfortunately very often even with eyes closed. I later sometimes felt sick at the smell of these caftan-wearers. Added to this was the unclean clothing and the far from heroic appearance.

All this could not have a very attractive effect; but one had to be repelled when, beyond the physical uncleanness, one suddenly discovered the moral blemishes of the chosen people.

Nothing had made me so thoughtful in a short time as the slowly rising insight into the nature of the Jews' activity in certain fields.

Was there any filth, any shamelessness in any form, especially of cultural life, in which at least one Jew had not been involved?

As soon as one carefully cut into such a growth, one found, like a maggot in a rotting body, often quite blinded by the sudden light, a little Jew.

It was a heavy burden that Judaism received in my eyes when I became acquainted with its activity in the press, in art, literature, and theater. Now all the unctuous protestations could be of little or no use. It was enough to look at one of the advertising pillars, to see the names of the spiritual creators of these dreadful works for cinema and theater, which were advertised—

praised, to study, in order to become hardened for a longer period of time. That was pestilence, spiritual pestilence, worse than the Black Death of old, with which the people were being infected. And in what quantities this poison was produced and distributed! Naturally, the lower the spiritual and moral level of such an art-manufacturer is, the more boundless is his fertility, until such a fellow, more like a centrifugal machine, splashes his filth into the face of the rest of humanity. In addition, consider the boundlessness of their number; consider that for one Goethe, nature still easily sets ten thousand such scribblers into the fur of their contemporaries, who now, as carriers of bacilli of the worst kind, poison souls.

It was appalling, but not to be overlooked, that precisely the Jew seemed chosen by nature in overabundant numbers for this shameful destiny.

Was his chosenness to be sought in this?

I then began to carefully examine the names of all the producers of these unclean products of public artistic life. The result was increasingly worse for my previous attitude toward the Jews. No matter how much the feeling might still resist a thousand times, the intellect had to draw its conclusions.

The fact that nine-tenths of all literary filth, artistic kitsch, and theatrical idiocy are to be written on the guilt account of a people who constitute barely a hundredth of all inhabitants in the country simply could not be denied; it was just so.

I also began to examine my dear "world press" from such points of view.

The more thoroughly I applied the probe here, however, the more the object of my former admiration shriveled up. The style was increasingly unbearable, the content I had to reject as inwardly shallow and flat, the objectivity of the presentation now seemed to me more of a lie than honest truth; the authors, however, were — Jews.

A thousand things that I had hardly noticed before now struck me as noteworthy; others again, which had once given me cause for reflection, I learned to grasp and understand.

I now saw the liberal mindset of this press in a different light; its refined tone in answering attacks, as well as the practice of ignoring them, now revealed itself to me as a trick as clever as it was base; its gloriously written theater reviews were always intended for the Jewish author, and its rejection never fell upon anyone other than the German. The subtle sniping against Wilhelm II, in its persistence, revealed the method, just like the recommendation of French culture and civilization. The kitschy content of the short story now became indecency, and from the language I heard sounds of a foreign people; the sense of the whole, however, was so obviously detrimental to Germandom that this could only have been intentional.

Who, however, had an interest in this?

Was all this merely coincidence?

Thus I slowly became uncertain.

The development was accelerated, however, by insights I gained into a series of other processes. This was the general conception of custom and morality, as could be seen quite openly displayed and practiced by a large part of Jewry.

Here again, the street offered a sometimes truly evil object lesson.

The relationship of Jewry to prostitution and, even more so, to the white slave trade itself could be studied in Vienna as probably in no other Western European city, with the possible exception of southern French seaports. When one walked through the streets and alleys of Leopoldstadt in the evenings, one became, at every turn, whether one wanted to or not, a witness to processes that had remained hidden from the majority of the German people until the war gave the fighters on the Eastern Front the opportunity to see similar things—or rather, to have to see them.

When I first recognized the Jew in such a way as the equally icy cold and shamelessly business-savvy conductor of this outrageous vice-operation of the dregs of the big city, a slight shiver ran down my spine.

But then it flared up.

Now I no longer evaded the discussion of the Jewish question; no, now I wanted it. But as I learned to look for the Jew in all directions of cultural and artistic life and its various manifestations, I suddenly encountered him in a place where I would have least expected him.

By recognizing the Jew as the leader of Social Democracy, the scales began to fall from my eyes. A long inner struggle of the soul thus reached its conclusion.

Even in daily interaction with my fellow workers, I noticed the astonishing adaptability with which they took different positions on the same question, sometimes within a period of a few days, often even just a few hours. I could hardly understand how people who, when spoken to alone, still possessed reasonable views, suddenly lost them as soon as they came under the spell of the masses. It was often enough to drive one to despair. When, after hours of persuasion, I was already convinced that this time I had finally broken the ice or cleared up some nonsense and was heartily rejoicing in the success, then to my misery the next day I had to start all over again; it had all been in vain. Like an eternal pendulum, the madness of their views seemed to swing back again and again.

I was still able to comprehend everything in this: that they were dissatisfied with their lot, cursed the fate which often struck them so harshly; hated the entrepreneurs who appeared to them as the heartless executors of this fate; railed against the authorities who, in their eyes, possessed no feeling for the situation; that they [were] against life-average prices demonstrated and took to the streets for their demands, all this could at least still be understood with regard to reason. What, however, had to remain incomprehensible was the boundless hatred with which they covered their own folkdom, reviled its greatness, defiled its history, and dragged great men into the gutter.

This struggle against one's own kind, one's own nest, one's own homeland was as senseless as it was incomprehensible. That was unnatural.

One could temporarily cure them of this vice, but only for days, at most weeks. But if one later met the supposedly converted, then he had become the old one again.

Unnature had him in its possession again.

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That the Social Democratic press was predominantly directed by Jews, I gradually came to know; however, I attributed no special significance to this circumstance, since the conditions with the other newspapers were exactly the same. Only one thing was perhaps striking: there was not a single paper where Jews were present that could have been addressed as truly national, in the way that this had lain in the line of my education and conception.

Since I now overcame myself and tried to read this kind of Marxist press products, but the aversion grew to infinity in that same measure, I now also sought to get to know the manufacturers of these summarized villainies more closely.

They were, starting from the publisher, nothing but Jews.

I took the Social Democratic brochures available to me in any way and looked for the names of their authors: Jews. I noted the names of almost all the leaders; they were for the far greatest part likewise members of the "chosen people," whether it concerned the representatives in the Reichsrat or the secretaries of the unions, the chairmen of the organizations, or the agitators on the street. It always resulted in the same eerie picture. The names of the Austerlitzes, Davids, Adlers, Ellenbogens, etc., will remain in my memory forever. One thing had now become clear to me: the party, with whose minor representatives I had been fighting the most violent struggle for months, was almost exclusively in the hands of a foreign people in its leadership; for I already knew for certain, to my inner happy satisfaction, that the Jew was no German.

But only now did I come to know the seducer of our people fully.

Even one year of my stay in Vienna had been enough to bring me the conviction that no worker could be so stubborn that he would not succumb to better knowledge and better explanation. I had slowly become a connoisseur of their own doctrine and used it as a weapon in the struggle for my inner conviction.

Success now almost always sided with me.

The great mass was to be saved, even if only after the heaviest sacrifices of time and patience.

But never was a Jew to be freed from his view.

I was still childish enough at that time to want to make the madness of their doctrine clear to them, talked my tongue sore and my throat hoarse in my small circle, and believed I must succeed in convincing them of the destructiveness of their Marxist insanity; however, then I achieved all the more only the opposite. It seemed as if the increasing insight into the devastating effect of Social Democratic theories and their fulfillment would only serve to strengthen their determination.

The more I then argued with them in this way, the more I got to know their dialectics. First they counted on the stupidity of their opponent, only then, when a way out could no longer be found, to simply play stupid themselves. If all that was of no use, they did not quite understand or, when cornered, instantly to another field, they then presented self-evident facts, the acceptance of which they immediately related to substantially different matters, only to evade again when confronted and claim to know nothing specific. Wherever one attacked such an apostle, the hand enclosed jelly-like slime; it oozed through the fingers, only to close together again in the next moment. But if one struck someone so devastatingly that he, observed by those around him, could no longer do anything but agree, and if one believed to have made at least one step forward, the astonishment the next day was great. The Jew no longer knew the slightest thing about yesterday, continued to tell his old nonsense as if nothing at all had happened, and when indignantly confronted, acted surprised, could remember absolutely nothing except the correctness of his assertions which had already been proven the day before.

I stood there many a time frozen.

One did not know what to marvel at more, their glibness or their art of lying.

I gradually began to hate them.

All this now had the one good effect that to the same extent that the actual carriers or at least the spreaders of Social Democracy caught my eye, the love for my people had to grow. Who could curse the unfortunate victim given the devilish dexterity of these seducers? How difficult it was for me myself to master the dialectical mendacity of this race! How futile, however, was such a success with people who twist the truth in their mouths, flatly deny the word just spoken, only to claim it for themselves in the next minute!

No. The more I got to know the Jew, the more I had to forgive the worker.

The heaviest guilt now lay in my eyes no longer with him, but with all those who did not find it worth the effort to have mercy on him, to give the son of the people in iron justice what is his due, but to drive the seducer and corrupter against the wall.

Stimulated by the experience of daily life, I now began to track down the sources of the Marxist doctrine itself. Its effects had become clear to me in detail; the success of it was revealed daily before my attentive gaze, and with a little imagination, I was able to picture the consequences. The only remaining question was whether the founders had the result of their creation in mind, seen in its final form, or whether they themselves became the victims of an error.

In my estimation, both were possible.

In one case, it was the duty of every thinking person to force themselves into the front of the unfortunate movement, in order to perhaps prevent the extreme; in the other, however, the original authors of this pestilence of nations must have been true devils; for only in the brain of a monster—not a human being—could the plan for an organization take meaningful shape, whose activity must lead as a final result to the collapse of human culture and thus to the desolation of the world.

In this case, the only remaining salvation was the struggle, the struggle with all the weapons that the human spirit, reason, and will are able to grasp, regardless of to whom fate then bestows its blessing in the balance.

Thus I now began to familiarize myself with the founders of this doctrine, in order to study the foundations of the movement. That I reached my goal here more quickly than I perhaps at first dared to think myself, I owed solely to my now acquired, though at that time still little deepened, knowledge of the Jewish question. It alone enabled me to make a practical comparison of reality with the theoretical flummery of the founding apostles of Social Democracy, since it had taught me to understand the language of the Jewish people; which speaks in order to hide thoughts or at least to veil them;

and its real goal is therefore not to be found in the lines, but rather slumbers well-hidden between them.

The time had come for me for the greatest upheaval that I ever had to go through internally. I had turned from a weak world-citizen into a fanatical anti-Semite.

Only once more – it was the last time – did anxious, oppressive thoughts come to me in deepest trepidation. As I thus searchingly observed the workings of the Jewish people through long periods of human history, the fearful question suddenly rose within me whether perhaps inscrutable fate, for reasons unknown to us poor humans, might not after all desire the final victory of this small people in an eternally unalterable decree?

Should this people, which lives eternally only on this earth, be awarded the earth as a reward?

Do we have an objective right to the struggle for our self-preservation, or is this too only subjectively grounded within us?

As I immersed myself in the doctrine of Marxism and thus subjected the workings of the Jewish people to a contemplation in quiet clarity, fate itself gave me its answer.

The Jewish doctrine of Marxism rejects the aristocratic principle of nature and replaces the eternal privilege of power and strength with the mass of numbers and its dead weight. It thus denies the value of the individual in man, disputes the significance of nationality and race, and thereby withdraws from humanity the prerequisite for its existence and its culture. As the foundation of the universe, it would lead to the end of any order intellectually comprehensible to humans. And just as in this greatest recognizable organism only chaos could be the result of the application of such a law, so on earth for the inhabitants of this star, only their own downfall.

If the Jew, with the help of his Marxist creed, triumphs over the peoples of this world, then his crown be the dance of death of humanity, then this planet will once again, as it did millions of years ago, move through the ether devoid of mankind.

Eternal Nature inexorably avenges the transgression of her commands.

Thus I believe today that I am acting in accordance with the will of the Almighty Creator: By defending myself against the Jew, I am fighting for the work of the Lord.

Chapter 3

General political observations from my Vienna period

I am today of the conviction that a man, generally speaking, cases of very special talent excepted, should not engage publicly in politics before his thirtieth year. He should not do so because, until that time, the formation of a general platform usually first takes place, from which he then examines the various political problems and finally determines his own position toward them. Only after gaining such a fundamental worldview and the resulting stability of his own perspective regarding the individual questions of the day should or may the man, who is now at least inwardly mature, participate in the political leadership of the community.

If this is otherwise, he runs the risk of one day having to either change his previous position on essential questions or, against his better knowledge and insight, stick to a view that reason and conviction have long since rejected. In the former case, this is very painful for him personally, since he, now being wavering himself, can no longer rightly expect that the faith of his followers should belong to him with the same unshakable firmness as before; for those led by him, however, such a collapse of the leader means helplessness and not infrequently the feeling of a certain shame toward those they have hitherto fought. In the second case, however, what we see so often today occurs: to the same extent that the leader no longer believes in what he has said, his de-

defense is hollow and shallow, but in return, base in the choice of means. While he himself no longer thinks of seriously standing up for his political revelations (one does not die for something in which one does not believe oneself), the demands on his followers, however, become ever greater and more shameless in this very same proportion, until he finally sacrifices the last remnant of the leader to end up as a "politician"; that is, among that sort of people whose only real conviction is a lack of conviction, paired with insolent intrusiveness and an often shamelessly developed art of lying.

If such a fellow then, to the misfortune of decent humanity, also ends up in a parliament, one should know from the very beginning that the essence of politics for him consists only in the heroic struggle for the permanent possession of this milk bottle of his life and his family. The more wife and child depend on it, the more tenaciously he will fight for his mandate. Any other person with political instincts is thereby already his personal enemy; in every new movement he scents the possible beginning of his end, and in every greater man, the danger likely to threaten from him once again.

I shall come to speak of this sort of parliamentary bedbug more thoroughly later on.

The thirty-year-old, too, will still have much to learn in the course of his life, but this will only be a supplement and a filling-in of the framework presented to him by the fundamentally adopted worldview. His learning will no longer be a fundamental re-learning, but an addition to his knowledge, and his followers will not have to swallow the apprehensive feeling of having been wrongly instructed by him hitherto, but on the contrary: the visible organic growth of the leader will give them satisfaction, since his learning signifies only the deepening of their own doctrine. This, however, is in their eyes a proof of the correctness of their previous views.

A leader who is forced to abandon the platform of his general worldview because he has recognized it as false, acts with decency only if he is prepared to draw the ultimate consequence upon realizing his previously erroneous insight. In such a case, he must at the very least renounce the public exercise of any further political activity. For since he has already once fallen into error regarding fundamental insights, the possibility exists a second time as well. In no case, however, does he still have the right to continue to claim the trust of his fellow citizens or even to demand such a thing.

How little such decency is met today, however, is evidenced only by the general depravity of the rabble that currently feels called upon to "dabble" in politics.

Hardly one of them is chosen for it.

I had once been careful not to make any public appearances, although I believe I had occupied myself more with politics than so many others. Only in the smallest circles did I speak of what inwardly moved or attracted me. This speaking within the narrowest framework had much good for it: I thus learned perhaps less how to "give speeches," but instead got to know people in their often infinitely primitive views and objections. In doing so, I trained myself, without losing time or opportunity, for my own further education. The opportunity for this was certainly nowhere in Germany as favorable as it was in Vienna at that time.

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General political thinking in the old Danube Monarchy was initially greater and more encompassing in its scope than in the old Germany of the same time—parts of Prussia, Hamburg, and the North Sea coast excepted. In this case, however, I understand by the designation "Austria" that territory of the great Habsburg Empire which, as a result of its German settlement, was in every respect not only the historical...

was the reason for the formation of this state at all, but that its population also exclusively possessed that strength which was able to bestow inner cultural life upon this politically artificial creation for many centuries. The more time progressed, the more the existence and future of this state depended precisely on the preservation of this germ cell of the empire.

If the old hereditary lands were the heart of the empire, which repeatedly drove fresh blood into the circulation of state and cultural life, then Vienna was brain and will at the same time.

Even in its outward appearance, one could attribute to this city the power to throne as a unifying queen in such a conglomerate of peoples, so as to let the evil signs of aging of the whole be forgotten through the splendor of its own beauty.

No matter how violently the empire might twitch in its interior under the bloody struggles of the individual nationalities, foreign countries, and especially Germany, saw only the amiable image of this city. The deception was all the greater as Vienna seemed to take perhaps its last and greatest visible upswing during this time. Under the rule of a truly brilliant mayor, the venerable residence of the emperors of the old empire awoke once more to a wondrous young life. The last great German that the colonist people of the Ostmark brought forth from its ranks did not officially count among the so-called "statesmen"; but as this Dr. Lueger, as mayor of the "imperial capital and residence city" of Vienna, conjured up one unheard-of achievement after another in, one might say, all areas of municipal economic and cultural policy, he strengthened the heart of the entire empire and, via this detour, became a greater statesman than the so-called "diplomats" all were together at that time.

If the conglomerate of peoples called "Austria" finally perished nonetheless, this does not speak in the least against the political ability of Germandom in the old Ostmark, but was the inevitable result of the impossibility of being able to maintain a fifty-million-state of various nations in the long run with ten million people, if specific prerequisites were not provided in a timely manner.

The German-Austrian thought more than grandly. He was always accustomed to living within the framework of a great empire and had never lost the feeling for the tasks associated with it. He was the only one in this state who saw the imperial border beyond the borders of the narrower crown lands; indeed, when fate was finally to separate him from the common fatherland, he still tried to master the enormous task and to preserve for Germandom what the fathers had once wrested from the East in endless struggles. Whereby it must still be considered that this could only happen with divided strength; for the heart and memory of the best never ceased to feel for the common motherland, and only a remnant remained for the home.

Even the general horizon of the German-Austrian was a relatively wide one. His economic relations often encompassed almost the entire multifaceted empire. Almost all truly large enterprises were in his hands; the leading personnel of technicians and officials were for the most part provided by him. But he was also the carrier of foreign trade, insofar as Jewry had not laid its hand on this most inherent domain. Politically, he alone still held the state together. Even the time of service in the army took him far beyond the narrow borders of home. The German-Austrian recruit perhaps joined a German regiment, but the regiment itself could just as easily be located in Herzegovina as in Vienna or Galicia. The officer corps was still German, the higher civil service predominant. Finally, art and science were German. Apart from the kitsch of recent artistic development, the production of which, however, might also be readily possible for a Negro people, the owner and also the disseminator of true artistic sentiment was the German alone. In music, architecture, sculpture, and painting, Vienna was the wellspring that supplied the entire Dual Monarchy in inexhaustible abundance, without ever visibly drying up itself.

Germandom was finally still the bearer of the entire foreign policy, if one disregards the few Hungarians in terms of number.

Nevertheless, every attempt to preserve this empire was in vain, as the most essential prerequisite was missing.

For the Austrian multi-national state, there was only one possibility to overcome the centrifugal forces among the individual nations. The state was either governed centrally and thus also organized internally in the same way, or it was not conceivable at all.

In various lucid moments, this insight also reached the "Highest" authority, only to be forgotten again mostly after a short time or set aside as difficult to implement. Every thought of a more federative design of the empire was bound to fail as a result of the lack of a strong state germ cell of superior power. Added to this were the substantially different internal prerequisites of the Austrian state compared to the German Empire of Bismarckian design. In Germany, it was only a matter of overcoming political traditions, since a common cultural basis was always present. Above all, the Empire, apart from small foreign fragments, possessed only members of one people.

In Austria, the circumstances were reversed.

Here, the political memory of their own greatness among the individual lands, apart from Hungary, either disappeared entirely or was erased by the sponge of time, or at least blurred and indistinct. Instead, in the age of the principle of nationalities, ethnic forces developed in the various lands, the overcoming of which was bound to become difficult to the same extent as on the periphery...

of the monarchy began to form nation-states, whose titular nations, racially related to or identical with the individual Austrian ethnic fragments, were now for their part able to exert more power of attraction than was conversely still possible for the German-Austrians.

Even Vienna could not withstand this struggle in the long run.

With the development of Budapest into a metropolis, it had for the first time received a rival whose task was no longer the consolidation of the monarchy as a whole, but rather the strengthening of one part of it. In a short time, Prague was to follow the example, then Lemberg, Laibach, etc. With the rise of these former provincial towns to national capitals of individual lands, centers for an increasingly independent cultural life of the same were now also formed. Only through this, however, did the ethnic-political instincts receive their spiritual foundation and deepening. The time had to come when these driving forces of the individual peoples became mightier than the power of common interests, and then it was all over for Austria.

This development could be observed very clearly in its course since the death of Joseph II. Its speed was dependent on a series of factors, which partly lay within the monarchy itself, but partly were the result of the respective foreign policy position of the empire.

If one wanted to seriously take up and fight through the struggle for the preservation of this state, then only a centralization as ruthless as it was persistent could lead to the goal. But then, above all, the purely formal togetherness had to be emphasized through the fundamental determination of a uniform state language, and the administration had to be given the technical aid without which a unified state simply cannot exist. Likewise, only then could a uniform state mentality be bred in the long run through school and instruction. This was not possible in ten or to be achieved in twenty years; rather, one had to reckon in centuries, as in all colonial questions, perseverance is of greater importance than the energy of the moment.

That the administration as well as the political leadership must then be conducted with the strictest uniformity goes without saying.

It was now infinitely instructive for me to determine why this did not happen, or better, why this was not done. Only the one guilty of this omission was the one guilty of the collapse of the Empire.

The old Austria was more dependent on the greatness of its leadership than any other state. For here the foundation of the national state was missing, which still possesses a power of preservation in its ethnic basis even if the leadership as such fails ever so much. The unified national state, by virtue of the natural inertia of its inhabitants and the resistance associated with it, can sometimes endure astonishingly long periods of the worst administration or leadership without perishing internally. It is then often as if there were no longer any life in such a body, as if it were dead and withered, until suddenly the one presumed dead rises again and now gives the rest of humanity wondrous signs of its indestructible vitality.

But it is different with an empire which, composed of unequal peoples, is held together not by common blood, but rather by a common fist. Here, every weakness of leadership will not lead to a hibernation of the state, but will give cause for an awakening of all those individual instincts that are present by blood, without being able to unfold in times of a dominant will. Only through centuries of common education, through common tradition, common interests, etc., can this danger be mitigated. Therefore, such state structures, the younger they are, will depend all the more on the greatness of the leadership, indeed as the work of towering men of power and

Spiritual heroes have often seen their work crumble again after the death of the lonely, great founder. But even after centuries, these dangers cannot be considered overcome; they only slumber, often to awaken quite suddenly as soon as the weakness of the common leadership and the power of education, the sublimity of all tradition, is no longer able to overcome the momentum of the individual life-urge of the various tribes.

To have failed to understand this is perhaps the tragic guilt of the House of Habsburg.

For only one among them did fate once more hold the torch high over the future of his country, and then it was extinguished forever.

Joseph II, Holy Roman Emperor of the German Nation, saw in fleeting anxiety how his house, pushed to the outermost edge of the empire, would one day have to disappear in the whirlpool of a Babylon of nations, if what the fathers had neglected were not made good at the last hour. With superhuman strength, the "Friend of Mankind" braced himself against the negligence of his ancestors and sought to catch up in a decade what centuries before had been missed. Had he been granted only forty years for his work, and had only two generations after him continued the work begun in the same way, the miracle would probably have succeeded. But when he died after barely ten years of reign, worn out in body and soul, his work sank with him into the grave, never to be awakened again, to sleep forever in the Capuchin Crypt.

His successors were equal to the task neither intellectually nor in terms of will.

As the first revolutionary storm signs of a new era flashed through Europe, Austria also slowly began to catch fire. However, when the blaze finally broke out, the embers were fanned less by social, societal, or even general political causes than by driving forces of ethnic origin.

The Revolution of 1848 could have been a class struggle everywhere, but in Austria it was already the beginning of a new racial conflict. By placing himself at the service of the revolutionary uprising at that time, the German, forgetting or not recognizing this origin, thereby sealed his own fate. He helped to awaken the spirit of Western democracy, which in a short time deprived him of the foundations of his own existence.

With the formation of a parliamentary representative body without the prior establishment and consolidation of a common state language, the foundation stone for the end of the supremacy of Germandom in the Monarchy had been laid. From that moment on, however, the state itself was also lost. Everything that followed was merely the historical liquidation of an empire.

To follow this dissolution was as shattering as it was instructive. In a thousand and yet another thousand forms, this execution of a historical judgment took place in detail. That a large part of the people walked blindly through the phenomena of decay only proved the will of the gods for Austria's destruction.

I do not wish to lose myself in details here, as this is not the task of this book. I only want to draw into the circle of a more thorough consideration those processes which, as constant causes of the decay of peoples and states, also possess significance for our present time, and which finally helped to secure the foundations of my political way of thinking.

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Among the institutions that could most clearly demonstrate the erosion of the Austrian Monarchy even to the philistine not otherwise blessed with sharp eyes, stood at the forefront the one that should have called the most strength its own – the parliament or, as it was called in Austria, the Reichsrat.

Evidently, the model for this body was located in England, the land of classic "democracy." From there, the entire blissful arrangement was adopted and transplanted to Vienna as unchanged as possible.

In the House of Deputies and the House of Lords, the English bicameral system celebrated its resurrection. Only the "Houses" themselves were somewhat different. When Barry once let his Palace of Parliament grow out of the waters of the Thames, he reached into the history of the British Empire and drew from it the ornamentation for the 1,200 niches, consoles, and columns of his magnificent building. Through sculpture and painting, the House of Lords and the House of the People thus became a temple of fame for the nation.

Here came the first difficulty for Vienna. For when the Dane Hansen had completed the last gables on the marble house of the new popular representation, nothing remained for him to do for decoration but to attempt borrowings from antiquity. Roman and Greek statesmen and philosophers now beautify this theater building of "Western democracy," and in symbolic irony, the quadrigae atop the two houses pull apart toward the four cardinal directions, thus giving the best outward expression to the internal activities of that time.

The "nationalities" had forbidden, as an insult and provocation, that Austrian history be glorified in this work, just as in the Reich itself, it was only under the thunder of World War battles that one dared to dedicate Wallot's Reichstag building to the German people by inscription.

When I, not yet twenty years old, went for the first time into the magnificent building on the Franzensring to attend a session of the House of Deputies as a spectator and listener, I was seized by the most conflicting feelings.

I had always hated parliament, but by no means as an institution in itself. On the contrary, as a person with liberal sentiments, I could not imagine any other...

possibility of government at all, for the thought of any kind of dictatorship, given my attitude toward the House of Habsburg, would have seemed to me a crime against freedom and against all reason.

It contributed not a little that, as a young man, as a result of my extensive newspaper reading, without my even suspecting it myself, a certain admiration for the English Parliament had been instilled in me, which I was not able to lose so easily. The dignity with which even the House of Commons there attended to its tasks (as our press knew how to describe so beautifully) impressed me mightily. Could there even be a more sublime form of self-government for a people?

Precisely for that reason, however, I was an enemy of the Austrian Parliament. I considered the form of its entire appearance unworthy of the great model. But then the following was added:

The fate of Germandom in the Austrian state was dependent on its position in the Reichsrat. Until the introduction of universal and secret suffrage, there was still a German majority in Parliament, albeit an insignificant one. Even this state of affairs was precarious, since, given the nationally unreliable attitude of the Social Democracy, the latter—in order not to alienate its followers among the individual foreign peoples—always acted against German interests in critical questions concerning Germandom. Even then, Social Democracy could not be regarded as a German party.

With the introduction of universal suffrage, however, German superiority ceased even in purely numerical terms. Now there was no longer any obstacle in the way of the further de-Germanization of the state.

For this reason, the national instinct for self-preservation already made me have little love for a popular representation in which Germandom was always betrayed instead of being represented. However, these were deficiencies which, like so many other things, were not to be attributed to the matter itself, but to the Austrian state. I previously believed that with a restoration of the German majority in the representative bodies, there would no longer be any reason for a fundamental stance against it, as long as the old state still existed at all.

With this inner disposition, I entered for the first time the rooms that were as hallowed as they were controversial. However, they were hallowed to me only through the sublime beauty of the magnificent building. A Hellenic masterpiece on German soil.

But in how short a time was I outraged when I saw the wretched spectacle that now unfolded before my eyes!

A few hundred of these representatives of the people were present, who were just then having to take a position on a question of important economic significance.

This first day alone was enough to stimulate my thoughts for weeks to come.

The intellectual content of what was presented was at a truly depressing "height," insofar as one could understand the chatter at all; for some of the gentlemen did not speak German, but in their Slavic mother tongues or, rather, dialects. What I had known until then only from reading the newspapers, I now had the opportunity to hear with my own ears. A gesturing mass, screaming in all keys at once, wildly agitated, and above them a harmless old uncle who, in the sweat of his brow, endeavored to restore the dignity of the House by vigorously swinging a bell and by calls that were sometimes soothing, sometimes admonishingly serious.

I had to laugh.

A few weeks later I was in the House again. The picture had changed beyond recognition. The hall was completely empty. They were sleeping down there. A few deputies were in their seats and yawning at each other; one was "speaking." A Vice President of the House was present and looked into the hall with evident boredom.

The first doubts began to arise in me. Now I went there, whenever time offered me any possibility, again and again, and quietly and attentively observed the scene at hand, listened to the speeches as far as they could be understood, studied the more or less intelligent faces of these chosen ones of the nations of this sad state—and then gradually formed my own thoughts.

A year of this quiet observation was enough to completely change or eliminate my previous view of the nature of this institution. My inner self no longer took a stand against the misshapen form that this idea had assumed in Austria; no, now I could no longer recognize parliament as such. Until then, I saw the misfortune of the Austrian parliament in the lack of a German majority, but now I saw the doom in the whole manner and nature of this institution altogether.

A whole series of questions arose in me at that time. I began to familiarize myself with the democratic principle of majority rule as the basis of this entire institution, but I also paid no less attention to the intellectual and moral values of the gentlemen who, as the chosen ones of the nations, were to serve this purpose.

Thus, I came to know the institutions and their representatives at the same time.

In the course of a few years, through recognition and insight, the type of the most dignified phenomenon of modern times formed in my mind with plastic clarity: the parliamentarian. He began to impress himself upon me in a form that was never again subject to any essential change.

This time, too, the visual instruction of practical reality had saved me from suffocating in a theory that at first glance appears seductive to so many, but which must nevertheless be counted among the symptoms of decay of mankind.

The democracy of the West today is the precursor of Marxism, which would be altogether unthinkable without it. It is democracy which first provides the breeding ground for this world plague, upon which the epidemic is then able to spread. In its external form of expression, parliamentarianism, it created for itself a "monstrosity of filth and fire," in which, unfortunately, the "fire" seems to me to have burnt out at the moment.

I must be more than grateful to fate that it presented this question to me for examination while I was still in Vienna, for I fear that in Germany at that time I would have made the answer too easy for myself. Had I first become acquainted with the ridiculousness of this institution called "Parliament" in Berlin, I might perhaps have fallen into the opposite extreme and, not without seemingly good reason, placed myself on the side of those who saw the salvation of the people and the Reich exclusively in the promotion of the power of the Imperial idea alone, and thus nevertheless stood both alien and blind toward the times and the people.

In Austria, this was impossible.

Here one could not so easily fall from one error into another. If the Parliament was worthless, then the Habsburgs were worth even less—in any case, no more. The rejection of "parliamentarianism" alone was not enough here; for then the question still remained open: What now? The rejection and elimination of the Imperial Council as the sole governing authority would have left only the House of Habsburg, a thought that was particularly unbearable to me.

The difficulty of this particular case led me to a more thorough consideration of the problem in itself than would otherwise likely have occurred at such a young age. What gave me pause first and foremost was the obvious lack of any responsibility on the part of a single person.

The Parliament makes some resolution, the consequences of which may be ever so disastrous—no one bears the

Responsibility, no one can ever be held to account. For does it mean taking responsibility if, after a collapse like no other, the guilty government resigns? Or the coalition changes, or even the parliament dissolves?

Can a wavering majority of people ever be made responsible at all?

Is not the thought of any responsibility bound to the person?

But can one practically make the leading person of a government liable for actions whose development and execution are to be placed exclusively to the account of the will and the inclination of a multitude of people?

Or: Is the task of the leading statesman not seen, instead of in the birth of the creative thought or plan itself, rather only in the art of making the genius of his designs understandable to a flock of sheep consisting of empty-heads, in order then to beg for their kind approval?

Is this the criterion of the statesman, that he possesses the art of persuasion in just as high a measure as that of statesmanlike wisdom in grasping great guidelines or decisions?

Is the inability of a leader proven by the fact that he does not succeed in winning over the majority of a crowd, lumped together by more or less clean accidents, for a specific idea?

Indeed, has this crowd ever even understood an idea before success became the herald of its greatness?

Is not every stroke of genius in this world the visible protest of genius against the inertia of the masses?

But what should the statesman do who does not succeed in wheedling the favor of this crowd for his plans?

Should he buy it?

Or should he, in view of the stupidity of his fellow citizens, renounce the execution of those tasks recognized as vital necessities—

renounce known tasks, withdraw, or should he remain nonetheless?

Does not the real character in such a case come into an insoluble conflict between insight and decency or, better said, honest conviction?

Where lies the boundary here, which separates the duty toward the general public from the obligation of personal honor?

Must not every truthful leader refuse to be degraded in such a way into a political jobber?

And must not, conversely, every jobber now feel called upon to "dabble" in politics, since the ultimate responsibility is never borne by him, but by some intangible crowd?

Must not our parliamentary majority principle lead to the demolition of the leadership concept altogether?

But does one believe that the progress of this world stems perhaps from the brain of majorities and not from the heads of individuals?

Or does one think, perhaps, to be able to dispense with this prerequisite of human culture for the future?

Does it not, on the contrary, seem more necessary today than ever?

In that the parliamentary principle of majority determination rejects the authority of the person and puts in its place the number of the respective crowd, it sins against the aristocratic fundamental idea of nature, whereby, however, its view of nobility need in no way be embodied, for instance, in the current decadence of our upper ten thousand.

What devastations this institution of modern democratic parliamentary rule causes, the reader of Jewish newspapers can certainly hardly imagine, unless he has learned to think and examine independently. It is primarily the cause for the incredible flooding of the entire political life with the most inferior phenomena of our days. As much as the true leaders will withdraw from a political activity which, for the most part, cannot consist of creative achievement and work, but rather in haggling and bargaining for the favor of a majority; so much will this very activity correspond to the small mind and consequently attract it.

The more dwarfish such a leather merchant is today in spirit and ability, the more clearly his own insight brings to his consciousness the wretchedness of his actual appearance, the more he will praise a system that does not demand from him the strength and genius of a giant at all, but rather makes do with the craftiness of a village mayor—indeed, prefers such a kind of wisdom to that of a Pericles. At the same time, such a simpleton never needs to torment himself with the responsibility for his actions. He is thoroughly relieved of this worry for the simple reason that he knows exactly that, no matter what the result of his "statesmanlike" bungling may be, his end has long since been written in the stars: one day he will have to vacate his place for another, equally great spirit. For this is one of the characteristics of such a decline: that the number of great statesmen increases in the same measure as the standard of the individual shrinks. However, with increasing dependence on parliamentary majorities, he must necessarily become smaller and smaller, since great spirits will refuse to be the henchmen of stupid incompetents and babblers, just as, conversely, the representatives of the majority—that is, of stupidity—hate nothing more intensely than a superior head.

It is always a comforting feeling for such a council assembly of Schilda town councilors to know a leader at the head whose wisdom corresponds to the level of those present: for in this way everyone has the joy of being able to let his own spirit flash in between from time to time—and above all, if Hinze can be a master, why then not Peter as well?

Most intimately, however, this invention of democracy corresponds to a quality which has recently grown into a true disgrace, namely the cowardice of a large part of our so-called "leadership." What luck to be able to hide behind the coattails of a so-called majority in all real decisions of any significance!

One only has to look at such a political highwayman, how anxiously he begs for the approval of the majority for every task, in order to secure the necessary accomplices and thus be able to unload the responsibility at any time. This, however, is the main reason why such a type of political activity is disgusting and hateful to an inwardly decent and therefore also courageous man, while it attracts all wretched characters—and whoever does not want to personally take responsibility for his actions, but instead seeks cover, is a cowardly scoundrel.

But as soon as the leaders of a nation consist of such miserable wretches, it will soon take a bitter revenge. One will then no longer find the courage for any decisive action, will rather accept every dishonor, no matter how shameful, than to pull oneself together for a decision; for there is no one left who is ready on his own to stake his person and his head for the execution of a ruthless decision.

For one thing should and must never be forgotten: the majority can never replace the man here either. It is not only always a representative of stupidity, but also of cowardice. And just as a hundred empty heads do not make a wise man, a heroic decision does not come from a hundred cowards.

The lighter the responsibility of the individual leader is, however, the more the number of those will grow who, even with the most miserable dimensions, will feel called upon to likewise place their immortal powers at the disposal of the nation. Yes, they will no longer even ex—

can wait to finally have their turn; they stand in a long column and count with painful regret the number of those waiting ahead of them, almost calculating the hour that, by human estimation, will bring them to their move. Therefore, they long for every change in the office they envision for themselves and are grateful for every scandal that thins the ranks before them. If, however, someone refuses to yield from the position they have taken, they perceive this almost as a breach of a sacred agreement of mutual solidarity. Then they become malicious and do not rest until the impudent one, finally toppled, makes his warm seat available to the public again. He will not return to this position so quickly. For as soon as one of these creatures is forced to give up their post, they will immediately attempt to push themselves back into the general line of those waiting, unless the ensuing shouting and insults from the others prevent them from doing so.

The consequence of all this is the alarmingly rapid turnover in the most important positions and offices of such a state system, a result that is unfavorable in every case, but sometimes acts as nothing short of catastrophic. For now, not only will the fool and the incompetent fall victim to this custom, but even more so the true leader, if fate manages to place such a person in this position at all. As soon as this is recognized, a united front for defense will immediately form, especially if such a mind, without originating from their own ranks, nevertheless dares to intrude into this sublime society. Fundamentally, they only want to be among themselves and hate as a common enemy any skull that might perhaps yield a "one" among the "zeros." And in this regard, the instinct is all the sharper the more it may be lacking in everything else.

Thus, the consequence will be an increasingly widespread spiritual impoverishment of the leading classes. What there—

what results for the nation and the state, anyone can judge for themselves, provided they do not personally belong to this species of "leaders."

Old Austria already possessed the parliamentary regime in its purest form.

To be sure, the respective prime ministers were appointed by the Emperor and King, but this appointment itself was nothing more than the execution of parliamentary will. The haggling and bargaining for individual ministerial posts, however, was already Western democracy of the purest water. The results also corresponded to the principles applied. In particular, the change of individual personalities occurred at ever shorter intervals, finally becoming a veritable hunt. To the same extent, the stature of the respective "statesmen" shrank more and more, until finally only that small type of parliamentary jobber remained, whose statesmanlike value was measured and recognized only by the ability with which they succeeded in patching together the respective coalitions—that is, in carrying out those smallest of political commercial transactions which alone are capable of justifying the suitability of these representatives of the people for practical work.

Thus, the Vienna school was able to provide one with the best impressions in this field.

What attracted me no less was the comparison between the existing ability and knowledge of these representatives of the people and the tasks that awaited them. Of course, one then had to occupy oneself more closely, whether one wanted to or not, with the mental horizon of these chosen ones of the nations themselves, whereby it was then no longer possible to avoid giving the necessary attention to the processes that lead to the discovery of these magnificent phenomena of our public life.

Also the manner in which the real ability of these gentlemen was placed in the service of the fatherland and applied, that is, the technical process of their emactivity, was worthy of being thoroughly investigated and examined.

The entire picture of parliamentary life became all the more miserable the more one resolved to penetrate into these internal conditions, to study individuals and professional foundations with ruthlessly sharp objectivity. Yes, this is very much indicated toward an institution that feels compelled, through its representatives, to point in every second sentence to "objectivity" as the only just basis for any examination and position-taking at all. One should examine these gentlemen themselves and the laws of their bitter existence, and one will only be amazed at the result.

There is no principle at all that, viewed objectively, is as incorrect as the parliamentary one.

One may even completely disregard the manner in which the election of the gentlemen representatives of the people takes place, how they attain their office and their new dignity at all. That this involves only a truly tiny fraction of the fulfillment of a general wish or even a need will be immediately apparent to anyone who realizes that the political understanding of the broad mass is not developed enough to arrive at certain general political views on its own and to select the persons in question for them.

What we always designate with the word "public opinion" rests only to a small part on self-gained experiences or even insights of individuals, but for the greatest part on the idea that is evoked by an often quite infinitely penetrating and persistent kind of so-called "enlightenment."

Just as the denominational attitude is the result of education and only the religious need itself slumbers within the human being, so too the political opinion of the mass represents only the final result of a sometimes quite incredibly stubborn and thorough processing of soul and mind.

By far the most powerful share in political "education," which in this case is very aptly described by the word propaganda, falls to the account of the press. It primarily handles this "enlightenment work" and thus represents a kind of school for adults. However, this instruction is not in the hands of the state, but in the claws of forces that are, in part, of highly inferior quality. Especially in Vienna, even as a young man, I had the very best opportunity to truly get to know the owners and intellectual manufacturers of this mass-education machine. At the beginning, I was amazed at how quickly this sinister great power within the state was able to produce a certain opinion, even if it involved the complete falsification of existing internal desires and views of the general public. In a few days, a ridiculous matter was turned into a significant state action, while conversely, at the same time, vital problems fell into general oblivion, or rather were simply stolen from the memory and recollection of the masses.

Thus, in the course of a few weeks, it was possible to conjure names out of nothing, to attach incredible hopes of the broad public to them, and even to provide them with a popularity that is often not granted to a truly significant man in his entire life; names that a month before no one had even heard of, while at the same time old, proven figures of state or other public life, in the best of health, simply died off for the contemporary world or were showered with such wretched insults that their name soon threatened to become a symbol of a very specific baseness or villainy. One must [know] this infamous Jewish way of suddenly, and as if by a magic spell, pouring buckets of filth consisting of the lowest slanders and character assassinations from a hundred different places simultaneously over the clean clothes of honest men to pour, to study, in order to be able to properly appreciate the entire danger of these press-scoundrels.

There is then nothing that would not be suitable for such a spiritual robber-knight to achieve his clean goals.

He will then snoop into the most secret family matters and will not rest until his truffle-hunting instinct unearths some wretched incident, which is then destined to finish off the unfortunate victim. But if absolutely nothing is found in either public or private life, even with the most thorough sniffing out, then such a fellow simply resorts to slander in the firm conviction that not only does something always stick in and of itself, even with a thousandfold revocation, but that as a result of the hundredfold repetition, which the character assassination immediately finds through all his other accomplices, a struggle by the victim against it is in most cases not possible at all; whereby this pack of rascals never undertakes anything out of motives such as might be credible or at least understandable for the rest of humanity. God forbid! While such a rogue attacks the dear fellow world in the most villainous manner, this cuttlefish wraps himself in a true cloud of integrity and unctuous phrases, chatters about "journalistic duty" and similar lying stuff, and even goes so far as to prattle at meetings and congresses—occasions that see this plague gathered in larger numbers—about a very special, namely journalistic "honor," which the assembled rabble then solemnly confirms to each other.

But more than two-thirds of this pack manufactures the so-called "public opinion," from whose foam the parliamentary Aphrodite then emerges.

To correctly describe this process and to represent it in all its mendacious untruthfulness, one would have to write volumes. However, even if one disregards that entirely and only considers the given product along with its activity considered, it seems to me sufficient to allow the objective madness of this institution to dawn even upon the most devout mind.

One will understand this human confusion, which is as nonsensical as it is dangerous, most readily and also most easily as soon as one compares democratic parliamentarianism with a true Germanic democracy.

The remarkable thing about the former lies in the fact that a number of, let us say, five hundred men, or more recently women as well, are elected, who are now responsible for making the final decision in everything and anything. They are thus practically the government alone; for even if a cabinet is elected by them that handles the conduct of state affairs externally, it is nevertheless only there for appearance's sake. In reality, this so-called government cannot take a single step without first having obtained the approval of the general assembly. However, it can therefore not be held responsible for anything at all, since the final decision never lies with it, but with the majority of the parliament. In every case, it is only the executor of the respective will of the majority. One could actually only judge its political ability by the art with which it understands how to either adapt itself to the will of the majority or to draw the majority over to its side. It thereby sinks, however, from the height of an actual government down to a beggar before the respective majority. Indeed, its most urgent task now consists solely in securing the favor of the existing majority from case to case or in undertaking the formation of a new, more favorably inclined one. If this succeeds, then it may continue to "govern" for a little while longer; if it does not succeed, then it can go. The correctness of its intentions in and of themselves plays no role at all in this.

With this, however, all responsibility is practically eliminated.

The consequences to which this leads are already evident from a very simple observation:

The internal composition of the five hundred elected representatives of the people, according to profession or even according to the abilities of the individuals, results in a picture that is as fragmented as it is usually pitiful. For one surely will not believe that these chosen ones of the nation are also equally chosen ones of the spirit or even just of the intellect! It is to be hoped that one will not think that statesmen grow by the hundreds out of the ballots of a constituency that is anything but brilliant. In general, one cannot oppose the nonsense sharply enough that geniuses would be born from general elections. Firstly, in a nation, there is a real statesman only once in a blue moon and not nearly a hundred or more at once; and secondly, the aversion of the masses toward any outstanding genius is almost instinctive. A camel is more likely to go through the eye of a needle than a great man is "discovered" through an election.

What truly towers above the normal measure of the broad average usually tends to announce itself personally in world history.

But as it is, five hundred people of more than modest proportions vote on the most important concerns of the nation, appoint governments which then, in every single case and every specific question, have to obtain the approval of the illustrious assembly; thus, politics is actually made by five hundred.

And that is usually what it looks like.

But even leaving the genius of these representatives of the people entirely out of the game, consider how diverse the nature of the problems are that await settlement, in what widely separated fields solutions and decisions must be made, and one will probably understand how unsuitable a government institution must be for this, which grants the final right of determination to a

...transfers to a mass assembly of people, of which only a tiny fraction ever possesses knowledge and experience in the matter at hand. The most important economic measures are thus submitted to a forum where only a tenth of its members can demonstrate any economic training. This means nothing other than placing the final decision on a matter into the hands of men who completely lack any prerequisite for it.

But it is the same with every other question as well. The deciding factor will always be given by a majority of ignoramuses and incompetents, since the composition of this institution remains unchanged, while the problems under consideration extend to almost all areas of public life, and would therefore require a constant change of the deputies judging and deciding upon them. It is, after all, impossible to let the same people dispose over transport matters as, let us say, over a question of high foreign policy. These would have to be nothing less than pure universal geniuses, such as hardly appear in reality once in centuries. Unfortunately, however, these are mostly not "minds" at all, but rather dilettantes as limited as they are conceited and puffed up, a spiritual underworld of the worst kind. From this also comes the often incomprehensible lightheartedness with which these gentlemen talk and decide about things that would cause even the greatest minds anxious reflection. Measures of the gravest significance for the future of an entire state, indeed of a nation, are taken there as if a game of Schafkopf or Tarock—which would surely suit them better—lay on the table, and not the fate of a race.

Now it would certainly be unjust to believe that each of the deputies of such a parliament had always been burdened from the outset with such low feelings of responsibility.

No, not at all.

But by forcing the individual to take a stand on matters that are completely foreign to him, this system gradually corrupts the character. No one will have the courage to declare: "Gentlemen, I believe we understand nothing of this matter. I personally, at least, certainly do not." (Moreover, this would change very little, for such a brand of sincerity would surely not only remain entirely misunderstood, but one would hardly be allowed to spoil the general game by being such an honest ass.) However, anyone who knows human nature will understand that in such an illustrious society, no one likes to be the most foolish, and in certain circles, honesty is always synonymous with stupidity.

Thus, even the representative who is initially still honorable is inevitably thrown into this path of general mendacity and deceit. Precisely the conviction that the non-participation of a single individual would change absolutely nothing in the matter itself kills every honest impulse that might still arise in one or the other. He will eventually persuade himself that he personally is by no means the worst among the others and that by participating, he might perhaps prevent something worse.

Admittedly, the objection will be raised that although the individual deputy may not have a particular understanding of this or that matter, his position is indeed advised by the parliamentary group as the leader of the policy of the gentleman in question; this group has its special committees, which are more than sufficiently enlightened by experts anyway.

This seems to be correct at first glance. But the question would then be: why elect five hundred, if only a few possess the necessary wisdom to take a stand on the most important concerns?

Yes, therein lies the crux of the matter.

It is not the goal of our modern democratic parliamentarianism to form, for example, an assembly of wise men to form, but rather to assemble a crowd of mentally dependent nonentities, whose leadership according to certain guidelines becomes all the easier the greater the personal limitations of the individual are. Only in this way can party politics in today's evil sense be conducted. Only in this way, however, is it also possible for the actual wire-puller to always be able to remain cautiously in the background without ever being able to be held personally accountable. For now, every decision, no matter how harmful to the nation, will not be credited to the account of a visible scoundrel, but will be dumped onto the shoulders of an entire faction.

With this, however, all practical responsibility disappears, for this can only lie in the obligation of a single person and not in that of a parliamentary association of chatterboxes.

This institution can only be dear and precious to the most mendacious and, at the same time, to those shufflers who particularly shun the light of day, while it must be hated by every honest, straightforward fellow ready for personal responsibility.

Therefore, this type of democracy has also become the instrument of that race which, according to its inner goals, has to shun the sun, now and in all times of the future. Only the Jew can praise an institution that is as dirty and untruthful as he himself.

✦

In contrast to this stands the true Germanic democracy of the free election of the Leader, with his obligation to fully assume all responsibility for his actions and omissions. In it, there is no voting by a majority on individual questions, but only the determination of a single individual, who must then answer for his decision with his property and his life.

If one comes with the objection that under such conditions someone would hardly be found ready would be to devote his person to such a risky task, then only one thing must be answered:

Thank God, that is precisely the meaning of a Germanic democracy, that not just any unworthy social climber and moral shirker comes to the government of his fellow citizens by indirect routes, but that the sheer magnitude of the responsibility to be undertaken deters the incompetent and the weak.

Should such a fellow nevertheless attempt to sneak in, then he can be more easily found and ruthlessly confronted: Away with you, cowardly scoundrel! Withdraw your foot, you are soiling the steps; for the front ascent into the Pantheon of history is not for sneaks, but for heroes!

* * *

I had struggled through to this view after a two-year visit to the Vienna Parliament.

I did not go inside anymore after that.

The parliamentary regime bore a major share of the blame for the ever-increasing weakness of the old Habsburg state in recent years. The more the predominance of Germandom was broken through its influence, the more one fell victim to a system of playing the nationalities off against one another. In the Reichsrat itself, this was always at the expense of the Germans and thus, ultimately, at the expense of the Empire; for by the turn of the century, it must have been clear even to the simplest mind that the attractive power of the monarchy was no longer able to banish the secessionist efforts of the lands.

On the contrary.

The more meager the means became that the state had to expend for its preservation, the more the general contempt for it rose. Not only in Hungary, but also in the individual Slavic provinces, people no longer felt so identified with the common monarchy that its weakness was in any way perceived as their own shame—

was found. One was even more pleased about such signs of oncoming age; for one hoped more for its death than for its recovery.

In Parliament, the complete collapse was still prevented by a undignified yielding and fulfillment of every single extortion, which the German then had to pay for; in the country, by a most skillful playing off of the individual peoples against one another. However, the general line of development was nevertheless directed against the Germans. Especially since the succession to the throne began to grant Archduke Franz Ferdinand a certain influence, plan and order entered into the Czechization carried out from above. With all possible means, this future ruler of the Dual Monarchy tried to promote de-Germanization or to encourage it himself, or at least to cover for it. Purely German places were thus slowly but with unswerving certainty pushed into the mixed-language danger zone via the detour of the state bureaucracy. Even in Lower Austria, this process began to make increasingly rapid progress, and Vienna was already considered by many Czechs to be their largest city.

The guiding thought of this new Habsburg, whose family now spoke only Czech (the Archduke's wife, as a former Czech countess, was married to the prince morganatically; she came from circles whose anti-German stance formed a tradition), was to gradually establish a Slavic state in Central Europe, which was to be placed on a strictly Catholic basis for protection against orthodox Russia. Thus, as has often happened with the Habsburgs, religion was once again placed in the service of a purely political idea, and moreover one that—at least viewed from German points of view—was an unfortunate idea.

The result was more than sad in many respects.

Neither the House of Habsburg nor the Catholic Church received the expected reward.

Habsburg lost the throne, Rome a great state.

For by placing religious elements at the service of its political considerations, the Crown awakened a spirit which it had initially, to be sure, not deemed possible.

From the attempt to eradicate Germandom in the old Monarchy by all possible means, the Pan-German movement in Austria grew as an answer.

By the eighties, Manchester-style liberalism of a Jewish fundamental orientation had also reached its peak in the Monarchy, if not already passed it. The reaction against it, however, as with everything in old Austria, did not arise primarily from social perspectives, but from national ones. The instinct for self-preservation forced Germandom to defend itself in the sharpest form. Only secondarily did economic considerations slowly begin to gain a decisive influence. Thus, two party formations emerged from the general political muddle, one more nationally oriented, the other more socially oriented, but both highly interesting and instructive for the future.

After the depressing end of the war of 1866, the House of Habsburg entertained thoughts of retaliation on the battlefield. Only the death of Emperor Max of Mexico, whose unfortunate expedition was primarily attributed to Napoleon III, and whose abandonment by the Frenchman aroused general indignation, prevented a closer alignment with France. Nevertheless, Habsburg was lying in wait at that time. Had the war of 1870/71 not become such a unique triumphal procession, the Viennese court would probably have dared the bloody game for revenge for Sadowa after all. But when the first heroic tales arrived from the battlefields, wondrous and hard to believe, yet nevertheless true, the "wisest" of all monarchs recognized the inopportune hour and made the best of a bad situation.

The heroic struggle of these two years, however, had yet another...

accomplished a much more powerful miracle; for with the Habsburgs, the changed attitude never corresponded to the urge of the inner heart, but rather to the compulsion of circumstances. The German people in the old Ostmark, however, were swept away by the intoxication of victory of the Reich and saw with deep emotion the resurrection of the fathers' dream into the most glorious reality.

For one should not be deceived: the truly German-minded Austrian had, even at Königgrätz, recognized from those hours onward only the equally tragic but also necessary prerequisite for the re-establishment of a Reich that should no longer be afflicted with the foul marasmus of the old Confederation—and it no longer was. Above all, he learned most thoroughly in his own person to feel that the House of Habsburg had finally ended its historical mission and that the new Reich could only choose as Emperor one who, in his heroic disposition, had a worthy head to offer to the "Crown of the Rhine." How much more, however, was fate to be praised, since it carried out this enfeoffment on the scion of a house that, in Frederick the Great, had already once given the nation a shining symbol for upheaval forever in a blurred time.

But when, after the Great War, the House of Habsburg set about with the ultimate determination to slowly but inexorably exterminate the dangerous Germanhood of the Dual Monarchy (whose inner disposition could not be in doubt)—for this had to be the end of the policy of Slavization—the resistance of the people destined for the end flared up in a way that modern German history had not yet known.

For the first time, men of national and patriotic minds became rebels.

Rebels not against the nation, nor against the state in itself, but rebels against a type of government which, according to their conviction, had to lead to the downfall of their own ethnicity.

For the first time in modern German history commonplace dynastic patriotism differed from national love for the fatherland and the people.

It was the merit of the Pan-German movement of German-Austria in the nineties to have established in a clear and unambiguous manner that a state authority only has the right to demand respect and protection when it corresponds to the interests of a nationality, or at least does not inflict harm upon it.

State authority as an end in itself cannot exist, since in that case every tyranny on this earth would be unassailable and sacred.

If, through the instruments of governmental power, a nationality is being led toward its destruction, then the rebellion of every member of such a people is not only a right, but a duty.

The question, however, of when such a case exists is not decided by theoretical treatises, but by force and — success.

Since every governmental power naturally claims for itself the duty of preserving state authority, no matter how bad it may be and even if it betrays the interests of a nationality a thousand times over, the national instinct for self-preservation, in fighting down such a power to achieve freedom or independence, will have to use the same weapons with which the opponent attempts to maintain itself. The struggle will therefore be fought with "legal" means as long as the power to be overthrown also makes use of them; however, one must not shrink from illegal means if the oppressor also employs them.

In general, however, it should never be forgotten that the highest purpose of human existence is not the preservation of a state or even that of a government, but the preservation of their kind.

But if the kind itself is in danger of being oppressed or even eliminated, then the question of legality plays only a subordinate role. It may then be that the ruling power a thousand times over employs so-called uses "legal" means in its proceedings, the self-preservation instinct of the oppressed is nevertheless always the most sublime justification for their struggle with all weapons.

Only from the recognition of this sentence alone have the struggles for freedom against internal and also external enslavement of peoples on this earth been provided in such powerful historical examples.

Human rights overrule state law.

If, however, a people succumbs in its struggle for the rights of man, then it was simply found too light on the scales of fate for the happiness of preservation in the earthly world. For he who is not ready or able to fight for his existence, eternally just Providence has already determined his end.

The world is not there for cowardly peoples.

* * *

How easy it is for a tyranny, however, to drape itself in the mantle of a so-called "legality" was shown most clearly and insistently by the example of Austria.

The legal state authority at that time was based on the anti-German soil of the parliament with its non-German majorities—and the equally anti-German ruling house. In these two factors, the entire state authority was embodied. To want to change the lot of the German-Austrian people from this position was nonsense. According to the opinions of our worshipers of the only possible "legal" path and of state authority in itself, any resistance should have been omitted because it was not feasible by legal means. This, however, would have meant the end of the German people in the monarchy with compelling necessity—and indeed in a short time. In fact, Germandom was saved from this fate only by the collapse of this state alone.

The bespectacled theorist, of course, would still rather die for his doctrine than for his people.

Since men first create laws for themselves, he believes they exist later for the sake of these laws.

To have thoroughly cleared away this nonsense, to the horror of all theoretical sticklers for principle as well as other state fetish-islanders, was the merit of the Pan-German movement in Austria at that time.

While the Habsburgs attempted to attack Germandom by all possible means, this party attacked the "sublime" ruling house itself, and did so ruthlessly. For the first time, it applied the probe to this rotten state and opened the eyes of hundreds of thousands. It is its merit to have redeemed the magnificent concept of love for the fatherland from the embrace of this sorrowful dynasty.

Its following was extraordinarily large in the early period of its appearance, indeed it threatened to become a literal avalanche. However, the success did not last. When I came to Vienna, the movement had long since been outflanked by the Christian Social Party, which had meanwhile risen to power, and had been pushed down into almost complete insignificance.

This entire process of the rise and fall of the Pan-German movement on the one hand, and the unprecedented ascent of the Christian Social Party on the other, was to become of the deepest significance for me as a classic object of study.

When I came to Vienna, my sympathies were fully and entirely on the side of the Pan-German direction.

That they had the courage to raise the cry "Hail Hohenzollern" in Parliament impressed me as much as it pleased me; that they still regarded themselves as a merely temporarily separated component of the German Reich and let no moment pass without manifesting this publicly, awakened in me joyful confidence; that they ruthlessly showed their colors in all questions concerning Germandom and never allowed themselves to be drawn into compromises, seemed to me the only still viable path for the salvation of our people; but that the movement, after its initially so magnificent ascent, now sank so low, I could not understand. Even less, however, how the Christian Social Party was able to attain such enormous power during this same period. It had just then reached the pinnacle of its fame.

As I set about comparing both movements, fate, accelerated by my otherwise miserable situation, gave me the best instruction for understanding the causes of this riddle.

I begin my weighing first with the two men who are to be regarded as the leaders and founders of the two parties: Georg v. Schönerer and Dr. Karl Lueger. Taken purely humanly, they both tower far above the framework and scale of so-called parliamentary figures. In the swamp of general political corruption, their entire lives remained pure and untouchable. Nevertheless, my personal sympathy lay first on the side of the Pan-German Schönerer, only gradually turning toward the Christian Social leader as well.

Compared in their abilities, Schönerer seemed to me even then to be the better and more thorough thinker in fundamental problems. He recognized the inevitable end of the Austrian state more correctly and clearly than anyone else. Had his warnings against the Habsburg monarchy been better heard, especially in the Reich, the misfortune of Germany's World War against all of Europe would never have come.

But while Schönerer recognized the problems according to their inner essence, he was all the more mistaken about people.

Here again lay the strength of Dr. Lueger.

The latter was a rare judge of character who took particular care not to see people as better than they actually are. Therefore, he reckoned more with the real possibilities of life, while Schönerer showed little understanding for this. Everything the Pan-German thought was, taken theoretically, correct; but because the strength and understanding were lacking to put the theoretical re-to convey knowledge to the masses, to bring it into such a form that it corresponded to the receptivity of the broad populace—which is and remains limited—then all knowledge was merely visionary wisdom, without ever being able to become a practical reality.

This lack of actual knowledge of human nature, however, led in the further course of events to an error in estimating the strength of entire movements as well as ancient institutions.

Finally, Schönerer did indeed recognize that these were questions of worldview, but he did not grasp that only the broad masses of a people are primarily suited to be the carriers of such almost religious convictions.

Unfortunately, he saw only to a very small extent the extraordinary limitation of the will to fight of the so-called "bourgeois" circles, already as a result of their economic position, which makes the individual fear losing too much and therefore holds him back more.

And yet, in general, a worldview will only have a prospect of victory if the broad mass declares itself ready as the carrier of the new doctrine to take the necessary struggle upon itself.

From this lack of understanding for the significance of the lower classes of the people, however, there also sprang the completely inadequate conception of the social question.

In all this, Dr. Lueger was the opposite of Schönerer.

His thorough knowledge of human nature allowed him to judge the possible forces just as correctly as it also preserved him from too low an estimation of existing institutions; indeed, perhaps for this very reason, he learned rather to make use of them as aids for achieving his intentions.

He also understood only too well that the political fighting power of the upper bourgeoisie in the present day was only slight and not sufficient to win the victory for a new great movement. Therefore, he placed the main weight of his political activity on winning over those strata whose existence was threatened and who were therefore more likely to...

became an incentive rather than a paralysis of the will to fight. Likewise, he was inclined to make use of all the means of power already available, to make existing powerful institutions favorable to him, in order to be able to derive the greatest possible benefit from such old sources of strength for his own movement.

Thus, he primarily oriented his new party toward the middle class, which was threatened with ruin, and thereby secured a following that was very difficult to shake, possessing as much willingness to sacrifice as tenacious fighting power. His infinitely cleverly developed relationship with the Catholic Church, however, won him the younger clergy in a short time to such an extent that the old clerical party was either forced to vacate the field of battle or, even more cleverly, joined the new party in order to slowly regain position after position.

But if this alone were to be regarded as the characteristic essence of the man, then a grave injustice would be done to him. For in addition to the clever tactician, there were also the qualities of a truly great and brilliant reformer. Admittedly, here too he was limited by a precise knowledge of the possibilities that existed, as well as the capabilities of his own person.

It was an infinitely practical goal that this truly significant man had set for himself. He wanted to conquer Vienna. Vienna was the heart of the monarchy; from this city, the last life still flowed out into the diseased and aged body of the decaying empire. The healthier the heart became, the more freshly the rest of the body had to revive. A fundamentally correct idea, which, however, could only be applied for a certain, limited time.

And herein lay the weakness of this man.

What he achieved as Mayor of the city of Vienna is immortal in the best sense of the word; but he was no longer able to save the monarchy thereby—it was too late.

His adversary Schönerer had seen this more clearly.

What Dr. Lueger attacked in practice succeeded in a wonderful way; what he hoped for from it, failed to materialize.

What Schönerer wanted, he did not succeed in; what he feared, however, unfortunately occurred in a terrible manner.

Thus, both men did not achieve their further goal. Lueger could no longer save Austria, and Schönerer could no longer preserve the German people from decline.

It is infinitely instructive for our present time to study the causes of the failure of both parties. This is particularly expedient for my friends, as in many points the conditions today are similar to those then, and errors can thereby be avoided which once led to the end of one movement and to the fruitlessness of the other.

The collapse of the Pan-German movement in Austria had, in my eyes, three causes:

First, the unclear conception of the significance of the social problem, especially for a new party that was revolutionary in its inner essence.

By Schönerer and his followers turning primarily to the bourgeois strata, the result could only be a very weak, tame one.

The German bourgeoisie, especially in its higher circles, even if unsuspected by individuals, is pacifist to the point of formal self-denial when it comes to the internal affairs of the nation or the state. In good times, which in this case means in times of good government, such a mindset is a reason for the extraordinary value of these strata to the state; in times of poorer rule, however, it has a downright devastating effect. Even to make the execution of a truly serious struggle possible at all, the Pan-German movement had to devote itself above all to winning over the masses. That it did not do this deprived it from the outset of the elementary momentum that such a wave simply needs if it is not to ebb away in a short time.

However, as soon as this principle is not kept in mind from the very beginning and also carried out, the new party loses any possibility of making up for what was neglected later on. For with the admission of exceedingly numerous moderate-bourgeois elements, the inner orientation of the movement will always be guided by them, and thus lose any further prospect of winning noteworthy forces from the broad masses of the people. But with this, such a movement will no longer get beyond mere grumbling and criticizing. The more or less almost religious faith, combined with a similar willingness to sacrifice, will never be found again; in its place, however, will come the endeavor to gradually wear down the hardships of the struggle through "positive" cooperation—which in this case means through recognition of the status quo—in order to finally land at a foul peace.

This is also what happened to the Pan-German movement, because it had not from the outset placed the main emphasis on winning its supporters from the circles of the broad masses. It became "bourgeois, distinguished, and moderately radical."

From this mistake, however, grew the second cause of its rapid downfall.

The situation in Austria for Germandom was already desperate at the time of the Pan-German movement's appearance. From year to year, parliament had become more of an institution for the slow destruction of the German people. Any attempt at a last-minute rescue could only offer even a small prospect of success by the elimination of this institution.

With this, a question of fundamental importance approached the movement:

Should one, in order to destroy parliament, enter parliament to "hollow it out from within," as the saying went, or should one conduct this struggle from the outside by attacking this institution as such?

They went in and came out defeated.

Admittedly, one had to go in.

To carry out the struggle against such a power from the outside means to arm oneself with unshakable courage, but also to be prepared for infinite sacrifices. One attacks the bull by the horns and will receive many heavy blows, will sometimes fall to the ground, perhaps only to be able to rise again with broken limbs, and only after the hardest struggle will victory turn to the bold attacker. Only the magnitude of the sacrifices will win new fighters for the cause, until finally perseverance is rewarded with success.

But for this, one needs the children of the people from the broad masses.

They alone are determined and tough enough to fight this dispute through to the bloody end.

However, the Pan-German movement did not possess this broad mass; thus, nothing else remained for it but to enter parliament.

It would be wrong to believe that this decision was the result of long inner spiritual torment or even mere reflection; no, nothing else was even considered. Participation in this nonsense was merely the reflection of general, unclear ideas about the significance and the effect of such personal participation in an institution that was, in principle, already recognized as wrong. In general, it was hoped that it would facilitate the enlightenment of broader masses of the people, since one now had the opportunity to speak before the "forum of the entire nation." It also seemed plausible that an attack at the root of the evil must be more successful than storming from the outside. Through the protection of immunity, it was believed that the safety of the individual champion was strengthened, so that the power of the attack could only increase thereby.

In reality, however, things turned out quite differently.

The forum before which the Pan-German deputies spoke had not become larger, but rather smaller; for everyone speaks only to the circle that is willing to hear him—

likes, or who receives a reproduction of what was spoken through press reports.

The largest immediate forum of listeners, however, is represented not by the lecture hall of a parliament, but by the large public mass meeting.

For in it are thousands of people who have come only to hear what the speaker has to say to them, while in the session hall of the House of Representatives there are only a few hundred, mostly present only to receive their per diems, by no means to let the wisdom of one or another gentleman "representative of the people" shine into them.

Above all, however: this is always the same audience, which will never learn anything more, since it lacks not only the understanding but also the necessary, however modest, will to do so.

Never will one of these representatives of the people, of his own accord, give honor to the better truth in order to then place himself in its service. No, not a single one will do this, unless he has reason to hope that by such a turn he can still save his mandate for a further session. Only when it is in the air that the previous party will fare badly in a coming election will these ornaments of manhood set out and see if and how they can manage to get to the other, presumably better-faring party or direction, whereby this change of position usually takes place under a cloudburst of moral justifications. Therefore, whenever an existing party appears to have fallen into the disfavor of the people to such an extent that the probability of a crushing defeat looms, a great migration will begin: the parliamentary rats are leaving the party ship.

But this has nothing to do with better knowledge or will, but only with that clairvoyant talent that warns such a parliamentary bedbug just in time and thus lets it fall again and again onto another warm party bed.

To speak before such a "forum," however, really means casting pearls before the well-known animals. It is truly not worth it! Success here can be nothing other than zero.

And so it was. The Pan-German deputies might talk their throats hoarse: the effect remained completely absent.

The press, however, either killed them with silence or tore their speeches apart so that every connection, indeed often even the meaning, was twisted or lost entirely, and thereby public opinion received only a very poor image of the intentions of the new movement. It was completely insignificant what the individual gentlemen spoke; the significance lay in what one was given to read about them. This, however, was an excerpt from their speeches which, in its fragmented state, could and—was intended to—only seem nonsensical. At the same time, the only forum before which they now spoke in truth consisted of barely five hundred parliamentarians, and this says enough.

The worst thing, however, was the following:

The Pan-German movement could only count on success if it understood from the first day that this could not be about a new party, but rather about a new worldview (Weltanschauung). Only such a thing alone was capable of summoning the inner strength to fight out this gigantic struggle. For this, however, only the very best and also the most courageous minds are fit to serve as leaders.

If the struggle for a worldview is not led by heroes ready for sacrifice, then in a short time no more fighters ready to face death will be found. Whoever fights here for his own existence can no longer have much left for the community.

In order to maintain this prerequisite, however, it is necessary for everyone to know that the new movement can offer honor and glory before posterity, but nothing in the present. The more a movement has to give away in terms of easily attainable posts and positions, the greater will be the influx of inferior people, until finally these political opportunists overgrow a successful party in such numbers that the honest fighter of old no longer recognizes the former movement at all, and the newcomers decisively reject him as a burdensome "unqualified person." With that, however, the "mission" of such a movement is finished.

As soon as the Pan-German movement committed itself to parliament, it received "parliamentarians" instead of leaders and fighters. It thereby sank to the level of one of the ordinary political parties of the day and lost the strength to confront a disastrous fate with the defiance of martyrdom. Instead of fighting, it now also learned to "talk" and "negotiate." The new parliamentarian, however, soon felt it to be a finer, because risk-free, duty to fight out the new worldview with the "intellectual" weapons of parliamentary eloquence, rather than plunging, if necessary, at the risk of his own life into a struggle whose outcome was uncertain and which, in any case, could yield nothing.

Since they were now sitting in parliament, the supporters outside began to hope and wait for miracles, which of course did not occur and could not occur at all. People therefore became impatient in a short time; for even what they heard from their own deputies in no way corresponded to the expectations of the voters. This was easily explained, as the hostile press took great care not to convey a truthful picture of the activities of the Pan-German representatives to the people.

The more the new representatives of the people acquired a taste for the somewhat milder form of "revolutionary" struggle in parliament and state diets, the less they were prepared to return to the more dangerous work of enlightening the broad masses of the people.

The mass meeting, the only way of truly effective, because direct personal influence, and the only possible way of winning over large sections of the people, was therefore increasingly pushed into the background.

As soon as the beer table of the assembly hall was finally exchanged for the rostrum of parliament, in order to pour speeches from this forum into the heads of its so-called "chosen ones" instead of into the people, the Pan-German movement also ceased to be a people's movement and sank in a short time into a more or less serious club of academic discussions.

The bad impression conveyed by the press was accordingly in no way corrected by the personal assembly activities of the individual gentlemen, so that finally the word "Pan-German" acquired a very foul sound in the ears of the broad masses of the people.

For let all the scribbling knights and fops of today be told this especially: the greatest upheavals in this world have never been guided by a goose quill!

No, it has always been reserved for the pen only to justify them theoretically.

But the power that set the great historical avalanches of a religious and political nature rolling was, since time immemorial, only the magic power of the spoken word.

The broad mass of a people above all always succumbs only to the power of speech. All great movements, however, are popular movements, are volcanic eruptions of human passions and spiritual feelings, stirred up either by the cruel goddess of distress or by the torch of the word hurled among the masses, and are not the lemonade-like outpourings of aestheticizing literati and salon heroes.

Only a storm of hot passion can turn the destinies of peoples, but passion can only be awakened by one who carries it within himself.

It alone then gives to the one chosen by it the words which, like hammer blows, are capable of opening the gates to the heart of a people.

But to whom passion is denied and the mouth closed—

remains, him Heaven has not chosen to be the proclaimer of its will.

Therefore, let every writer stay by his inkwell to occupy himself "theoretically," if intellect and ability suffice for this; but for a leader, he is neither born nor chosen.

A movement with great goals must therefore be anxiously concerned not to lose the connection with the broad masses of the people.

It has to examine every question primarily from this point of view and to make its decision in this direction.

It must further avoid everything that could diminish or even merely weaken its ability to influence the masses, not perhaps for "demagogic" reasons, no, but from the simple realization that without the enormous power of the masses of a people, no great idea, however noble and high it may appear, can be realized.

Harsh reality alone must determine the path to the goal; not wanting to take unpleasant paths means, in this world, only too often renouncing the goal; whether one then wants this or not.

As soon as the Pan-German movement, through its parliamentary attitude, shifted the gravity of its activity into the parliament instead of into the people, it lost the future and gained in exchange cheap successes of the moment.

It chose the easier struggle and was therefore no longer worthy of the final victory.

I have thought through these very questions most thoroughly while still in Vienna, and in the failure to recognize them, I saw one of the main causes of the collapse of the movement which, in my eyes at that time, was called to take the leadership of Germandom into its hands.

The first two errors that caused the Pan-German movement to fail were related to one another. The lack of knowledge of the inner driving forces of great upheavals led to an unsufficient estimation of the importance of the broad masses of the people; this resulted in the low interest in the social question, the deficient and inadequate wooing of the souls of the lower strata of the nation, as well as the attitude toward parliament which only favored this.

Had one recognized the unheard-of power that belongs to the mass as the bearer of revolutionary resistance at all times, one would have worked differently in both social and propagandistic directions. Then the main weight of the movement would not have been shifted into parliament, but onto the workshop and the street.

But the third error also carries its final seed in the failure to recognize the value of the mass, which, once set in motion in a certain direction by superior spirits, then also, like a flywheel, gives the strength of the attack momentum and steady perseverance.

The difficult struggle that the Pan-German movement fought with the Catholic Church is only explainable by the insufficient understanding that one was able to bring toward the psychological disposition of the people.

The causes of the new party's violent attack against Rome lay in the following:

As soon as the House of Habsburg had finally decided to transform Austria into a Slavic state, every means that appeared somehow suitable in this direction was seized. Even religious institutions were unscrupulously placed into the service of the new "state idea" by this most unprincipled ruling house.

The use of Czech parishes and their spiritual pastors was only one of the many means to achieve this goal, a general Slavization of Austria.

The process took place roughly as follows:

In purely German communities, Czech priests were installed, who slowly but surely began to place the interests of the Czech people above the interests of the churches—

began and became the germ cells of the de-Germanization process.

The German clergy, unfortunately, failed almost completely in the face of such a procedure. Not only were they themselves entirely useless for a similar struggle in the German sense, but they were also unable to meet the attacks of others with the necessary resistance. Thus, Germandom was slowly but incessantly pushed back, via the detour of denominational abuse on the one hand and through insufficient defense on the other.

If this took place on a small scale as described, the situation on a large scale was unfortunately not much different.

Here, too, the anti-German attempts of the Habsburgs, primarily through the higher clergy, did not meet with the required resistance, while the representation of German interests themselves receded completely into the background.

The general impression could not be otherwise than that a gross violation of German rights by the Catholic clergy as such was taking place here.

With this, however, the Church seemed precisely not to feel with the German people, but rather to side with their enemies in an unjust manner. The root of the whole evil, however, lay—especially in Schönerer's opinion—in the leadership of the Catholic Church, which was not located in Germany, as well as in the hostility toward the interests of our ethnicity that was conditioned by that fact alone.

The so-called cultural problems, as was the case with almost everything in Austria at that time, receded almost entirely into the background. Decisive for the attitude of the Pan-German movement toward the Catholic Church was much less its stance toward science, etc., than rather its insufficient representation of German rights and, conversely, the constant promotion of Slavic arrogance and greed.

Georg Schönerer was not the man to do a thing by halves. He took up the struggle against the Church in the conviction that only through it alone could the German people to still be able to save. The "Away-from-Rome Movement" seemed the most powerful, but admittedly also the most difficult method of attack, which had to shatter the enemy stronghold. If it were successful, then the unfortunate church schism in Germany would also be overcome, and the inner strength of the Reich and the German nation could only gain most tremendously through such a victory.

However, neither the premise nor the conclusion of this struggle was correct.

Without a doubt, the national power of resistance of the Catholic clergy of German nationality in all questions concerning Germandom was lower than that of their non-German, especially Czech, colleagues.

Likewise, only an ignorant person could fail to see that it almost never even occurred to the German clergy to offer an offensive representation of German interests.

But equally, anyone not blinded had to admit that this is primarily attributable to a circumstance from which we Germans all suffer most severely as a whole: it is our objectivity in our attitude toward our ethnicity just as toward anything else.

Just as the Czech priest stood subjectively toward his people and only objectively toward the Church, so the German pastor was subjectively devoted to the Church and remained objective toward the nation. A phenomenon that we can observe in a thousand other cases to our misfortune in exactly the same way.

This is by no means just a special legacy of Catholicism, but rather eats away at almost every institution among us in a short time, especially state or ideological ones.

One need only compare the position that, for example, our civil service takes toward attempts at a national rebirth with that which the civil service of another people would take in such a case. Or does one believe that the officer corps of the entire rest of the world would set aside the interests of the nation under the phrase of "state authority" in a similar way as has been a matter of course with us for five years, indeed is even considered particularly meritorious? Take, for example, the Jewish question: do not both denominations today take a stand that corresponds neither to the interests of the nation nor to the real needs of religion? Just compare the attitude of a Jewish rabbi in all questions of even slight importance for Judaism as a race with the attitude of the vast majority of our clergy, and please, of both denominations!

We always have this phenomenon when it comes to representing an abstract idea in itself. "State authority," "democracy," "pacifism," "international solidarity," etc., are all concepts that with us almost always become such rigid, purely doctrinaire ideas that every assessment of general national vital necessities is made exclusively from their point of view.

This unfortunate way of considering all interests from the perspective of a preconceived opinion kills any ability to think subjectively into a matter that objectively contradicts one's own doctrine, and leads in the end to a complete reversal of means and end. One will oppose any attempt at a national uprising if this could only take place with the prior removal of a bad, ruinous regime, since this would be a violation of "state authority," but "state authority" is not a means to an end, but rather, in the eyes of such a fanatic of objectivity, represents the end itself, which is sufficient to fill his entire miserable life. Thus, for example, one would resist with indignation the attempt at a dictatorship, even if its bearer were a Frederick the Great and the current state-artists of a parliamentary majority were only incompetent dwarfs or even inferior subjects, because the law of democracy appears more sacred to such a stickler for principles than the welfare of a nation. Thus, one will defend the worst tyranny that ruins a people, protect, since "state authority" is currently embodied in it, while the other rejects even the most beneficial government as soon as it does not correspond to his conception of "democracy."

In exactly the same way, our German pacifist will remain silent in the face of any rape of the nation, no matter how bloody, even if it originates from the worst military powers, if a change in this fate could only be achieved through resistance, that is, violence; for this would contradict the spirit of his peace society. The international German socialist, however, can be plundered by the rest of the world in solidarity; he himself acknowledges it with brotherly affection and does not think of retaliation or even protest, simply because he is—a German. —

This may be sad, but wanting to change a thing means having to recognize it beforehand.

The same applies to the weak representation of German interests by a part of the clergy.

This is neither malicious, bad will in itself, nor conditioned by, let us say, orders from "above," but we see in such a deficient national determination only the results of an equally deficient education in Germanness from youth onwards, as well as, on the other hand, a total submission to the idea that has become an idol.

Education for democracy, for socialism of an international kind, for pacifism, etc., is so rigid and exclusive, and therefore, from their perspective, purely subjective, that the general image of the rest of the world is also influenced by this fundamental conception, while the attitude toward Germanness from youth onwards was only a very objective one. Thus, the pacifist, while subjectively surrendering himself completely to his idea, will always first look for objective right in the face of every threat to his people, no matter how unjust and severe (provided he is a German), and will never, out of pure instinct for self-preservation, take his place in the ranks of his herd and fight along.

How much this also applies to the individual denominations may be shown by the following:

Protestantism inherently represents the interests of Germandom better, insofar as this is already grounded in its birth and later tradition; however, it fails at the moment when this defense of national interests would have to take place in an area that is either missing from the general line of its world of ideas and traditional development or is rejected for some reason or other.

Thus, Protestantism will always advocate for the promotion of all Germandom as such, as soon as it concerns matters of inner purity or also national deepening, the defense of the German essence, the German language, and also German freedom, since all of this is firmly grounded within itself; but it immediately fights in the most hostile manner any attempt to rescue the nation from the embrace of its deadliest enemy, since its position toward Judaism is once and for all more or less firmly fixed dogmatically. Yet, this involves the very question without whose solution all other attempts at a German rebirth or an uprising are and remain completely nonsensical and impossible.

During my time in Vienna, I had enough leisure and opportunity to examine this question as well without prejudice, and in daily intercourse, I was able to establish the correctness of this view a thousandfold.

In this focal point of the most diverse nationalities, it immediately became clearest that only the German pacifist always tries to view the interests of his own nation objectively, but never, for instance, the Jew those of the Jewish people; that only the German socialist is "international" in a sense that then forbids him to beg for justice for his own people in any other way than by whimpering and blubbering to his international comrades, but never the Czech or Pole, etc.; in short, I recognized even then that the misfortune lies only partly in these doctrines themselves, but partly in...

of our completely inadequate education toward our own nationality in general, and in a resulting diminished devotion to the same.

With this, the first purely theoretical justification for the Pan-German movement's struggle against Catholicism as such fell away.

If one educates the German people from youth onward with that exclusive recognition of the rights of their own nationality and does not already poison the hearts of children with the curse of our "objectivity" even in matters of preserving one's own self, it will show itself in a short time that (assuming a then also radical national government) just as in Ireland, Poland, or France, the Catholic in Germany will also always be more German.

The most powerful proof of this, however, was provided by that time which for the last time allowed our people to step forward for the protection of their existence before the judgment seat of history for their struggle of life and death.

As long as leadership from above was not lacking at that time, the people fulfilled their duty and obligation in the most overwhelming manner. Whether Protestant pastor or Catholic priest, they both contributed infinitely together to the long preservation of our power of resistance, not only at the front, but even more so at home. In these years, and especially in the first flare-up, there was truly in both camps only one single holy German Reich, for whose existence and future everyone turned to their own heaven.

A question the Pan-German movement in Austria should have once asked itself: Is the preservation of Austrian Germandom possible under a Catholic faith or not? If yes, then the political party should not have concerned itself with religious or even denominational matters; but if no, then a religious reformation had to begin and never a political party.

Whoever believes they can arrive at a religious reformation via the detour of a political organization, only shows that he also lacks any glimmer of the development of religious ideas or even dogmas and their ecclesiastical effects.

One really cannot serve two masters here. Whereby I consider the founding or destruction of a religion to be significantly greater than the founding or destruction of a state, let alone a party.

Let it not be said that the aforementioned attacks were only the defense against attacks from the other side!

Certainly, at all times, unscrupulous fellows have not hesitated to make religion an instrument of their political business (for this is almost always and exclusively what it is about with such fellows); however, it is just as certainly wrong to hold religion or even the denomination responsible for a number of scoundrels who abuse it just as they would probably put anything else at the service of their lower instincts.

Nothing can suit such a parliamentary good-for-nothing and idler better than when he is offered the opportunity, at least retrospectively, to obtain the justification for his political shady dealings. For as soon as one holds religion or even the denomination responsible for his personal wickedness and attacks it for that reason, the lying fellow immediately calls upon the whole world with a huge outcry to witness how justified his actions have been so far, and how the salvation of religion and the church is to be thanked only to him and his eloquence alone. The contemporary world, as stupid as it is forgetful, then mostly fails to recognize the true originator of the whole struggle because of the great outcry, or no longer remembers him, and the scoundrel has now actually achieved his goal.

That this has nothing at all to do with religion, such a cunning fox knows very well; he will therefore all the more laugh up his sleeve in secret, while his honest but clumsy opponent loses the game, only to one day, despairing of the faith and belief of humanity, to withdraw from everything.

However, it would also be unjust in other respects to hold religion as such, or even the Church itself, responsible for the failings of individuals. One should compare the size of the visible organization standing before one's eyes with the average fallibility of people in general, and one will have to admit that the ratio of good to bad is probably better there than anywhere else. Certainly, there are also those among the priests themselves for whom their holy office is only a means to satisfy their political ambition; indeed, who in political struggle often forget in a more than deplorable manner that they should, after all, be the guardians of a higher truth and not representatives of lies and slander—yet for every such unworthy individual, there are a thousand or more honorable pastors, most faithfully devoted to their mission, who in our present time, as mendacious as it is depraved, stand out like small islands from a general swamp.

Just as little as I condemn or may condemn the Church as such when a depraved subject in a priest's robe fails in a filthy manner against morality, so little also when another among the many defiles and betrays his nationality in times when this is already almost commonplace anyway. Especially today, one should not forget that for every such Ephialtes, there are also thousands who feel the misfortune of their people with a bleeding heart and, just like the best of our nation, long for the hour in which heaven will once again smile upon us.

But to him who replies that these are not such small problems of everyday life, but rather questions of fundamental truthfulness or dogmatic content in general, one can only give the necessary answer with another question:

Do you believe yourself chosen by fate to here [reveal] the truth—

to proclaim truth, then do so; but then also have the courage not to want to do this via the detour of a political party—for this is also a shady deal—but instead set up your better version of the future in place of the worse version of the present.

If you lack the courage here, or if your better version is not quite clear to yourself, then keep your hands off it; in any case, do not attempt to sneak through the detour of a political movement what you do not dare to do with an open visor.

Political parties have nothing to do with religious problems, as long as they do not undermine the customs and morals of their own race as something alien to the people; just as religion is not to be mixed with political party mischief.

If ecclesiastical dignitaries make use of religious institutions or even teachings to harm their nationality, one must never follow them on this path and fight with the same weapons.

To the political leader, the religious teachings and institutions of his people must always be inviolable, otherwise he must not be a politician, but should become a reformer, if he has the stuff for it!

Any other attitude would lead to a catastrophe, especially in Germany.

During my study of the Pan-German movement and its struggle against Rome, I arrived at the following conviction then and especially in the course of later years: The movement's lack of understanding for the importance of the social problem cost it the truly combat-ready mass of the people; entering into parliament took away its powerful momentum and burdened it with all the weaknesses inherent in that institution; the struggle against the Catholic Church made it impossible in numerous small and medium-sized circles and thus robbed it of countless of the best elements that the nation can call its own at all.

The practical result of the Austrian *Kulturkampf* was almost nil.

It is true that it succeeded in tearing away nearly a hundred thousand members from the Church, but without the Church suffering any particular damage as a result. In this case, she really did not need to shed a single tear for the lost "little sheep"; for she only lost what had long since ceased to belong to her inwardly. This was the difference between the new Reformation and the former one: that once many of the best in the Church turned away from her out of inner religious conviction, whereas now only those who were already lukewarm left, and indeed out of "considerations" of a political nature.

From a political point of view, however, the result was as ridiculous as it was, after all, sad.

Once again, a promising political movement for the salvation of the German nation had perished because it had not been led with the necessary ruthless sobriety, but had lost itself in areas that could only lead to fragmentation.

For one thing is certainly true:

The Pan-German movement would probably never have made this mistake if it had not possessed too little understanding of the psyche of the broad masses. Had its leaders known that, in order to achieve any success at all, one must never show the masses two or more opponents—if only for purely psychological reasons—as this otherwise leads to a complete fragmentation of the fighting force, then for this reason alone the direction of the Pan-German movement's attack would have been set against one opponent only. There is nothing more dangerous for a political party than to be guided in its decisions by those "Jack-of-all-trades" who want everything without ever being able to achieve even the slightest thing.

Even if there were still so much to truly criticize about an individual denomination, a political party must not for a single moment lose sight of the fact—

lize that, according to all previous historical experience, a purely political party had never succeeded in achieving a religious reformation in similar situations. However, one does not study history only to fail to remember its lessons when the time for practical application arrives, or to believe that things are now simply different, and thus its eternal truths are no longer applicable; rather, one learns from it precisely the practical application for the present. Whoever is unable to achieve this should not imagine himself to be a political leader; in truth, he is a shallow, though usually very conceited, simpleton, and all the good will in the world does not excuse his practical incapacity.

In general, the art of all truly great national leaders of all times consists primarily in not splintering the attention of a people, but rather in always concentrating it on a single opponent. The more unified this deployment of a people's will to fight is, the greater will be the magnetic attraction of a movement, and the more powerful the force of the blow. It belongs to the genius of a great leader to make even widely separated opponents appear as if they belong to only one category, because the recognition of different enemies among weak and uncertain characters leads only too easily to the beginning of doubt in one's own right.

As soon as the wavering masses see themselves in a struggle against too many enemies, objectivity will immediately set in and raise the question of whether all the others are really wrong and only one's own people or one's own movement alone is in the right.

But with that comes the first paralysis of one's own strength. Therefore, a multitude of internally different opponents must always be grouped together, so that in the perception of the mass of one's own followers, the struggle is conducted against only one enemy alone. This strengthens the faith in one's own right and increases the bitterness against the attacker of the same.

That the Pan-German movement of former times did not understand this cost it its success.

Its goal was correctly envisioned, its will was pure, but the path taken was wrong. It resembled a mountain climber who keeps the peak to be scaled well in view, and sets out on the way with the greatest determination and strength, yet pays no attention to the path itself, but rather, with eyes always fixed on the goal, neither sees nor examines the nature of the ascent and finally fails because of it.

Conversely, the situation seemed to lie with its great competitor, the Christian Social Party.

The path it took was clever and correctly chosen, but there was a lack of clear insight regarding the goal.

In almost all respects where the Pan-German movement was lacking, the attitude of the Christian Social Party was correct and systematic.

It possessed the necessary understanding of the importance of the masses and secured at least a part of them through the obvious emphasis of its social character from the very first day. By adjusting itself essentially to winning over the small and lower middle class and the artisan class, it obtained a following that was as loyal as it was enduring and self-sacrificing. It avoided any struggle against a religious institution and thereby secured the support of such a powerful organization as the Church represents. Consequently, it had only a single truly great main opponent. It recognized the value of large-scale propaganda and was a virtuoso in influencing the psychological instincts of the broad mass of its supporters.

That it nevertheless was unable to reach the dreamed-of goal of a salvation of Austria lay in two defects of its path as well as in the lack of clarity about the goal itself.

The anti-Semitism of the new movement was based on religious concepts instead of racial knowledge.

The reason why this mistake was made was the same one that also caused the second error.

If the Christian Social Party wanted to save Austria, then, in the opinion of its founders, it could not take the standpoint of the racial principle, as otherwise a general dissolution of the state would have had to occur in a short time. But especially the situation in Vienna itself required, in the view of the party leaders, the greatest possible setting aside of all divisive factors and, in their place, an emphasizing of all unifying points of view.

Vienna was at that time already so heavily permeated, especially with Czech elements, that only the greatest tolerance regarding all racial problems could still keep them in a party that was not anti-German from the outset. If one wanted to save Austria, they could not be dispensed with. Thus, an attempt was made to win over the particularly numerous Czech small tradesmen in Vienna through the struggle against liberal Manchesterism, and in doing so, it was believed that a slogan had been found in the struggle against Jewry on a religious basis that transcended all ethnic differences of old Austria.

That such a struggle on such a basis caused only limited concern to Jewry is obvious. In the worst case, a splash of baptismal water still saved both business and Jewry at the same time.

With such a superficial justification, one never arrived at a serious scientific treatment of the whole problem and thereby repelled far too many people to whom this kind of antisemitism must have been incomprehensible. The recruiting power of the idea was thus almost exclusively bound to mentally limited circles, unless one wanted to move away from purely emotional feeling toward a real understanding. The intelligentsia maintained a fundamentally dismissive attitude. The matter thus increasingly took on the appearance as if the whole affair were merely about the attempt at a new conversion of Jews, or even out of the expression of a certain competitive envy. With this, however, the struggle lost the characteristic of an inner and higher consecration and appeared to many, and not exactly the worst, as immoral and reprehensible. The conviction was lacking that this was a question of life and death for all of humanity, on the solution of which the fate of all non-Jewish peoples depended.

Because of this half-heartedness, the value of the anti-Semitic attitude of the Christian Social Party was lost.

It was a sham anti-Semitism that was almost worse than none at all; for in this way one was lulled into security, believing they had the opponent by the ears, but were themselves being led by the nose.

The Jew, however, had already become so accustomed to this kind of anti-Semitism in a short time that its disappearance would surely have been missed by him more than its presence hindered him.

If one already had to make a heavy sacrifice here to the multi-national state, it was even more so for the representation of Germandom itself.

One was not allowed to be "nationalist" if one did not want to lose the ground under one's feet in Vienna itself. One hoped to save the Habsburg state by gently bypassing this question and thereby drove it precisely into ruin. The movement, however, lost the enormous source of power which alone is capable of filling a political party with inner driving force in the long run. The Christian Social movement became, precisely because of this, a party just like any other.

I once followed both movements most attentively, the one from the pulse of the inner heart, the other carried away by admiration for the rare man who even then appeared to me as a bitter symbol of the whole of Austrian Germandom.

As the enormous funeral procession drove the dead mayor away from the City Hall toward the Ringstraße, there was also

I was among the many hundreds of thousands who watched the tragedy. In inner agitation, my feeling told me that the work of this man, too, would have to be in vain because of the fate that would inevitably lead this state toward its downfall. Had Dr. Karl Lueger lived in Germany, he would have been placed in the ranks of the great minds of our people; that he worked in this impossible state was the misfortune of his work and of himself.

When he died, the little flames in the Balkans were already flickering more greedily from month to month, so that fate mercifully spared him from seeing what he still believed he could prevent.

I, however, tried to find the causes from the failure of the one movement and the collapse of the second, and came to the firm conviction that, quite apart from the impossibility of still achieving a consolidation of the state in old Austria, the errors of the two parties were as follows:

The Pan-German movement was probably right in its fundamental view regarding the goal of a German renewal, but was unfortunate in the choice of its path. It was nationalistic, but unfortunately not social enough to win over the masses. Its anti-Semitism, however, was based on the correct recognition of the importance of the racial problem and not on religious ideas. Its struggle against a specific denomination, on the other hand, was factually and tactically wrong.

The Christian Social movement possessed an unclear idea regarding the goal of a German rebirth, but had intelligence and luck in seeking its paths as a party. It understood the importance of the social question, erred in its struggle against Jewry, and had no inkling of the power of the national idea.

Had the Christian Social Party possessed, in addition to its shrewd knowledge of the broad masses, the correct idea of the importance of the racial problem, as the Pan-German movement had grasped it, and had it itself...

finally been nationalist, or if the Pan-German movement had added to its correct recognition of the goal of the Jewish question and the significance of the national idea the practical wisdom of the Christian Social Party, especially its attitude toward socialism, then a movement would have resulted which, in my conviction even then, could have successfully intervened in the German destiny.

That this was not the case was due for the most part, however, to the nature of the Austrian state.

Since I did not see my conviction realized in any other party, I could not bring myself in the following period to join or even fight along with any of the existing organizations. Even then, I considered all political movements to be misguided and incapable of carrying out a national rebirth of the German people on a larger and not merely superficial scale.

My inner aversion toward the Habsburg state, however, grew more and more during this time.

The more I began to occupy myself particularly with questions of foreign policy, the more my conviction gained ground that this state structure could only lead to the misfortune of Germandom. Finally, I saw ever more clearly that the fate of the German nation would no longer be decided from this place, but in the Reich itself. This applied not only to general political questions, but no less to all phenomena of the entire cultural life in general.

The Austrian state also showed here, in the field of purely cultural or artistic matters, all the signs of exhaustion, or at least of insignificance for the German nation. This was most true in the field of architecture. Modern architecture could not achieve particularly great success in Austria for the very reason that, since the completion of the Ringstrasse, the tasks, at least in Vienna, had become only unsignificant ones were compared to the plans rising in Germany.

Thus I began more and more to lead a double life; reason and reality bade me undergo a school in Austria that was as bitter as it was beneficial, but my heart dwelt elsewhere.

An oppressive dissatisfaction had taken possession of me at that time, the more I recognized the inner hollowness of this state, the impossibility of still saving it, but at the same time felt with all certainty that in everything and anything it could now only represent the misfortune of the German people.

I was convinced that this state had to constrain and hinder every truly great German just as, conversely, it would promote every un-German phenomenon.

Repulsive to me was the racial conglomerate that the imperial capital displayed, repulsive this whole mixture of peoples of Czechs, Poles, Hungarians, Ruthenians, Serbs, and Croats, etc., and in the midst of it all, as the eternal fission fungus of humanity—Jews and more Jews.

The giant city appeared to me as the embodiment of incest.

My German of my youth was the dialect that Lower Bavaria also speaks; I was neither able to forget it nor to learn the Viennese jargon. The longer I stayed in this city, the more my hatred rose against the foreign mixture of peoples that began to eat away at this old German cultural site.

The thought, however, that this state could be maintained for any longer period of time appeared to me downright ridiculous.

Austria was then like an old mosaic, whose cement, which binds the individual stones together, had become old and brittle; as long as the work of art is not touched, it can still pretend to continue its existence, but as soon as it receives a blow, it breaks apart into a thousand tiny shards. The question was therefore only when the blow would come. —

Since my heart never beat for an Austrian monarchy, but always beat only for a German Reich, the hour of the collapse of this state could only appear to me as the beginning of the redemption of the German nation.

For all these reasons, a longing arose ever more strongly to finally go where secret wishes and secret love had drawn me since such early youth.

I hoped one day to make a name for myself as a master builder and so, in whatever small or large framework fate would then assign to me, to dedicate my honest service to the nation.

Finally, however, I wanted to partake in the happiness of being allowed to be and work in the place where, after all, my most burning heart's desire had to be fulfilled: the union of my beloved homeland with the common fatherland, the German Reich.

Many will not be able to comprehend the magnitude of such a longing even today, but I turn to those to whom fate has either denied this happiness so far or has taken it away again with cruel severity; I turn to all those who, detached from the motherland, must fight even for the holy asset of language, who are persecuted and tormented because of their loyalty toward the fatherland, and who now, in painful emotion, long for the hour that lets them return again to the heart of the dear mother; I turn to all these and I know: They will understand me!

Only he who feels in his own body what it means to be German without being allowed to belong to the dear fatherland can measure the deep longing that burns at all times in the hearts of children separated from the motherland. It tortures those seized by it and denies them contentment and happiness until the gates of the father's house open and, in the common Reich, the common blood finds peace and rest again.

Vienna, however, was and remained for me the hardest, though also the most thorough, school of my life. I had once entered this city as still half a boy and left it as a man who had become quiet and serious. In it, I obtained the foundations for a worldview in general and a political way of looking at things in particular, which I later only needed to supplement in detail, but which never left me again. Indeed, I am only fully able to appreciate the true value of those years of apprenticeship today.

That is why I have dealt with this period somewhat more extensively, as it gave me the first object lessons in precisely those questions that belong to the foundations of the Party, which, arising from the smallest beginnings, is preparing to develop into a great mass movement in the course of barely five years. I do not know what my position toward Judaism, toward Social Democracy, or rather toward the whole of Marxism, toward the social question, etc., would be today if a foundation of personal views had not already been formed at such an early time through the pressure of fate—and through my own learning.

For, even if the misfortune of the Fatherland is able to stimulate thousands upon thousands to think about the inner reasons for the collapse, this can never lead to that thoroughness and deeper insight which reveals itself to him who only became master of fate himself after years of struggle.

Chapter 4

Munich

In the spring of 1912, I finally came to Munich.

The city itself was as well known to me as if I had already lived within its walls for years. This was due to my studies, which at every turn pointed me toward this metropolis of German art. One has not only not seen Germany if one does not know Munich; no, above all, one does not know German art if one has not seen Munich.

In any case, this time before the war was the happiest and by far the most contented of my life. Even though my earnings were still very meager, I did not live in order to be able to paint, but rather painted to ensure the possibility of my livelihood, or better, to allow myself to continue my studies. I possessed the conviction that I would eventually reach the goal I had set for myself after all. And this alone allowed me to endure all other small worries of daily existence easily and unconcernedly.

Added to this, however, was the inner love that seized me for this city more than for any other place known to me, almost from the first hour of my stay. A German city!! What a difference compared to Vienna! I felt sick even thinking back to that racial Babylon. Furthermore, the dialect was much closer to me, which, especially in dealings with Lower Bavarians, reminded me of my former youth. There were probably a thousand and more things that were or became inwardly dear and precious to me. But what attracted me most was me, the wonderful marriage of primordial strength and its artistic mood, this unique line from the Hofbräuhaus to the Odeon, from the Oktoberfest to the Pinakothek, etc., attracted me. That I am attached to this city today, more than to any other spot on earth in this world, is probably partly due to the fact that it is and remains inseparably linked with the development of my own life; but that I already received the happiness of a truly inner satisfaction back then was only to be attributed to the magic that the wonderful Wittelsbach residence probably exerts on every person blessed not only with a calculating mind but also with a soulful disposition.

What attracted me most besides my professional work was here again the study of political daily events, especially foreign policy occurrences. I came to the latter via the detour of German alliance policy, which I had already considered absolutely wrong since my Austrian days. However, in Vienna, the full extent of this self-deception of the Reich had not yet become quite clear to me. At that time, I was inclined to assume—or perhaps merely told myself as an excuse—that they might already know in Berlin how weak and unreliable the ally would actually be in reality, but were holding back with this insight for more or less mysterious reasons in order to support an alliance policy that Bismarck himself had once founded and whose sudden termination could not be desirable, if only so as not to startle the lurking foreign countries in any way or to disturb the inner philistine.

Admittedly, social interaction, especially among the people themselves, let me see to my horror in a short time that this belief was false. To my astonishment, I had to find everywhere that there was not even a faint glimmer of understanding about the nature of the Habsburg monarchy itself, even in otherwise well-informed circles. Especially among the people, one was caught in the delusion of being allowed to view the ally as a serious power that would surely stand its ground in the hour of need. Among the masses, the monarchy was always considered a "German" state, and it was believed that one could build upon that. The opinion was held that strength here, too, could be measured by the millions, just as in Germany itself, completely forgetting that, first: Austria had long since ceased to be a German state entity; and second: the internal conditions of this empire were pressing more toward dissolution from hour to hour.

At that time, I had known this state structure better than this so-called official "diplomacy," which, blind as almost always, staggered toward destiny; for the mood of the people was always only the outflow of what was funneled into public opinion from above. From above, however, a cult was practiced with the "ally" as if around the golden calf. It was hoped, perhaps, to replace with amiability what was lacking in sincerity. In doing so, words were always taken at face value.

Even in Vienna, I was seized with anger when I considered the difference that appeared from time to time between the speeches of the official statesmen and the content of the Viennese press. Yet Vienna was still, at least in appearance, a German city. How different things were, however, when one moved away from Vienna, or rather from German-Austria, into the Slavic provinces of the empire! One only had to pick up Prague newspapers to know how the entire sublime charade of the Triple Alliance was judged there. For this "statesmanlike masterpiece," there was nothing left but bloody mockery and scorn. In the deepest peace, while the two Emperors were just pressing kisses of friendship upon each other's foreheads, no secret was made of the fact that this alliance would be finished on the day an attempt was made to to transfer it from the shimmer of the Nibelungen ideal into practical reality.

How people had been upset a few years later when, in the hour that had finally come, when the alliances were to prove themselves, Italy jumped out of the Triple Alliance and let the two comrades go, yes, in the end even became an enemy herself! That anyone even dared to believe in the possibility of such a miracle earlier, namely in the miracle that Italy would fight together with Austria, could only be simply incomprehensible to anyone who was not struck with diplomatic blindness. However, things were not a hair different in Austria itself.

The carriers of the alliance idea in Austria were only the Habsburgs and the Germans. The Habsburgs out of calculation and compulsion, the Germans out of good faith and political—stupidity. Out of good faith, because they believed they were doing the German Reich itself a great service by the Triple Alliance, helping to strengthen and secure it; out of political stupidity, however, because neither was the first intention true, but on the contrary, they thereby helped to chain the Reich to a state-cadaver that had to drag both into the abyss, but above all because they themselves, through this alliance, fell more and more victim to de-Germanization. For since the Habsburgs believed they could be sure of no interference from this side through the alliance with the Reich—and unfortunately could be so with right—they were able to carry out their internal policy of the slow displacement of Germandom much more easily and with less risk. Not only did one not have to fear an objection from the Reich government at all, given the well-known "objectivity," but one could also at any time silence the forward mouth of Austrian Germandom itself, which wanted to open up against a perhaps too base kind of Slavization, by pointing to the alliance.

What else was the German in Austria supposed to do...

do, when the German element of the Reich itself expressed recognition and trust in the Habsburg government? Should he have offered resistance, only to be branded as a traitor to his own people in the eyes of the entire German public? He, who for decades had made the most unheard-of sacrifices precisely for his people?

But what value did this alliance possess if the German element of the Habsburg Monarchy were first to be exterminated? Was not the value of the Triple Alliance for Germany directly dependent on the preservation of German predominance in Austria? Or did they really believe they could still live in an alliance with a Slavic Habsburg Empire?

The attitude of official German diplomacy, as well as that of the entire public opinion toward the internal Austrian nationality problem, was no longer merely stupid, but simply insane! They built on an alliance, staked the future and security of a seventy-million-strong people upon it—and watched as the only foundation for this pact was systematically and unwaveringly destroyed by the partner year after year. One day, a "treaty" with Viennese diplomacy was bound to remain, but the allied assistance of an empire would be lost.

In the case of Italy, this was already the case from the very beginning. If only history had been studied a bit more clearly in Germany and national psychology pursued, then one could not have believed for a single hour that the Quirinal and the Viennese Hofburg would ever stand in a common battlefront. Italy would have sooner become a volcano before any government would have dared to place even a single Italian on the battlefield for the so fanatically hated Habsburg state, except as an enemy. I have seen the passionate contempt as well as the bottomless hatred with which the Italian was "devoted" to the Austrian state flare up in Vienna more than once. What the House of Habsburg...

sinned against Italian freedom and independence over the course of centuries was too great for it to have been forgotten, even if the will to do so had been present. But it was not present at all; neither among the people nor within the Italian government. For Italy, there were therefore only two possibilities for coexistence with Austria: either alliance or war.

By choosing the former, one was able to prepare for the latter in peace.

Especially since Austria's relationship with Russia drifted more and more toward a military confrontation, German alliance policy was as senseless as it was dangerous.

This was a classic case in which the lack of any great and correct line of thinking could be demonstrated.

Why did one conclude an alliance at all? Surely only to better safeguard the future of the Reich than it would have been able to do if left to its own devices. This future of the Reich, however, was nothing other than the question of preserving the possibility of existence for the German people.

Consequently, however, the question could then only be: How must the life of the German nation take shape in a tangible future, and how can one then guarantee this development the necessary foundations and the required security within the framework of general European power relations?

Upon clear consideration of the prerequisites for the foreign policy activity of German statesmanship, one had to arrive at the following conviction:

Germany has an annual population increase of nearly nine hundred thousand souls. The difficulty of feeding this army of new citizens must become greater from year to year and eventually end in a catastrophe, unless means and ways are found to prevent the danger of this misery of starvation in good time.

There were four ways to escape such a terrible future development:

1. One could, following the French model, artificially restrict the increase in births and thus counter overpopulation.

Nature itself, in times of great need or bad climatic conditions, as well as in the case of poor soil yield, also tends to proceed to a restriction of the increase of the population of certain countries or races; albeit in a method as wise as it is ruthless. It does not hinder the ability to procreate in itself, but rather the preservation of that which is procreated, by subjecting it to such severe trials and privations that everything less strong, less healthy, is forced to return to the womb of the eternally unknown. That which it then nevertheless allows to survive the hardships of existence is tested a thousandfold, hardened and well-suited to procreate further, so that the thorough selection can begin all over again. By proceeding so brutally against the individual and calling him back to itself the moment he is not equal to the storm of life, it keeps the race and species itself powerful, indeed increases it to the highest achievements.

Thus, however, the reduction in number is a strengthening of the person, and therefore ultimately a strengthening of the species.

It is different when man sets about to undertake a restriction of his number. He is not cut from the wood of nature, but is "humane." He understands it better than this cruel queen of all wisdom. He does not restrict the preservation of the individual but rather procreation itself. This appears to him, who always sees only himself and never the race, to be more human and justified than the opposite way. But unfortunately, the consequences are also reversed:

While nature, by leaving procreation free, however, subjects the preservation of the species to the severest test, choosing the best from an excess of individuals as worthy of life, thus preserving them alone and allowing them to become the carriers of the preservation of their kind, man restricts procreation, yet frantically ensures that every being once born is preserved at any price. This correction of the divine will seems to him to be as wise as it is humane, and he rejoices in having once again outdone nature in a matter, indeed, in having proven its inadequacy. That in reality, however, the number is likely restricted, but in return the value of the individual has also been diminished, is something the dear little ape of the All-Father is admittedly loath to see or hear.

For as soon as procreation as such is restricted and the number of births is reduced, in place of the natural struggle for existence, which leaves only the very strongest and healthiest alive, there appears the self-evident obsession to "save" even the weakest, indeed the most morbid, at any price, whereby the seed is sown for a progeny that must become increasingly miserable the longer this mockery of nature and its will persists.

The end, however, will be that one day existence in this world will be taken away from such a people; for man may well defy the eternal laws of the will for self-preservation for a certain time, but vengeance comes sooner or later nonetheless. A stronger race will drive away the weak, as the urge for life in its ultimate form will repeatedly break all the ridiculous fetters of a so-called humanity of individuals, in order to let the humanity of nature take its place, which destroys weakness to grant the space to strength.

Whoever, therefore, wishes to secure the existence of the German people by way of a self-restriction of its increase, thereby robs it of its future.

2. A second path would be the one which we today again...

often and often heard proposed and praised: internal colonization. This is a proposal that is as well-intentioned by many as it is usually poorly understood by most, only to cause the greatest conceivable damage that one can possibly imagine.

Without a doubt, the productivity of a soil can be increased up to a certain limit. However, only up to a certain limit and not endlessly further. For a certain time, therefore, one will be able to compensate for the increase of the German people through an increase in the utilization of our soil without the danger of famine. However, this is countered by the fact that the demands on life in general rise faster than even the number of the population. The demands of people regarding food and clothing become greater from year to year and already now, for example, stand in no relation anymore to the needs of our ancestors about a hundred years ago. It is therefore erroneous to think that every increase in production creates the prerequisite for an increase in population: No; this is only true to a certain degree, in that at least a part of the increased products of the soil is consumed to satisfy the increased needs of the people. However, even with the greatest restriction on the one hand and the most industrious diligence on the other, a limit will nevertheless eventually come here as well, which will then be drawn by the soil itself. With all diligence, it will no longer be possible to extract more from it, and then, even if postponed for a certain time, the disaster appears once again. Hunger will initially return from time to time when crop failures, etc., occur. It will do this more and more often with an increasing population, so that finally it only fails to appear when rare, most abundant years fill the granaries. But the time is finally approaching when even then the need will no longer be able to be satisfied and hunger becomes an eternal has become the companion of such a people. Now nature must again help and make a selection among those chosen by her for life; or man helps himself again, that is, he resorts to the artificial restriction of his increase with all its already indicated grave consequences for race and kind.

One might still be able to object that this future is, after all, in one way or another, in store for all of humanity, and therefore the individual nation naturally cannot escape this destiny.

At first glance, this is immediately correct. Nevertheless, the following must be considered here:

Certainly, at a certain point in time, all of humanity will be forced, as a result of the impossibility of further adjusting the fertility of the soil to the ever-increasing population, to stop the increase of the human race and either let nature decide again or, through self-help—if possible, then certainly in a more correct way than today—create the necessary balance. However, this will then affect all peoples, while at present only those races are affected by such distress who no longer possess enough power and strength to secure for themselves the soil necessary for them in this world. For things are such that on this earth at present there is still soil available in quite enormous areas unused and only awaiting the cultivator. But it is also equally true that this soil was not set aside by nature in and of itself for a specific nation or race as a reserve area for the future, but rather it is land and soil for the people who possess the strength to take it and the industry to cultivate it.

Nature knows no political boundaries. She first places living beings on this globe and watches the free play of forces. The strongest in courage and industry is then granted, as her favorite child, the master's right to existence.

If a people restricts itself to internal colonization, while other races cling to ever larger areas of this earth, it will be forced to resort to self-limitation at a time when the other peoples are still continuously multiplying. However, this situation will eventually occur, and all the sooner the smaller the living space available to a people is. Since, unfortunately, only too often the best nations or, more correctly, the only true cultural races, the bearers of all human progress, decide in their pacifist blindness to renounce the acquisition of new territory in order to content themselves with "internal" colonization, while inferior nations manage to secure enormous living spaces in this world, this would lead to the following end result:

The culturally superior, but less ruthless races would have to limit their increase due to their limited soil at a time when the culturally lower, but naturally more brutal peoples would still be able to continue multiplying indefinitely due to their vast living spaces. In other words: the world will thus one day come into the possession of culturally inferior, yet more energetic humanity.

Then, in a future however distant, there are only two possibilities: either the world is governed according to the ideas of our modern democracy, then the weight of every decision falls in favor of the numerically stronger races, or the world is ruled according to the laws of the natural order of force, then the peoples of brutal will triumph, and thus once again not the nation of self-limitation.

That this world will one day be exposed to the severest struggles for the existence of mankind, no one can doubt. In the end, only the urge for self-preservation eternally triumphs. Beneath it, so-called humanity, as the expression of a mixture of stupidity, cowardice, and imaginary better knowledge, melts away like snow in the

March sun. In eternal struggle, humanity has grown great — in eternal peace, it perishes.

For us Germans, however, the slogan of "internal colonization" is unfortunate for the very reason that it immediately reinforces the opinion among us that we have found a means which, in accordance with a pacifist mindset, allows us to "earn" our existence in a gentle life of slumber. This doctrine, once taken seriously among us, means the end of every effort to preserve for ourselves that place in this world which we also deserve. As soon as the average German were to gain the conviction that life and the future could be secured in such a way, every attempt at an active and thus solely fruitful representation of German vital necessities would be finished. Any truly useful foreign policy could be considered buried by such an attitude of the nation, and with it the future of the German people altogether.

In recognition of these consequences, it is not by chance that it is primarily always the Jew who attempts and understands how to plant such deadly dangerous lines of thought into our people. He knows his people only too well not to know that they gratefully fall victim to every Spanish treasure-swindler who understands how to make them believe that a means has been found to play a trick on nature, to make the hard, inexorable struggle for existence superfluous, in order to rise in its place to become master of the planet, sometimes through work, sometimes even through mere idleness, depending on "how it hits."

It cannot be emphasized sharply enough that every German internal colonization must primarily serve only to eliminate social grievances, above all to withdraw the soil from general speculation, but can never suffice to secure the future of the nation without new land and soil.

If we act otherwise, we will in a short time not only have reached the end of our soil, but also the end of our strength.

Finally, the following must still be established:

The limitation to a specific small area of soil inherent in internal colonization, as well as the identical final effect resulting from the restriction of reproduction, leads to an extraordinarily unfavorable military-political situation for the nation in question.

In the size of a people's dwelling place alone lies an essential factor for determining its external security. The greater the amount of space available to a people, the greater is also its natural protection; for military decisions against peoples on a small, compressed area of soil could always be achieved in a faster and thus also easier and particularly more effective and complete manner, just as the opposite can be possible against territorially extensive states. In the size of the state territory, there thus still lies a certain protection against frivolous attacks, since success can only be achieved after long, hard battles, and therefore the risk of a high-handed assault will appear too great, unless quite extraordinary reasons exist. Therefore, in the size of the state itself lies a reason for the easier preservation of the freedom and independence of a people, while conversely, the smallness of such a formation positively invites seizure.

In fact, the first two possibilities for creating a balance between the rising population and the soil, which remains the same size, were also rejected in the so-called national circles of the Reich. The reasons for this stance were, to be sure, different from those cited above: Toward the restriction of births, people were primarily dismissive out of a certain moral feeling; internal colonization was rejected with indignation, as people sensed in it an attack against large landed property and saw in it the beginning of a general struggle against private property in general. Given the form in which especially this latter doctrine of salvation was recommended, one could easily be right with such an assumption.

In general, the defense against the broad masses was not very skillful and did not in any way hit the core of the problem.

Thus, only two ways remained to secure work and bread for the increasing population.

3. One could either acquire new land in order to send off the surplus millions annually, and thus continue to maintain the nation on the basis of self-sufficiency, or one
4. proceeded to create for foreign needs through industry and trade, in order to make a living from the proceeds.

So: either land policy or colonial and trade policy.

Both ways were considered, examined, recommended, and fought over from various directions, until finally the latter was definitively taken.

The healthier way of the two would certainly have been the former.

The acquisition of new soil and land for the settlement of the overflowing population possesses infinitely many advantages, especially if one considers not the present, but the future.

Even the possibility of maintaining a healthy peasant class as the foundation of the entire nation can never be estimated highly enough. Many of our current sufferings are only the result of the unhealthy relationship between the rural and urban population. A solid stock of small and medium-sized farmers has at all times been the best protection against social diseases such as we possess today. This is also the only solution that allows a nation to find its daily bread within the internal cycle of an economy. Industry and trade step back from their unhealthy leading position and integrate themselves into the general framework of a national economy of necessity and compensation. Both are thus no longer the basis of the nation's nutrition, but a means of assistance for the same. By having only the task of balancing between their own production and demand in all areas, they make the entire national nutrition more or less independent of foreign countries, thus helping to ensure the freedom of the state and the independence of the nation, especially in difficult days.

However, such a land policy cannot find its fulfillment in Cameroon, for example, but today almost exclusively only in Europe. One must coolly and soberly take the stand that it certainly cannot be the intention of Heaven to give one people fifty times as much land and soil in this world as another. In this case, one must not allow oneself to be diverted from the boundaries of eternal right by political boundaries. If this earth really has room for all to live, then let us be given the soil necessary for our life.

To be sure, people will not like to do this. But then the right of self-preservation comes into effect; and what is refused to kindness, the fist must simply take. If our ancestors had once made their decisions dependent on the same pacifist nonsense as the present day, then we would only own a third of our current soil; a German people, however, would then hardly have any more worries to bear in Europe. No – we owe the two Eastern Marches of the Reich to the natural determination to fight for our own existence, and with them that inner strength of the size of our state and national territory, which alone has allowed us to survive until today.

For another reason, too, this solution would have been the right one:

Many European states today resemble pyramids stood on their points. Their European base area is ridiculously small compared to their remaining burden in colonies, foreign trade, etc. One might say: a peak in Europe, a base in the entire world; in contrast to the American Union, which still possesses its base on its own continent and only touches the rest of the earth with its peak. From this, however, comes the unheard-of inner strength of this state and the weakness of most European colonial powers. Even England is no proof to the contrary, as one all too easily forgets the Anglo-Saxon world as such in view of the British Empire. Due to its community of language and culture with the American Union, England's position alone cannot be compared with any other state in Europe.

For Germany, therefore, the only possibility for carrying out a sound territorial policy lay only in the acquisition of new land in Europe itself. Colonies cannot serve this purpose as long as they do not appear suitable for settlement by Europeans on a large scale. In the nineteenth century, however, such colonial territories were no longer obtainable by peaceful means. Consequently, such a colonial policy could only have been carried out by way of a difficult struggle, which, however, would then have been more expediently fought out not for extra-European territories, but rather for land on the home continent itself.

Such a decision then, of course, requires undivided devotion. It is not possible to approach a task with half-measures or even hesitantly, the execution of which appears possible only with the exertion of even the last ounce of energy. Then the entire political leadership of the Reich had to pay homage to this exclusive purpose; never was a step to be taken guided by other considerations than the recognition of this task and its conditions. One had to gain clarity that this goal was only to be achieved through struggle, and one then had to face the passage of arms calmly and composedly.

Thus, all alliances were to be examined exclusively from this point of view and their utility...

to be estimated. If one wanted land and soil in Europe, then this could, by and large, only happen at the expense of Russia; then the new Reich had to set itself in motion again on the road of the former Knights of the Teutonic Order, in order to give the soil to the German plow with the German sword, and daily bread to the nation.

For such a policy, however, there was only one single ally in Europe: England.

Only with England alone was it possible, with one's back covered, to begin the new Germanic march. The right to this would have been no less than the right of our ancestors. None of our pacifists refuses to eat the bread of the East, although the first plow was once called "sword"!

To win England's favor, however, no sacrifice should then be too great. It meant renouncing colonies and maritime importance, but sparing British industry from competition.

Only an unconditionally clear attitude alone could lead to such a goal. Renunciation of world trade and colonies, renunciation of a German navy, concentration of all the state's means of power on the land army. The result would probably have been a momentary limitation, but a great and mighty future.

There was a time when England would have been willing to talk in this sense. Since it had understood very well that Germany, as a result of its population increase, must look for some way out and would either find it in Europe with England or without England in the world.

It was probably primarily due to this inkling that around the turn of the century an attempt was made from London itself to approach Germany. For the first time, what we have been able to observe in a truly frightening way in recent years became apparent then. People were unpleasantly affected by the thought of having to pull chestnuts out of the fire for England;

as if there could be an alliance on any basis other than that of a mutual business deal. With England, however, such a deal could very well have been made. British diplomacy was still clever enough to know that without a reciprocal service, no performance is to be expected.

But imagine if a clever German foreign policy had taken over the role of Japan in 1904, and one can hardly estimate what consequences this would have had for Germany.

A "World War" would never have occurred.

The blood shed in 1904 would have saved tenfold that of the years 1914 to 1918.

But what position would Germany occupy in the world today!

Of course, the alliance with Austria was then an absurdity.

For this state mummy allied itself with Germany not to fight through a war, but for the preservation of an eternal peace, which could then be used in a clever way for the slow but sure eradication of the German element within the monarchy.

This alliance was also an impossibility because one could not expect any offensive representation of national German interests from a state as long as it did not even possess the strength and determination to put an end to the process of de-Germanization on its immediate border. If Germany did not possess enough national consciousness and also ruthlessness to wrest the disposal over the fate of the ten million fellow tribesmen from the impossible Habsburg state, then one truly could not expect that it would ever lend a hand to such far-reaching and daring plans. The attitude of the old Reich toward the Austrian question was the touchstone for its behavior in the struggle for the destiny of the entire nation.

In any case, one should not have watched as year after year the German element was pushed back more and more, since indeed the value of Austria's alliance capability was determined exclusively by the preservation of the German element.

However, this path was not taken at all. One feared nothing so much as the struggle, only to be forced into it anyway at the most unfavorable hour.

One wanted to outrun fate and was overtaken by it. One dreamed of the preservation of world peace and landed in the World War.

And this was the most significant reason why this third way of shaping a German future was not even considered. One knew that the acquisition of new soil could only be achieved in the East, saw the then necessary struggle, and yet wanted peace at any price; for the slogan of German foreign policy had long since ceased to be: preservation of the German nation by all means, but rather: preservation of world peace by all means. How this then succeeded is well known.

I will return to this in particular later.

So there remained the fourth possibility: industry and world trade, sea power and colonies.

Such a development was, however, initially easier and also probably faster to achieve. The settlement of land and soil is a slow process that often lasts centuries; indeed, its inner strength is to be found precisely in the fact that it is not a matter of a sudden flare-up, but of a gradual but thorough and continuous growth, in contrast to an industrial development, which can be inflated in the course of a few years, only to then resemble a soap bubble more than solid strength. A fleet is certainly faster to build than to establish farmsteads and settle them with farmers in a tenacious struggle; however, it is also faster to destroy than the latter.

If Germany nevertheless took this path, then one had to at least clearly recognize that this development, too, would one day end in struggle. Only

Children could imagine that through friendly and civilized behavior and constant emphasis on peaceful intentions, they could fetch their bananas in "peaceful competition among nations," as people so beautifully and unctuously babbled; without ever having to take up arms.

No, if we trod this path, then one day England had to become our enemy. It was more than nonsensical to be indignant about it—though it entirely corresponded to our own harmlessness—that England took the liberty of one day opposing our peaceful activities with the brutality of the violent egoist. We, of course, would never have done this.

If European land policy could only be pursued against Russia in alliance with England, then conversely, colonial and world trade policy was only conceivable against England in alliance with Russia. But then one also had to ruthlessly draw the consequences here—and above all, let go of Austria as quickly as possible.

Viewed from every direction, this alliance with Austria around the turn of the century was already a true madness.

However, people did not even think of allying with Russia against England, any more than with England against Russia, for in both cases the end would have been war, and it was to prevent this that people decided on trade and industrial policy in the first place. In the "economically peaceful" conquest of the world, they now possessed an instruction manual that was intended to break the neck of the previous policy of force once and for all. Perhaps they were sometimes not quite sure of the matter after all, especially when unmistakable threats came over from England from time to time; therefore, they also decided to build a fleet, yet again not for the attack and destruction of England, but for the "defense" of the already mentioned "world peace" and the "peaceful" conquest of the world. Therefore, it was kept somewhat more modest in every respect, not only in number, but also according to the tonnage of individual ships as well as the armament, in order to let the ultimately "peaceful" intention shine through once again.

The talk of the "economic-peaceful" conquest of the world was probably the greatest nonsense ever elevated to a guiding principle of state policy. This nonsense became even greater because people did not hesitate to call upon England as a star witness for the possibility of such an achievement. What our professorial history teaching and historical conception have contributed to this crime can hardly be made good again and is only striking proof of how many people "learn" history without understanding or even grasping it. Precisely in England, one should have recognized the striking refutation of this theory; for no people has better prepared its economic conquests with the sword with the greatest brutality and later ruthlessly defended them than the English. Is it not precisely the hallmark of British statesmanship to draw economic acquisitions from political strength and to immediately recast every economic strengthening back into political power? At the same time, what an error to think that England would be personally too cowardly to stake its own blood for its economic policy! The fact that the English people possessed no "people's army" proved the opposite in no way here; for it is not the respective military form of the armed forces that matters here, but rather the will and determination to employ the existing one. England always possessed the armament it just needed. It always fought with the weapons that success demanded. It fought with mercenaries as long as mercenaries sufficed; but it also reached deep into the valuable blood of the entire nation if only such a sacrifice could bring victory; but the determination for the struggle and the tenacity as well as the ruthless leadership of the same always remained the same.

In Germany, however, one gradually bred, by way of the school, press, and comic papers, a conception of the nature of the Englishman and even more so of his empire that...

notion, which was bound to lead to one of the most malicious self-delusions; for everyone was slowly infected by this nonsense, and the consequence of this was an underestimation that then took its revenge in the most bitter way. The depth of this falsification was so great that people were convinced they were facing an Englishman who was as cunning as he was personally incredibly cowardly as a businessman. That a world empire of the size of the English one could not be acquired merely by sneaking and swindling did not, unfortunately, occur to our sublime teachers of professorial science. The few warners were ignored or silenced. I still remember exactly how astonished the faces of my comrades were when we personally encountered the Tommies in Flanders. Already after the first days of battle, the conviction probably dawned in the brain of everyone that these Scotsmen did not exactly correspond to those whom people had found right to depict to us in humor magazines and dispatch reports.

At that time, I made my first observations regarding the expediency of the form of propaganda.

This falsification, however, certainly had something good for its disseminators: one was able to demonstrate the correctness of the economic conquest of the world using this, albeit incorrect, example. What the Englishman succeeded in, we also had to succeed in, whereby our significantly greater honesty, the absence of that specifically English "perfidy," was then regarded as a very special plus. It was hoped that this would make it all the easier to win the affection of the smaller nations in particular, as well as the trust of the large ones.

That our honesty was an inner horror to the others did not occur to us, if only because we ourselves believed all this quite earnestly, while the rest of the world viewed such behavior as the expression of a quite clever mendacity, until finally, probably to the greatest astonishment, the revolution provided a deeper insight into the boundless stupidity of our "sincere" disposition.

Solely from the absurdity of this "peaceful economic conquest" of the world, the absurdity of the Triple Alliance was also immediately clear and understandable. With which state could one have allied oneself at all otherwise? Together with Austria, one was certainly not able to pursue military conquest, even if only in Europe. Yet it was precisely in this that the internal weakness of the alliance consisted from the very first day. A Bismarck could allow himself this makeshift solution, but certainly not every bungling successor for a long time thereafter, and least of all at a time when essential prerequisites for the Bismarckian alliance had long since ceased to exist; for Bismarck still believed he had a German state before him in Austria. With the gradual introduction of universal suffrage, however, this country had sunk into a parliamentarily governed, un-German chaos.

Now the alliance with Austria was also simply ruinous in terms of racial policy. One tolerated the emergence of a new Slavic great power on the border of the Reich, which sooner or later had to position itself quite differently toward Germany than, for example, Russia. At the same time, the alliance itself had to become internally hollower and weaker from year to year, in the same proportion as the sole supporters of this idea in the Monarchy lost influence and were pushed out of the most authoritative positions.

Already by the turn of the century, the alliance with Austria had entered exactly the same stage as Austria's alliance with Italy.

Here, too, there were only two possibilities: either one was in alliance with the Habsburg Monarchy, or one had to raise an objection against the displacement of Germandom. But once one begins with such a thing, the end usually tends to be open conflict.

The value of the Triple Alliance was also psychologically a modest one, since the stability of an alliance decreases in the same measure as it limits itself more and more to the preservation of an existing state of affairs as such. An alliance will, however, conversely be all the stronger the more the individual contracting parties are able to hope to achieve specific, tangible, expansive goals through it. Here too, as everywhere, strength lies not in defense, but in attack.

This was already recognized by various sides even then, unfortunately not by the so-called "authorities." In particular, the then Colonel Ludendorff, an officer in the Great General Staff, pointed out these weaknesses in a memorandum in 1912. Naturally, the "statesmen" accorded the matter no value or significance whatsoever; as clear reason apparently only has to appear expediently for ordinary mortals, but may fundamentally be excluded as far as "diplomats" are concerned.

It was only a stroke of luck for Germany that the war broke out in 1914 by way of Austria, so the Habsburgs had to participate; had it happened the other way around, Germany would have been alone. Never would the Habsburg state have been able or even willing to participate in a struggle that had originated through Germany. What was later so condemned in Italy would then have occurred earlier with Austria: they would have remained "neutral" in order to save the state from a revolution right at the beginning. Austrian Slavdom would rather have shattered the monarchy as early as 1914 than allowed aid for Germany.

How great the dangers and complications were that the alliance with the Danube Monarchy brought with it, however, very few were able to comprehend at that time.

Firstly, Austria possessed too many enemies who intended to inherit the decayed state for a certain hatred against Germany not to arise over time, in which one saw the cause of the prevention of the universally hoped-for and longed-for collapse of the monarchy. The conviction was reached that Vienna...

conclusion could only be reached by a detour through Berlin.

Secondly, however, Germany thereby lost the best and most promising alliance possibilities. Indeed, in their place, ever greater tension arose with Russia and even Italy. At the same time, the general mood in Rome was just as pro-German as it was anti-Austrian, slumbering in the heart of even the last Italian, and often even burning brightly.

Because people had thrown themselves into trade and industrial policy, there was no longer the slightest impetus for a struggle against Russia. Only the enemies of both nations could still have a lively interest in it. In fact, it was primarily Jews and Marxists who stirred up and incited war between the two states by all possible means.

Thirdly, however, this alliance had to harbor an infinite danger for Germany because it was now easily possible for a great power actually hostile to the Bismarckian Reich to mobilize a whole series of states against Germany at any time, by being able to hold out the prospect of enrichment for each at the expense of the Austrian ally.

The entire East of Europe could be brought into revolt against the Danube Monarchy, but especially Russia and Italy. The world coalition that had been forming since King Edward's introductory efforts would never have come about if Austria, as Germany's ally, had not represented such an enticing inheritance. Only in this way was it possible to bring states with otherwise heterogeneous wishes and goals into a single offensive front. Everyone could hope, in a general move against Germany, to also receive enrichment on their part at the expense of Austria. The fact that Turkey also seemed to belong to this unfortunate league as a silent partner increased this danger to the utmost degree.

However, international Jewish world finance needed these lures in order to be able to carry out the long-awaited plan for the destruction of a Germany that had not yet submitted to general supranational financial and economic control. Only with this could a coalition be forged, made strong and courageous by the sheer number of the millions of armies now marching, ready to finally set upon the horned Siegfried.

The alliance with the Habsburg monarchy, which had always filled me with displeasure even in Austria, now began to become the cause of long internal examinations, which in the following period only strengthened me further in my already preconceived opinion.

Even then, in the small circles in which I moved at all, I made no secret of my conviction that this unfortunate treaty with a state destined for ruin would also lead to a catastrophic collapse of Germany if one did not know how to break away in time. In this rock-solid conviction of mine, I did not waver for a single moment when finally the storm of the World War seemed to have eliminated every rational consideration and the frenzy of enthusiasm had seized even those places for which there should have been only the coldest consideration of reality. Even while I myself stood at the front, I maintained, wherever these problems were discussed, my opinion that the alliance should be broken off the sooner the better for the German nation, and that the abandonment of the Habsburg monarchy would be no sacrifice at all if Germany could thereby achieve a limitation of its opponents; for the millions had not put on the steel helmet for the preservation of a depraved dynasty, but rather for the salvation of the German nation.

A few times before the war, it seemed as if at least in one camp a slight doubt about the correctness of the alliance policy pursued was about to emerge. German-conservative circles began from time to time to warn against too great...

to warn against trustfulness, but this, like everything reasonable, had been thrown to the wind. People were convinced that they were on the right path to a "conquest" of the world, whose success would be immense and whose sacrifices would be zero.

But for the well-known "uncalled," once again nothing remained but to watch in silence why and how the "called" marched straight into ruin, dragging the dear people behind them like the Pied Piper of Hamelin.

* * *

The deeper cause for the possibility of presenting the nonsense of an "economic conquest" as a practical political path, and the preservation of "world peace" as a political goal to an entire people—indeed, of making it understandable—lay in the general illness of our entire political thinking in general.

With the triumphal march of German technology and industry, and the rising successes of German trade, the realization was increasingly lost that all this was only possible under the prerequisite of a strong state. On the contrary, in many circles people went so far as to represent the conviction that the state itself owed its existence only to these phenomena, that it itself primarily represented an economic institution, was to be governed according to economic interests, and accordingly also depended in its existence on the economy—a state of affairs which was then regarded and praised as by far the healthiest and most natural.

The state, however, has nothing at all to do with a certain economic conception or economic development. It is not a grouping of economic contractors in a specifically defined living space for the fulfillment of economic tasks, but the organization of a community of physically and spiritually similar living beings for the better enabling of the preservation of their species, as well as the achievement of the goal assigned to them by Providence.

predetermined goal of their existence. This and nothing else is the purpose and meaning of a State. The economy is thereby only one of the many auxiliary means that are simply necessary for the achievement of this goal. However, it is never the cause or purpose of a State, provided that the latter does not rest from the outset on a false, because unnatural, foundation. Only in this way is it explicable that the State as such does not even need to have a territorial limitation as a prerequisite. This will only be necessary for those peoples who, out of themselves, want to ensure the sustenance of their fellow species, that is, who are prepared to fight out the struggle with existence through their own labor. Peoples who are able to sneak into the rest of humanity as drones, in order to let them work for them under all sorts of pretexts, can form States even without any specific, limited living space of their own. This applies in the first instance to the people under whose parasitism the whole of honest humanity has to suffer especially today: Jewry.

The Jewish State was never spatially limited in itself, but universally unlimited in space, yet restricted to the unification of a race. Therefore, this people also always formed a State within States. It belongs to the most ingenious tricks ever invented to let this State sail as a "religion" and thereby ensure for it the tolerance that the Aryan is always ready to grant to religious confession. For in fact, the Mosaic religion is nothing other than a doctrine for the preservation of the Jewish race. It therefore encompasses almost all sociological, political, as well as economic fields of knowledge that could possibly come into question for this purpose.

The instinct of self-preservation is the first cause for the formation of human communities. With this, however, the State is a folkish organism and not an economic organization. A difference that is as great as it remains, however, incomprehensible especially to today's so-called "statesmen." Therefore, these also believe to be able to build up the state through the economy, while in truth it is eternally only the result of the exercise of those qualities which lie in the line of the will to preserve the species and the race. These, however, are always heroic virtues and never mercenary egoism, since the preservation of the existence of a species presupposes the willingness for the sacrifice of the individual. Therein lies precisely the meaning of the poet's words, "And if you do not stake your life, never will life be won for you," that the devotion of personal existence is necessary to ensure the preservation of the species. Thus, however, the most essential prerequisite for the formation and preservation of a state is the presence of a certain sense of belonging based on a common nature and a common kind, as well as the willingness to intervene for it with all means. In the case of peoples on their own soil, this will lead to the formation of heroic virtues; in the case of parasites, it will lead to mendacious hypocrisy and insidious cruelty, if these qualities must not already be demonstrably present as a prerequisite for their state existence, which is so different in form. Always, however, even the formation of a state will occur only through the deployment of these qualities, at least originally, whereby in the struggle for self-preservation those peoples will succumb—that is, fall prey to subjugation and thus to earlier or later extinction—who, in the mutual struggle, possess the least of heroic virtues or are not a match for the mendacious cunning of the hostile parasite. But even in this case, this is almost always attributable not so much to a lack of cleverness as rather to a lack of determination and courage, which seeks only to hide itself under the mantle of a humane disposition.

How little the state-forming and state-preserving qualities are connected with the economy is shown most clearly by the fact that the inner strength of a state only in the rarest cases coincides with so-called economic prosperity, but rather this seems to indicate the already approaching decay of the state in countless examples. Now, if the formation of human communities were to be attributed primarily to economic forces or even impulses, then the highest economic development would also simultaneously mean the greatest strength of the state, and not the other way around.

The belief in the state-building and state-preserving power of the economy seems particularly incomprehensible when it holds sway in a country that clearly and poignantly demonstrates the historical opposite in every respect. Prussia, in particular, proves with wonderful sharpness that not material qualities, but ideal virtues alone enable the formation of a state. Only under their protection can the economy then also flourish, until, with the collapse of the pure state-building capacities, the economy also collapses again; a process that we can observe right now in such an appallingly sad manner. The material interests of people are always able to thrive best as long as they remain in the shadow of heroic virtues; however, as soon as they attempt to step into the primary circle of existence, they destroy the prerequisite for their own continued existence.

Whenever an upswing of a power-political nature took place in Germany, the economy also began to rise; but whenever the economy became the sole content of our people's lives and the ideal virtues were stifled as a result, the state collapsed again and, in time, dragged the economy down with it.

If one, however, poses the question of what the state-building or even just state-preserving forces actually are, they can be summarized under a single designation: the capacity for sacrifice and the will for sacrifice of the individual for the whole. That these virtues have not the slightest thing to do with the economy is evident from the simple realization that man never sacrifices himself for the latter, that is to say: one does not die for business, but only for ideals. Nothing proved the psychological superiority of the Englishman in his understanding of the national soul better than the motivation he knew how to give to his struggle. While we fought for bread, England fought for "freedom," and not even for her own, no, for that of the small nations. We laughed at this insolence or were annoyed by it, thereby proving how thoughtlessly stupid the so-called statesmanship of Germany had already become before the war. There was no longer even a faint inkling of the nature of the force that is capable of leading men to death of their own free will and decision.

As long as the German people in 1914 still believed they were fighting for ideals, they held their ground; as soon as they were made to fight only for their daily bread, they preferred to give up the game.

Our witty "statesmen," however, were amazed at this change of mind. It never became clear to them that from the moment a man fights for an economic interest, he avoids death as much as possible, since death would forever deprive him of the enjoyment of the reward for his struggle. Concern for the rescue of her own child makes the weakest mother a heroine, and only the struggle for the preservation of the species and the hearth that protects it, or even the state, has driven men at all times into the spears of the enemy. One may set forth the following sentence as an eternally valid truth:

Never yet has a state been founded by peaceful economy, but always only by the instincts of the preservation of the species, whether these lie in the field of heroic virtue or cunning craftiness; the one then results in Aryan labor and cultural states, the other in Jewish parasite colonies. However, as soon as economy as such begins to overgrow these instincts in a people or in a state, it itself becomes the enticing cause of subjugation and oppression.

The pre-war belief that the world could be opened up to the German people in a peaceful way through trade and colonial policy...

To be able to open up or even conquer the people was a classic sign of the loss of the real state-building and state-preserving virtues and all the resulting insight, willpower, and determination; the natural-law consequence for this, however, was the World War with its aftermath.

For those not researching more deeply, however, this attitude of the German nation—for it was indeed almost universal—could only represent an unsolvable riddle: for Germany in particular was a truly wonderful example of an empire that had emerged from purely power-political foundations. Prussia, the germ cell of the Empire, came into being through radiant heroism and not through financial operations or commercial transactions, and the Empire itself was again only the most magnificent reward for power-political leadership and soldierly courage in the face of death. How could the German people, of all people, come to such a disease of its political instinct? For here it was not a matter of a single phenomenon, but of moments of decay which, in truly terrifying numbers, soon flickered up like will-o'-the-wisps and brushed up and down the body of the people or, as poisonous ulcers, ate away at the nation here and there. It seemed as if a perpetual stream of poison was being driven by a mysterious power into the outermost blood vessels of this former heroic body, only to lead to ever greater paralysis of healthy reason and the simple instinct for self-preservation.

As I allowed all these questions, necessitated by my stance on German alliance policy and the economic policy of the Empire, to pass before me countless times in the years 1912 to 1914, the solution to the riddle increasingly remained that power which I had already encountered before in Vienna, determined by entirely different points of view: the Marxist doctrine and worldview, as well as its organizational impact.

For the second time in my life, I delved into this doctrine of destruction—and this time, to be sure, no longer guided by the impressions and effects of my daily environment, but directed by the observation of general processes of political life. As I recently immersed myself in the theoretical literature of this new world and attempted to clarify its possible effects for myself, I then compared these with the actual phenomena and events of their effectiveness in political, cultural, and also economic life.

For the first time, however, I now also turned my attention to the attempts to master this world plague.

I studied Bismarck's exceptional legislation in its intent, struggle, and success. Gradually, I then obtained a foundation that was, for my own conviction, truly rock-solid, so that since that time I have never again been forced to undertake a realignment of my inner view on this question. Likewise, the relationship between Marxism and Jewry was subjected to a further thorough examination.

But if previously in Vienna, Germany above all had appeared to me as an unshakable colossus, now anxious doubts sometimes began to arise within me. I quarreled in private and in the small circles of my acquaintances with German foreign policy as well as with the, as it seemed to me, incredibly frivolous way in which the most important problem that existed for Germany at that time, Marxism, was treated. I really could not understand how one could stagger so blindly toward a danger whose effects, in accordance with Marxism's own intention, were bound to be monstrous one day. Even then, in my surroundings, just as I do today on a large scale, I warned against the soothing slogan of all cowardly wretches: "Nothing can happen to us!" A similar pestilence of mindset had once already destroyed a giant empire. Should Germany alone not be subject to exactly the same laws as all other human communities?

In the years 1913 and 1914, I expressed for the first time in various circles, some of which today stand loyally by the National Socialist movement, the conviction that the question of the future of the German nation is the question of the destruction of Marxism.

In the ill-fated German alliance policy, I saw only one of the consequences brought about by the subversive work of this doctrine; for the terrible thing was precisely that this poison, almost invisibly, destroyed all the foundations of a healthy economic and state conception, without those affected by it often even suspecting how much their actions and will were already the result of this otherwise most sharply rejected worldview.

The internal decline of the German people had already begun long ago at that time, without people, as so often in life, having become clear about the destroyer of their existence. Sometimes they would tinker with the disease, but then confused the forms of the phenomenon with the pathogen. Since they did not know or did not want to recognize the latter, the struggle against Marxism possessed only the value of a quack's long-winded talk.

Chapter 5

The World War

As a young wild spark, nothing had distressed me so much in my boisterous years as to have been born in a time that would obviously erect its temples of fame only to shopkeepers or civil servants. The waves of historical events seemed to have already subsided to such an extent that the future really seemed to belong only to the "peaceful competition of nations," which is to say, a leisurely mutual swindling while excluding violent methods of defense. The individual states began more and more to resemble enterprises that undermine each other, snatching away customers and orders and trying to overreach one another in every way, and staging all this under a clamor as great as it was harmless. This development, however, seemed not only to continue, but was one day (according to general recommendation) to remodel the whole world into a single large department store, in whose vestibules the busts of the most cunning profiteers and the most harmless administrative officials would then be stored for immortality. The merchants could then be provided by the English, the administrative officials by the Germans, but for the owners, the Jews would probably have to sacrifice themselves, since by their own admission they never earn anything, but eternally only "pay" and, moreover, speak most languages.

Why could one not have been born a hundred years earlier? Perhaps at the time of the Wars of Liberation, when a man was really worth something, even without "business"?!

I had often had angry thoughts about my earthly pilgrimage, which seemed to me to have begun too late, and I regarded the period of "peace and order" lying ahead of me as an undeserved meanness of fate. Even as a boy, I was no "pacifist," and all educational attempts in this direction came to nothing.

The Boer War appeared to me like a flash of heat lightning. Every day I lay in wait for the newspapers and devoured dispatches and reports, and was happy just to be allowed to be a witness to this heroic struggle, at least from a distance.

The Russo-Japanese War found me considerably more mature, but also more attentive. For more national reasons, I had already taken sides there and, in the settlement of our opinions at the time, immediately placed myself on the side of the Japanese. I saw in a defeat of the Russians also a defeat of Austrian Slavdom.

Since then, many years had passed, and what once appeared to me as a boy like a foul infirmity, I now felt as the calm before the storm. Already during my Vienna period, there lay over the Balkans that pale sultriness which usually heralds a hurricane, and already at times a brighter flash of light flickered up, only to lose itself quickly back into the uncanny darkness. But then came the Balkan War, and with it the first gust of wind swept over a nervous Europe. The time that followed lay like a heavy nightmare on people, brooding like feverish tropical heat, so that the feeling of the approaching catastrophe, as a result of eternal worry, finally became a longing: that heaven might finally grant free rein to the fate that could no longer be hindered. Then the first mighty bolt of lightning struck the earth: the storm broke loose, and with the thunder of heaven mingled the roar of the batteries of the World War.

When the news of the assassination of Archduke Franz Ferdinand arrived in Munich (I was just sitting at...

home and heard only vaguely the course of the deed), I was initially seized by worry that the bullets might perhaps have come from the pistols of German students who, out of indignation at the heir to the throne's constant work of Slavicization, wanted to free the German people from this internal enemy. What the consequence of that would have been could be imagined immediately: a new wave of persecutions, which would now have been "justified" and "substantiated" before the whole world. However, when I heard the names of the suspected perpetrators immediately afterward and furthermore read their identification as Serbs, a slight horror began to creep over me at this revenge of inscrutable fate. The greatest friend of the Slavs fell under the bullets of Slavic fanatics.

Whoever had the opportunity to constantly observe Austria's relationship with Serbia in recent years could hardly have been in doubt for a moment that the stone had started rolling, and there could no longer be any stopping it.

The Vienna government is being wronged today by being showered with reproaches over the form and content of the ultimatum it issued. No other power in the world could have acted differently in the same place and in the same situation. Austria possessed on its southern border an implacable mortal enemy who challenged the Monarchy at ever shorter intervals, and who would never have let up until finally the favorable moment for the shattering of the Empire had indeed occurred. There was reason to fear that this case would have to come at the latest with the death of the old Emperor; but then the Monarchy might perhaps no longer have been in a position to offer serious resistance at all. In recent years, the entire state already rested so much on the two eyes of Franz Joseph that the death of this ancient embodiment of the Empire was regarded from the outset in the feeling of the broad masses as the death of the Empire itself. Indeed, it was part of the cleverest arts of Slavic politics in particular to create the appearance that the Austrian

The state, in any case, owed its existence only to the quite wonderful, unique art of this monarch; a flattery that was all the more welcome in the Hofburg as it least corresponded to the actual merits of this Emperor. The sting that lurked hidden in this praise could not be detected. One did not see, or perhaps no longer wanted to see there, that the more the monarchy was adjusted only to the outstanding art of government—as people were accustomed to expressing it—of this "wisest monarch" of all time, the more catastrophic the situation had to become if one day fate knocked on the door here too, to collect its tribute.

Was the old Austria without the old Emperor then even thinkable at all?!

Would not the tragedy that had once affected Maria Theresa have repeated itself immediately?

No, one really does the Viennese government circles an injustice if the reproach is made against them that they were now driving toward war, which otherwise might perhaps still have been avoidable. It was no longer avoidable, but could at most have been postponed for another year or two. But this was indeed the curse of both German and Austrian diplomacy, that it had always tried to postpone the inevitable reckoning until it was finally forced to strike at the most unfortunate hour. One can be convinced that a further attempt to save the peace would only have brought the war at an even more unfavorable time.

No, whoever did not want this war also had to find the courage to draw the consequences. These, however, could only have consisted in the sacrifice of Austria. The war would still have come even then, but probably no longer as a struggle of all against us, but instead in the form of a tearing apart of the Habsburg Monarchy. In doing so, one then had to decide whether to participate or simply to watch, in order to let fate take its course with empty hands.

But precisely those who today curse the beginning of the war the most and judge it most wisely were the ones who most fatally helped to steer into it.

Social Democracy had for decades carried out the most villainous war-mongering against Russia, while the Center Party, for religious reasons, had made the Austrian state the primary pivot and turning point of German policy. Now the consequences of this madness had to be borne. What came, had to come and was no longer avoidable under any circumstances. The guilt of the German government lay in the fact that, in order to preserve peace at all costs, it repeatedly missed the favorable moments for striking, became entangled in the alliance for the preservation of world peace, and thus finally became the victim of a world coalition which opposed the determination for world war against the urge to preserve world peace.

Had the Vienna government given the ultimatum a different, milder form at that time, it would have changed nothing in the situation, except perhaps that the government itself would have been swept away by the indignation of the people. For in the eyes of the broad masses, the tone of the ultimatum was still far too considerate and by no means too far-reaching or even too brutal. Anyone who tries to deny this today is either a forgetful blockhead or a completely conscious liar.

The struggle of the year 1914 was, God is my witness, not forced upon the masses, but desired by the entire people themselves.

They wanted to finally put an end to a general state of uncertainty. Only in this way can one understand that for this most difficult struggle, over two million German men and boys voluntarily reported to the colors, ready to protect them with their last drop of blood.

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To me personally, those hours seemed like a deliverance from the vexatious feelings of my youth. Even today, I am not ashamed to say that, overcome by stormy enthusiasm, I fell to my knees and thanked Heaven from an overflowing heart for granting me the good fortune of being allowed to live in this time.

A struggle for freedom had dawned such as the earth had never seen a mightier one before; for as soon as destiny had even begun its course, the conviction dawned even upon the broadest masses that this time it was not a matter of Serbia's or even Austria's fate, but of the being or non-being of the German nation.

For the last time in many years, the people had become clairvoyant about their own future. Thus, right at the beginning of the gargantuan struggle, the necessary serious undertone entered into the intoxication of an exuberant enthusiasm: for this realization alone allowed the national uprising to become more than a mere flash in the pan. The seriousness, however, was only too necessary; for at that time, people generally did not have the slightest idea of the possible length and duration of the struggle now beginning. People dreamed of being home again by winter, to then continue in renewed peaceful work.

What man wants, he hopes for and believes. The overwhelming majority of the nation had long since grown weary of the eternal uncertain state of affairs; thus it was only too understandable that people no longer believed at all in a peaceful settlement of the Austro-Serbian conflict, but hoped for the final confrontation. I, too, belonged to these millions.

Hardly had the news of the assassination become known in Munich when two thoughts immediately flashed through my head: first, that war would finally be inevitable, and further, that now the Habsburg state would be forced to keep the alliance; for what I had always feared most, was the possibility that Germany itself might one day, perhaps precisely as a result of this alliance, become involved in a conflict without Austria having given the direct cause for it, and thus the Austrian state, for reasons of domestic policy, would not find the strength of resolve to stand behind its ally. The Slavic majority of the Empire would have immediately begun to sabotage such a self-determined intention and would have still preferred to smash the entire state into ruins rather than grant the requested aid to the ally. This danger, however, was now eliminated. The old state had to fight, whether one wanted to or not.

My own position on the conflict was also very simple and clear; for me, it was not Austria fighting for some Serbian satisfaction, but Germany fighting for its existence, the German nation for to be or not to be, for freedom and the future. Bismarck's work now had to fight; what the fathers had once won with their heroic blood in the battles from Weißenburg to Sedan and Paris, young Germany now had to earn anew. If this struggle were successfully endured, then our people would have re-entered the circle of great nations in terms of external power as well; only then could the German Reich prove itself as a mighty bulwark of peace, without having to cut its children's daily bread for the sake of a dear peace.

As a boy and a young man, I had so often had the wish to be able to testify at least once through deeds that national enthusiasm was no empty delusion to me. It often seemed to me almost a sin to shout "Hurrah" without perhaps even possessing the inner right to do so; for who was permitted to use this word without having tested it once where all play-acting ends and the inexorable hand of the Goddess of Fate begins to weigh peoples and men on the truth and permanence of their convictions? Thus, there welled up in me...

like millions of others, for my heart also overflowed with proud happiness to finally be able to release myself from this paralyzing sensation. I had so often sung "Deutschland über alles" and shouted "Heil" at the top of my lungs that it seemed to me almost like a belatedly granted grace to now be allowed to step forward as a witness in the service of the Eternal Judge to attest to the truthfulness of this sentiment. For it was settled for me from the first hour that in the event of a war—which seemed inevitable to me—I would immediately leave my books one way or another. But I also knew just as well that my place then had to be where my inner voice now pointed me.

For political reasons, I had primarily left Austria; but what was more natural than that I now, as the struggle began, had to take this sentiment into account all the more! I did not want to fight for the Habsburg state, but was ready at any time to die for my people and the Reich that embodied them.

On August 3rd, I submitted an immediate petition to His Majesty King Ludwig III with the request to be allowed to enter a Bavarian regiment. The Cabinet Office certainly had no small amount to do in those days; my joy was all the greater when I received the settlement of my request just the following day. When I opened the letter with trembling hands and read the approval of my request with the instruction to report to a Bavarian regiment, my jubilation and gratitude knew no bounds. A few days later, I was wearing the tunic that I was not to take off again for nearly six years.

Thus, as probably for every German, there now began for me the most unforgettable and greatest time of my earthly life. Compared to the events of this most mighty struggle, everything past receded into a stale nothingness. With proud melancholy, I think back especially in these days, as the tenth anniversary of that mighty event approaches, to those weeks of the beginning heroic struggle.

of our people, in which fate graciously allowed me to participate.

As if it were only yesterday, image after image passes before me; I see myself being outfitted in the circle of my dear comrades, then marching out for the first time, drilling, etc., until finally the day of the departure came.

A single worry tormented me during this time, as it did so many others: whether we would not arrive at the front too late. This alone often prevented me from finding peace. Thus, in every jubilant celebration of a new heroic deed, a faint drop of bitterness remained hidden, for with every new victory, the danger of our arriving too late seemed to increase.

And so finally the day came when we left Munich to set out for the fulfillment of our duty. For the first time, I saw the Rhine as we drove westward along its quiet waves, to protect it, the German stream of streams, from the greed of the old enemy. As the mild rays of the early sun let the Niederwald Monument shimmer down upon us through the delicate veil of the morning mist, the old "Watch on the Rhine" roared out from the endlessly long transport train into the morning sky, and I felt as if my chest would become too narrow.

And then comes a damp, cold night in Flanders, through which we march in silence, and as the day begins to break through the mists, suddenly an iron greeting hisses over our heads toward us and strikes with a sharp crack, sending small bullets between our ranks, lashing the wet ground; but before the small cloud has even dispersed, the first "Hurrah" thunders from two hundred throats toward the first messenger of death. Then, however, it began to rattle and roar, to sing and howl, and with feverish eyes, everyone was drawn forward, faster and faster, until suddenly, across turnip fields and hedges, the battle began—the battle man against man. From the distance, however, the sounds of a song reached our ears and came ever closer and closer, jumped from company to company, and then, just as death was busily reaching into our ranks, the song reached us too, and we passed it on again: Germany, Germany above all, above all in the world!

After four days we returned. Even our stride had now become different. Seventeen-year-old boys now looked like men.

The volunteers of the List Regiment had perhaps not properly learned how to fight, but they knew how to die like old soldiers.

That was the beginning.

So it went on year after year; but in place of the romance of battle, horror had stepped in. The enthusiasm gradually cooled down, and the exuberant jubilation was stifled by the fear of death. The time came when everyone had to struggle between the instinct of self-preservation and the admonitions of duty. I, too, was not spared this struggle. Whenever death was on the hunt, an indefinite something tried to revolt, endeavored to present itself as reason to the weak body, but was after all only cowardice, which tried to ensnare the individual under such disguises. A heavy pulling and warning then began, and often only the last remnant of conscience tipped the scales. But the more this voice, which urged caution, exerted itself, the louder and more insistently it enticed, the sharper the resistance became, until finally, after a long inner struggle, the sense of duty carried the victory. Already in the winter of 1915/16, this struggle was decided for me. The will had finally become complete master. If in the first days I could storm along with jubilation and laughter, I was now calm and determined. This, however, was the enduring state. Only now could fate proceed to the final tests without the nerves snapping or the mind failing.

From the young war volunteer, an old soldier had grown.

But this change had taken place throughout the entire army. It had emerged old and hardened from the eternal struggles, and whatever was unable to withstand the storm was simply broken by it.

But only now could one judge this army. Now, after two or three years, during which it was thrown from one battle into another, always fighting against superior numbers and weapons, suffering hunger and enduring privations, now was the time to test the quality of this unique army.

Though millennia may pass, one will never be able to speak and tell of heroism without remembering the German Army of the Great War. Then, out of the veil of the past, the iron front of the gray steel helmet will become visible, not wavering and not yielding, a memorial of immortality. As long as Germans live, they will remember that these were once sons of their people.

I was a soldier then and did not want to talk politics. It was truly not the time for it. I still hold the conviction today that the last wagon-driver performed more valuable services for the Fatherland than even the first, let us say, "parliamentarian." I never hated these chatterboxes more than precisely at that time, when every true fellow who had something to say shouted it into the enemy's face or otherwise kept his mouth shut at home and silently did his duty somewhere. Yes, I hated all these "politicians" back then, and if it had been up to me, a parliamentary labor battalion would have been formed immediately; then they could have chattered among themselves to their heart's content and need, without annoying or even harming decent and honest humanity.

So at that time I wanted to know nothing of politics, but yet I could not help but take a stand on certain phenomena that affected the entire nation, and especially concerned us soldiers.

There were two things that annoyed me inwardly at that time and which I considered harmful.

Even after the first news of victory, a certain press began slowly and perhaps at first unrecognizably for many to let a few drops of wormwood fall into the general enthusiasm. This happened under the mask of a certain benevolence and good intentions, even a certain concern. There were reservations against too much exuberance in celebrating the victories. It was feared that this, in such a form, was not worthy of so great a nation and therefore not appropriate. The bravery and heroism of the German soldier were, after all, something quite self-evident, so that one should not allow oneself to be carried away so much by ill-considered outbursts of joy, if only for the sake of foreign countries, to whom a quiet and dignified form of joy would be more appealing than unrestrained cheering, etc. Finally, we Germans should not forget even now that the war was not our intention, and therefore we would not have to be ashamed to confess openly and manfully that we would contribute our part at any time to a reconciliation of mankind. For that reason, however, it would not be wise to besmirch the purity of the army's deeds with too much clamor, since the rest of the world would have little understanding for such behavior. Nothing is admired more than the modesty with which a true hero forgets his deeds silently and calmly—for that is what the whole thing amounted to.

Instead of taking such a fellow by his long ears and stringing him up on a long pole with a rope, so that the "knight of the inkwell" could no longer offend the celebrating nation's aesthetic sensibilities, they actually began to take action against the "inappropriate" manner of victory celebrations with admonitions.

They had no inkling that enthusiasm, once broken, cannot be reawakened as needed. It is an intoxication and must be maintained in this state. But how was one to manage without this power of enthusiasm endure a struggle which, by human estimation, would place the most immense demands on the spiritual qualities of the nation?

I knew the psyche of the broad masses only too well not to know that one could not stoke the fire here with "aesthetic" loftiness, which was necessary to keep this iron hot. In my eyes, people were crazy for doing nothing to increase the boiling heat of passion; but that they even curtailed the fortunately existing heat, I was simply unable to understand.

What then annoyed me for a second reason was the way in which it was now deemed good to oppose Marxism. In my eyes, this only proved that they did not have the slightest inkling of this pestilence. They seemed in all seriousness to believe that by the assurance of no longer knowing any parties, they had brought Marxism to insight and restraint.

That this is not a matter of a party at all, but of a doctrine that must lead to the destruction of all humanity, was understood all the less because this is not to be heard at the Judaized universities, but otherwise only too many, especially of our higher officials, out of innate stupid conceit, do not find it worth the effort to pick up a book and learn something that simply did not belong to the curriculum of their university. The most powerful upheaval passes these "heads" by completely without a trace, which is why the state institutions mostly lag behind the private ones. Of them, truly God, the folk proverb applies most of all: What the farmer does not know, he does not eat. A few exceptions here only prove the rule.

It was nonsense beyond compare, in the days of August 1914, to identify the German worker with Marxism. In those hours, the German worker had indeed freed himself from the embrace of this poisonous plague solved, as otherwise he would never have been able to even enter the struggle at all. But people were stupid enough to believe that perhaps Marxism had now become "national"; a flash of inspiration that only shows that in these long years none of these official leaders of the state had even found it worth the effort to study the essence of this doctrine, for otherwise such madness would hardly have occurred.

Marxism, whose ultimate goal is and remains the destruction of all non-Jewish national states, had to see to its horror that in the July days of 1914 the German working class, which it had ensnared, awoke and began to place itself more quickly from hour to hour into the service of the Fatherland. In a few days, the whole haze and swindle of this infamous deception of the people had fluttered away, and lonely and abandoned the Jewish pack of leaders suddenly stood there, as if not a trace of the nonsense and delusion drilled into the masses for sixty years were present anymore. It was an evil moment for the deceivers of the working class of the German people. But as soon as the leaders recognized the danger threatening them, they quickly pulled the camouflage cap of lies over their ears and insolently mimicked the national uprising.

Now, however, the time would have come to take action against the entire fraudulent association of these Jewish poisoners of the people. Now they should have been dealt with summarily, without the slightest regard for any outcry and lamentation that might set in. In August of the year 1914, the jabbering of international solidarity had disappeared at a stroke from the heads of the German working class, and instead, only a few weeks later, American shrapnel began to pour down the blessings of brotherhood over the helmets of the marching columns. It would have been the duty of a concerned state government, now that the German worker had found his way back to nationhood, to ruthlessly exterminate the agitators against this nationhood.

If the best were falling at the front, then at least the vermin at home could be exterminated.

Instead, however, His Majesty the Kaiser himself extended his hand to the old criminals and thus gave the insidious assassins of the nation protection and the possibility of inner composure.

Now the snake could continue to work again, more cautiously than before, but only all the more dangerously. While the honest dreamed of the *Burgfrieden* (civil truce), the perjured criminals organized the revolution.

The fact that at that time one decided on this appalling half-heartedness made me increasingly dissatisfied inwardly; but that the end of it would be so appalling, even I would not have considered possible at that time.

But what had to be done now? The leaders of the entire movement should have been put behind bars immediately, put on trial, and the nation rid of them. One had to ruthlessly employ the entire military means of power for the eradication of this pestilence. The parties were to be dissolved, the Reichstag brought to reason with bayonets if necessary, but preferably abolished immediately. Just as the Republic is able to dissolve parties today, one should have resorted to this means with more reason back then. After all, the being or non-being of an entire people was at stake!

Admittedly, a question then came into play: Can spiritual ideas be eradicated with the sword at all? Can "worldviews" be fought with the use of brute force?

I have presented this question to myself more than once even at that time.

When thinking through analogous cases that can be found in history, particularly on a religious basis, the following fundamental insight emerges:

Conceptions and ideas, as well as movements with a specific spiritual basis, whether this be false or true, can, from a certain point in their development, only be broken with technical means of power if...

then be broken when these physical weapons are at the same time themselves the carriers of a new, igniting thought, an idea, or a worldview.

The use of force alone, without the driving power of a spiritual fundamental conception as a prerequisite, can never lead to the destruction of an idea and its dissemination, except in the form of a complete extermination of even the last carrier and the destruction of the last tradition. This, however, usually means the departure of such a state body from the circle of power-political significance for an often endless time, sometimes even forever; for such a blood sacrifice, as experience shows, strikes the best part of the people, since every persecution that takes place without a spiritual prerequisite appears as morally unjustified and now lashes the precisely more valuable elements of a people into protest, which manifests itself in an appropriation of the spiritual content of the unjustly persecuted movement. In many cases, this happens simply out of a feeling of opposition against the attempt to club down an idea through brutal force.

Because of this, however, the number of internal supporters grows in the same measure as the persecution increases. Consequently, the complete destruction of the new doctrine can only be carried out by means of an extermination so great and ever-increasing that, in the end, all truly valuable blood is withdrawn from the people or state in question. This, however, takes its revenge, in that a so-called "internal" cleansing may indeed take place, but only at the cost of a general impotence. Such a process will always be futile from the outset if the doctrine to be combated has already exceeded a certain small circle.

Therefore, here too, as with all growth, the first period of childhood is most exposed to the possibility of destruction, while with increasing years the power of resistance increases, only to give way again to new youth upon the approach of senile decay, albeit in a different form and for different reasons.

In fact, however, almost all attempts to exterminate a doctrine and its organizational impact through force without a spiritual foundation lead to failure, and indeed not infrequently end with the exact opposite of what was desired for the following reason:

The very first prerequisite for a method of struggle using the weapons of naked force is and remains persistence. This means that the possibility of the intention succeeding lies only in the continuously uniform application of methods for the suppression of a doctrine, etc. However, as soon as force alternates even waveringly with leniency, not only will the doctrine to be suppressed recover again and again, but it will even be able to draw new values from every persecution, in that after such a wave of pressure subsides, the indignation over the suffering endured brings new followers to the old doctrine, while those already present will cling to it with greater defiance and deeper hatred than before; indeed, even split-off defectors will attempt to return to the old attitude once the danger has been removed. The very first prerequisite for success lies in the eternally uniform application of force alone. This persistence, however, is always only the result of a certain spiritual conviction. Any force that does not spring from a firm spiritual foundation will be wavering and uncertain. It lacks the stability that can only rest in a fanatical worldview. It is the outflow of the respective energy and brutal determination of an individual, and is therefore subject to the change of personality and its nature and strength.

But something else is added to this:

Every worldview, whether it be more of a religious or political nature—sometimes the boundary here is difficult to determine—fights less for the negative destruction of the opposing world of ideas than for the positive implementation of its own. Thus, however, its struggle is less defense than attack. It is already...

is at an advantage in determining the goal, since this goal represents the victory of one's own idea, while conversely it is difficult to determine when the negative goal of destroying a hostile doctrine can be regarded as achieved and secured. For this reason alone, the attack of a worldview will be more systematic, but also more powerful than the defense against one; just as here, too, the decision generally belongs to the attack and not to the defense. However, the struggle against a spiritual power with means of force is only a defense as long as the sword itself does not appear as the bearer, herald, and disseminator of a new spiritual doctrine.

In summary, the following can be stated:

Every attempt to combat a worldview with means of power fails in the end, as long as the struggle does not take the form of an attack for a new spiritual attitude. Only in the struggle of two worldviews with each other can the weapon of brutal force, used persistently and ruthlessly, bring about the decision for the side it supports.

But it was on this point that the fight against Marxism had always failed until now.

That was the reason why Bismarck's Socialist Laws also finally failed and had to fail despite everything. The platform of a new worldview was missing, for whose rise the struggle could have been fought. For only the proverbial wisdom of high-ranking ministerial officials will manage to believe that the babble about a so-called "state authority" or "peace and order" could be a suitable basis for the spiritual drive of a life-and-death struggle.

Because a truly spiritual bearer of this struggle was missing, Bismarck also had to leave the implementation of his Socialist Laws to the discretion and will of that institution which was itself already an offspring of the Marxist way of thinking. By the Iron Chancellor entrusting the fate of his war against Marxism to the goodwill entrusted to bourgeois democracy, he is setting the fox to keep the geese.

All this, however, was only the inevitable consequence of the lack of a fundamental new worldview, opposed to Marxism, with a stormy will for conquest.

Thus, the result of Bismarck's struggle was only a heavy disappointment.

But were conditions any different during the World War or at its beginning? Unfortunately, no.

The more I occupied myself at that time with the thought of a necessary change in the attitude of the state government toward Social Democracy as the current embodiment of Marxism, the more I recognized the lack of a usable substitute for this doctrine. What, then, did they want to give the masses if, assuming Social Democracy had been broken? Not a single movement was present of which one could have expected that it would succeed in drawing into its spell the great throngs of workers who had now become more or less leaderless. It is nonsensical and more than stupid to think that the international fanatic who has left the class party would now instantly join a bourgeois party, that is, a new class organization. For however unpleasant this may be to various organizations, it cannot be denied that to a very large extent, class division appears quite natural to bourgeois politicians as long as it does not begin to have a political effect to their disadvantage.

The denial of this fact proves only the impudence, but also the stupidity, of the liars.

In general, one should beware of considering the broad masses to be stupider than they are. In political matters, feeling not infrequently decides more correctly than reason. The opinion, however, that the masses' stupid international attitude speaks sufficiently for the incorrectness of this feeling, can immediately be countered by the thorough-

...most clearly refuted by the simple reference to the fact that pacifist democracy is no less insane, yet its proponents stem almost exclusively from the bourgeois camp. As long as millions of citizens still devoutly worship their Jewish democratic press every morning, it ill behooves these gentlemen to joke about the stupidity of the "comrade" who, in the end, merely devours the same rubbish, albeit in a different presentation. In both cases, the manufacturer is one and the same Jew.

One should therefore be very careful to avoid denying things that simply exist. The fact that the class question is by no means merely a matter of ideal problems, as people especially like to pretend before elections, cannot be denied. The class snobbery of a large part of our people is, just like above all the low estimation of the manual laborer, a phenomenon that does not originate from the imagination of a moon-struck dreamer.

Furthermore, quite apart from that, it indicates the meager thinking capacity of our so-called intelligentsia when precisely in these circles it is not understood that a condition which was unable to prevent the rise of a plague such as Marxism simply is, will now be even less in a position to win back what has been lost.

The "bourgeois" parties, as they call themselves, will never again be able to bind the "proletarian" masses to their camp, since two worlds face each other here, partly naturally, partly artificially separated, whose state of behavior toward one another can only be struggle. But the younger will triumph here — and this would be Marxism.

In fact, a struggle against Social Democracy in the year 1914 was certainly conceivable; however, how long this state of affairs could have been maintained in the absence of any practical substitute was doubtful.

Here, a great gap existed.

I had held this opinion long before the war and therefore could not bring myself to join any of the existing parties. In the course of the events of the World War, I was further strengthened in this opinion by the apparent impossibility, precisely due to this lack of a movement that had to be more than a "parliamentary" party, of ruthlessly taking up the struggle against Social Democracy. I spoke openly about this to my closer comrades.

Furthermore, the first thoughts now occurred to me of becoming politically active myself at a later time.

It was precisely this, however, that was the reason why I now frequently assured the small circle of my friends that after the war I intended to act as a speaker alongside my profession. I believe I was very serious about it.

Chapter 6

War Propaganda

In my attentive following of all political events, the activity of propaganda had always interested me extraordinarily. I saw in it an instrument which the socialist-Marxist organizations in particular mastered with masterly skill and understood how to apply. I learned early on to understand that the correct use of propaganda represents a real art, which was and remained almost unknown to the bourgeois parties. Only the Christian-Social movement, especially in Lueger's time, achieved a certain virtuosity with this instrument and owed many of its successes to it.

To what enormous results a correctly applied propaganda can lead, however, could only be seen during the war. Unfortunately, here again everything was to be studied on the other side, for the activity on our side remained more than modest in this respect. However, it was precisely the complete failure of the entire enlightenment on the German side, which must have struck every soldier so glaringly, that became the reason for me to occupy myself even more urgently with the question of propaganda.

There was often more than enough time for thinking, but the enemy provided us with practical instruction, unfortunately only too well.

For what was neglected here by us, the opponent made up for with unheard-of skill and truly brilliant calculation. In this enemy war propaganda I have

I too learned immensely. However, for those who should have been the first to take this as a lesson, time passed without a trace; some thought themselves too clever to accept instruction from others, while others lacked the honest will to do so.

Was there any propaganda at all among us?

Unfortunately, I can only answer this with a no. Everything that was actually undertaken in this direction was so inadequate and wrong from the very beginning that it was at least of no use, and sometimes even caused outright harm.

Inadequate in form, psychologically wrong in essence: this had to be the result of a careful examination of German war propaganda.

Even regarding the first question, people do not seem to have become quite clear, namely: Is propaganda a means or an end?

It is a means and must therefore be judged from the point of view of the end. Its form must therefore be appropriately adapted to support the goal it serves. It is also clear that the importance of the goal can vary from the standpoint of general necessity, and that the inner value of the propaganda is determined differently accordingly. The goal for which we fought in the course of the war, however, was the most sublime and mighty that can be imagined for human beings: it was the freedom and independence of our people, the security of food supplies for the future, and—the honor of the nation; something that, despite the contrary opinion of today, nevertheless exists or rather should exist, since peoples without honor tend to lose their freedom and independence sooner or later, which again only corresponds to a higher justice, as dishonorable generations of scoundrels deserve no freedom. But he who wants to be a cowardly slave cannot and must not have any honor, as this would otherwise fall prey to general contempt in the shortest possible time.

The German people fought in the struggle for a human existence, and to support this struggle would have been the purpose of war propaganda; to help it achieve victory had to be the goal.

But when peoples struggle for their existence on this planet, and thus the fateful question of being or non-being approaches them, all considerations of humanity or aesthetics collapse into nothingness; for all these ideas do not float in the world ether, but originate from the imagination of man and are bound to him. His departure from this world also dissolves these concepts back into nothingness, for nature does not know them. They are, however, even among men, peculiar to only a few peoples or rather races, and specifically to the extent that they originate from their own feelings. Humanity and aesthetics would even perish in a humanly inhabited world as soon as it lost the races that are the creators and carriers of these concepts.

Thus, all these concepts have only subordinate importance in a people's struggle for its existence in this world; indeed, they are completely excluded as determining factors for the forms of struggle as soon as they could paralyze the self-preservation power of a people engaged in struggle. That, however, is always the only visible result.

As far as the question of humanity is concerned, Moltke has already expressed that in war this always lies in the brevity of the procedure, so that the sharpest mode of combat would correspond to it most closely.

But if one attempts to approach such things with the babble of aesthetics, etc., then there can really be only one answer: fateful questions of the significance of a people's struggle for existence cancel every obligation to beauty. The most unbeautiful thing that can exist in human life is and remains the yoke of slavery. Or does this Schwabing decadence perhaps perceive the current lot of the German nation as "aesthetic"? With the Jews, as the modern inventors of this...

cultural perfumes, one truly does not need to talk about them. Their entire existence is the protest in the flesh against the aesthetics of the image of the Lord.

But if these viewpoints of humanity and beauty are once and for all excluded from the struggle, then they also cannot find application as a yardstick for propaganda.

Propaganda in the war was a means to an end, but this end was the struggle for the existence of the German people, and thus propaganda could only be viewed from the principles valid for this purpose. The most cruel weapons were then humane if they conditioned a faster victory, and beautiful were only the methods alone which helped to secure the dignity of freedom for the nation.

This was the only possible position in such a life-and-death struggle regarding the question of war propaganda.

If this had been realized in the so-called authoritative places, one would never have fallen into that uncertainty about the form and application of this weapon; for this too is only a weapon, albeit a truly terrifying one in the hand of the expert.

The second question of almost decisive importance was the following: To whom must propaganda turn? To the scientific intelligentsia or to the less educated masses?

It must eternally address itself only to the masses!

For the intelligentsia, or what today unfortunately often calls itself such, propaganda is not there, but rather scientific instruction. Propaganda, however, is as little science in its content as, for example, a poster is art in its representation per se. The art of the poster lies in the ability of the designer to attract the attention of the crowd through form and color. The art exhibition poster has only to point to the art of the exhibition; the more it succeeds in this, the greater then is the art of the poster itself. Furthermore, the poster should provide the masses with an idea of the significance of the exhibition, but by no means be a substitute for the art offered therein. Therefore, anyone who wishes to engage with the art itself must study more than just the poster; indeed, for such a person, merely "strolling through" the exhibition is by no means sufficient. It may be expected of him that he immerse himself in the individual works through thorough viewing and then slowly form a fair judgment. The circumstances are similar regarding what we today designate with the word propaganda.

The task of propaganda lies not in the scientific education of the individual, but in pointing out to the masses certain facts, processes, necessities, etc., whose significance is only thereby to be brought into the horizon of the masses.

The art now lies exclusively in doing this in such an excellent manner that a general conviction arises of the reality of a fact, the necessity of a process, the correctness of something necessary, etc. Since, however, it is not and cannot be a necessity in itself, as its task—exactly as with the poster—must consist in attracting the attention of the crowd and not in the instruction of those who are already scientifically experienced or striving for education and insight, its effect must also be directed ever more toward emotion and only very conditionally toward the so-called intellect.

All propaganda must be popular and must adjust its intellectual level according to the receptive capacity of the most limited among those to whom it intends to address itself. Thus, its purely intellectual height is to be set all the lower, the greater the mass of people to be reached. If, however, as in the case of propaganda for the perseverance of a war, it is a matter of drawing an entire people into its sphere of influence, then the caution in avoiding too high intellectual prerequisites can hardly be great enough.

The more modest its scientific ballast is, and the more it takes exclusively into account the feelings of the masses, the more striking the success. This, however, is the best proof of the correctness or incorrectness of a piece of propaganda and not the successful satisfaction of a few scholars or aesthetic youths.

Precisely therein lies the art of propaganda, that it, understanding the emotional world of the great masses, finds in a psychologically correct form the way to attention and further to the heart of the broad masses. That this is not understood by our know-it-alls only proves their mental laziness or conceit.

But if one understands the necessity of adjusting the advertising art of propaganda to the broad masses, then the following lesson already results from it:

It is wrong to want to give propaganda the versatility of, say, scientific instruction.

The receptivity of the great masses is only very limited, their understanding small, but their forgetfulness is great. Out of these facts, any effective propaganda must limit itself to only a very few points and utilize these like slogans for so long until definitely the last person is able to imagine what is intended by such a word. As soon as one sacrifices this principle and wants to become versatile, one will cause the effect to dissipate, as the crowd is able neither to digest nor to retain the material offered. But with that, the result is again weakened and finally abolished.

The larger the line of its presentation has to be, the more psychologically correct the determination of its tactics must be.

It was, for example, fundamentally wrong to make the opponent ridiculous, as the Austrian and German comic-paper propaganda primarily did. Fundamentally wrong because the encounter in reality had to immediately provide the man with a completely different conviction of the opponent, something which then in the most terrible way...

avenged; for now the German state, under the immediate impression of the enemy's resistance, felt deceived by the creators of its previous enlightenment, and instead of a strengthening of its fighting spirit or even just firmness, the opposite occurred. The man despaired.

In contrast, the war propaganda of the English and Americans was psychologically correct. By presenting the German to their own people as barbarians and Huns, they prepared the individual soldier for the horrors of war and thus helped to preserve him from disappointment. The most terrible weapon that was now used against him appeared to him only as the confirmation of the enlightenment he had already received and strengthened his belief in the correctness of his government's assertions, just as it increased his rage and hatred against the wicked enemy. For the cruel effect of the weapon, which he now experienced firsthand from the enemy's side, gradually appeared to him as proof of the "Hun-like" brutality of the barbarian enemy already known to him, without him being brought to reflect for even a moment that his own weapons might, indeed probably, have an even more appalling effect.

Thus, the English soldier, above all, could never feel untruthfully informed from home, which was unfortunately so much the case with the German that he finally rejected everything that came from that side as "swindle" and "humbug." All consequences of the belief that one could detail the next best ass (or even "otherwise" clever people) for propaganda, instead of realizing that for this task, the most brilliant experts of the soul are just barely good enough.

Thus, German war propaganda offered an unsurpassed educational and instructional example of an "enlightenment" working in exactly the opposite direction in its effects, due to the complete lack of any psychologically correct consideration.

But there was infinitely much to learn from the opponent for those who,

who, with open eyes and uncalcified feelings, processed for himself the tidal wave of enemy propaganda that came storming in for four and a half years.

Worst of all, however, people failed to grasp the very first prerequisite of any propagandistic activity at all: namely, its fundamentally subjective, one-sided stance toward every question it addresses. In this field, sins were committed—and right from the top down at the very beginning of the war—such that one was well entitled to doubt whether so much nonsense could really be attributed to pure stupidity alone.

What would one say, for example, about a poster intended to praise a new soap, but which also described other soaps as "good"?

One would only shake one's head at it.

It is exactly the same with political advertising. The task of propaganda is, for example, not a weighing of various rights, but the exclusive emphasis of the one to be represented by it. It does not have to objectively explore the truth as well, insofar as it is favorable to others, only to then present it to the masses with doctrinal sincerity; rather, it must serve its own truth uninterruptedly.

It was fundamentally wrong to discuss the guilt for the war from the standpoint that not only Germany alone could be held responsible for the outbreak of this catastrophe; rather, it would have been correct to burden the opponent with this guilt entirely, even if this did not truly correspond to the actual course of events, as was indeed actually the case.

But what was the consequence of this half-heartedness?

The broad mass of a people does not consist of diplomats or even teachers of constitutional law, nor even of purely rational judges, but of human children who are as vacillating as they are inclined toward doubt and uncertainty. As soon as even the glimmer of a right on the other side is admitted by one's own propaganda, the ground for doubt in already laid the foundations for their own rights. The masses are not in a position to distinguish where the injustice of others ends and their own begins. In such a case, they become uncertain and suspicious, especially when the opponent does not commit the same nonsense but, for his part, burdens the enemy with any and every guilt. What is more explainable than that, finally, one's own people believe the enemy propaganda—which proceeds in a more closed, uniform manner—even more than their own? And this is especially true for a people who already suffer so much from a mania for objectivity as the Germans do! For among them, everyone will now strive to avoid doing the enemy an injustice, even at the risk of the heaviest burden, indeed the destruction, of their own people and state.

That those in authoritative positions naturally do not intend it this way does not enter the consciousness of the masses at all. The overwhelming majority of the people are so feminine in their nature and outlook that their thinking and acting are determined less by sober reflection than by emotional feeling.

This feeling, however, is not complicated, but very simple and cohesive. It does not offer many differentiations, but rather a positive or a negative, love or hate, right or wrong, truth or lie, but never half this way and half that way, or partially, etc.

British propaganda, in particular, understood and took this into account in a truly brilliant manner. There, there were truly no half-measures that might have encouraged doubt.

The sign of the brilliant knowledge of the primitivity of the feelings of the broad masses lay in the atrocity propaganda adapted to this condition, which, in a manner as ruthless as it was ingenious, secured the preconditions for moral endurance at the front, even in the face of the greatest actual defeats, as well as in the equally striking pinning down of the German enemy as the sole guilty party for the outbreak of the war: a lie which, only through the absolute, impudent, one-sided stubbornness with which it was presented, took into account the emotional, always extreme attitude of the great masses and was therefore also believed.

How effective this type of propaganda was was most strikingly demonstrated by the fact that after four years it was not only able to keep the opponent strictly in line, but even began to eat away at our own people.

That our propaganda was not granted this success should really not have surprised anyone. It carried the seed of ineffectiveness in its inner ambiguity. Finally, due to its content, it was unlikely that it would make the necessary impression on the masses. Only our mindless "statesmen" were capable of hoping that it would be possible to intoxicate people to the point of death with this bland pacifist dishwater.

Thus, this wretched product was useless, even harmful. But all the genius in the presentation of propaganda will lead to no success if a fundamental principle is not always considered with equal sharpness. It must limit itself to a few things and repeat them eternally. Perseverance here, as in so many things in the world, is the first and most important prerequisite for success.

Particularly in the field of propaganda, one must never let oneself be guided by aesthetes or the jaded: not by the former, because otherwise the content in form and expression would in a short time, instead of being suitable for the masses, only develop pulling power for literary tea parties; but one should anxiously beware of the latter because their lack of their own fresh feeling always seeks new stimuli. These people become weary of everything in a short time; they desire variety and never understand how to put themselves into the needs of their not-yet-so-calloused fellow men or even to comprehend them. They are always the first critics of propaganda, or rather of its content, which appears to them too traditional, too hackneyed, then again too obsolete, etc. They always want something new, seek variety, and thereby become true death-enemies of any effective political winning of the masses. For as soon as the organization and the content of a propaganda begin to be directed according to their needs, they lose all consistency and instead flutter away completely.

Propaganda, however, is not there to provide blasé little gentlemen with a constant stream of interesting variety, but to convince, and specifically to convince the masses. These, however, in their sluggishness, always require a certain amount of time before they are even ready to take notice of a thing, and only a thousandfold repetition of the simplest concepts will they finally grant their memory.

Any variety must never change the content of what is to be brought forth by the propaganda, but must always say the same thing in the end. Thus, the slogan must indeed be illuminated from different sides, but the end of every consideration must always lie anew with the slogan itself. Only in this way can and will the propaganda act uniformly and consistently.

This great line alone, which must never be abandoned, allows the final success to ripen through always consistent and constant emphasis. But then one will be able to establish with astonishment to what enormous, hardly understandable results such perseverance leads.

Every advertisement, whether it lies in the field of business or politics, carries success in the duration and uniform consistency of its application.

Here, too, the example of enemy war propaganda was exemplary: limited to a few points of view, calculated exclusively for the masses, carried out with tireless perseverance. Throughout the entire war, the basic ideas and forms of execution once recognized as correct were applied, without even the slightest change ever being made. At the beginning, it was seemingly crazy in the impudence of its assertions, later it became unpleasant, and was finally believed. After four and a half years, there broke out in Gertriggered a revolution, the slogans of which originated from enemy war propaganda.

In England, however, they understood something else: namely, that for this spiritual weapon, potential success lies only in the mass of its application, yet the success amply covers all costs.

There, propaganda was considered a weapon of the first rank, while with us it represented the last bread of unemployed politicians and cushy jobs for modest heroes.

Its success was, therefore, all things considered, equal to zero.

7. Chapter

The Revolution

With the year 1915, enemy propaganda began among us; since 1916 it became increasingly intensive, until finally at the beginning of 1918 it swelled into a literal flood. Now the effects of this soul-catching could be recognized at every turn. The army gradually learned to think as the enemy wanted it to.

The German counter-action, however, failed completely.

The army, in its spiritual and volitional leadership at that time, certainly possessed the intention and determination to take up the struggle in this field as well, but it lacked the instrument that would have been necessary for this. It was also psychologically wrong to have this enlightenment carried out by the troops themselves. If it was to be effective, it had to come from the home front. Only then could one count on success with men who, after all, had been performing immortal deeds of heroic courage and deprivation for nearly four years for this home front.

But what came from the home front?

Was this failure stupidity or a crime?

In the high summer of 1918, after the evacuation of the southern bank of the Marne, the German press in particular behaved so miserably clumsily, even criminally stupidly, that with daily increasing fury the question arose in me whether there was really no one there who would put an end to this spiritual squandering of the army's heroism.

What happened in France when we swept into that country in an unprecedented storm of victory in 1914? What did Italy do in the days of the collapse of its

Isonzo front? What about France again in the spring of 1918, when the attack of the German divisions seemed to lift the positions off their hinges, and the long-reaching arm of the heavy long-range batteries began to knock at the gates of Paris?

How the boiling heat of national passion had always been whipped into the faces of the retreating regiments there! How propaganda and ingenious mass influence then worked to hammer the faith in final victory back into the hearts of the broken fronts!

What, meanwhile, happened with us?

Nothing, or even worse than that!

In those days, anger and indignation often rose within me when I received the latest newspapers to read and saw this psychological mass murder that was being committed.

More than once I was tormented by the thought that if Providence had placed me in the position of these incapable or criminal incompetents or "unwilling-ones" of our propaganda service, the challenge to fate would have been declared differently.

In these months, I felt for the first time the whole malice of the destiny that kept me at the front and in a position where the accidental shot of any Negro could gun me down, while I might have been able to perform other services for the Fatherland elsewhere!

For I was already bold enough to believe then that I would have succeeded in this.

But I was a nameless man, one among eight million!

So it was better to keep one's mouth shut and do one's duty in this position as well as possible.

* * *

In the summer of 1915, the first enemy leaflets fell into our hands.

Their content was almost always the same, albeit with some variations in the form of presentation, namely: that the distress in Germany was becoming ever greater; the duration of the war was endless, while the prospect of winning it was dwindling more and more; the people at home were therefore also longing for peace, but "militarism" as well as the "Kaiser" did not allow this; the whole world—to whom this was very well known—was therefore not waging war against the German people, but rather exclusively against the only guilty party, the Kaiser; the struggle would therefore not come to an end until this enemy of peaceful humanity was removed; the liberal and democratic nations would, however, after the end of the war, accept the German people into the league of eternal world peace, which would be secured from the hour of the destruction of "Prussian militarism."

For a better illustration of what was thus presented, "letters from home" were then not infrequently printed, the content of which seemed to confirm these assertions.

In general, people at that time only laughed at all these attempts. The leaflets were read, then sent back to the higher staffs and mostly forgotten again, until the wind once more delivered a load from above into the trenches; for it was mostly airplanes that served to bring the papers over.

One thing had to be noticed soon with this kind of propaganda, namely that in every sector of the front where Bavarians were located, a front was always made against Prussia with extraordinary consistency, with the assurance that not only was Prussia on the one hand the actually guilty and responsible party for the whole war, but that on the other hand there was not the slightest bit of enmity toward Bavaria in particular; of course, one could not help it as long as it participated in the service of Prussian militarism, pulling the chestnuts out of the fire for it.

The manner of influence actually began as early as...

...year 1915 to achieve certain effects. The sentiment against Prussia grew quite visibly among the troops—without a single intervention being made against it from the top down. This was already more than a mere sin of omission, which sooner or later had to avenge itself in the most disastrous way, and indeed not upon the "Prussians," but upon the German people, and to that, not in the very last instance, Bavaria itself belongs.

In this direction, enemy propaganda began to yield absolute successes as early as 1916. Likewise, the letters of lament directly from home had long been exerting their influence. It was no longer necessary for the opponent to transmit them to the front specifically through leaflets, etc. Against this, too, nothing was done, except for a few psychologically boneheaded "admonitions" from the "government side." The front continued to be flooded with this poison, which thoughtless women fabricated at home, without, of course, suspecting that this was the means to strengthen the opponent's confidence in victory to the utmost, and thus to prolong and intensify the suffering of their relatives at the fighting front. The senseless letters of German women subsequently cost hundreds of thousands of men their lives.

Thus, by the year 1916, various alarming phenomena were already appearing. The front grumbled and "groused," was already dissatisfied in many things and sometimes also rightfully indignant. While they starved and suffered, and their relatives at home sat in misery, there was abundance and debauchery elsewhere. Yes, even at the fighting front itself, not everything was in order in this regard.

So there was already a slight crisis brewing back then—however, these were still "internal" matters. The same man who had just grumbled and growled, a few minutes later silently did his duty as if it were a matter of course. The same company that was initially dissatisfied clung to the piece of trench that...

had to protect them, as if Germany's fate depended on these hundred meters of mud holes. It was still the front of the old, glorious army of heroes!

I was to get to know the difference between it and home in a stark transition.

At the end of September 1916, my division moved out to the Battle of the Somme. For us, it was the first of the immense battles of materiel that were now to follow, and the impression was one that is difficult to describe—more hell than war.

In a weeks-long whirlwind of drumfire, the German front held its ground, sometimes pushed back a little, then pushing forward again, but never giving way.

On October 7, 1916, I was wounded.

I luckily made it to the rear and was to be sent on a transport to Germany.

Two years had now passed since I had last seen home, an almost endless time under such circumstances. I could hardly imagine anymore what Germans looked like who were not in uniform. When I lay in the casualty clearing station in Hermies, I flinched almost in fright when suddenly the voice of a German woman, working as a nurse, spoke to someone lying next to me.

For the first time in two years, such a sound!

But the closer the train that was to take us home came to the border, the more restless it became within everyone. All the places passed by through which we had traveled two years before as young soldiers: Brussels, Leuven, Liège, and finally we thought we recognized the first German house by its high gable and its beautiful shutters.

The Fatherland!

In October 1914, we burned with stormy enthusiasm as we crossed the border; now silence and deep emotion prevailed. Everyone was happy that fate allowed him to see once more what he had risked his life for.

had difficulty protecting; and everyone was almost ashamed to let the others look into their eyes.

Almost on the anniversary of my departure for the front, I arrived at the hospital in Beelitz near Berlin.

What a change! From the mud of the Battle of the Somme into the white beds of this miraculous building! At first, one hardly dared to lie down properly. Only slowly was one able to get used to this new world again.

Unfortunately, however, this world was also new in another respect. The spirit of the army at the front no longer seemed to be a guest here. Something that was still unknown at the front, I heard here for the first time: the boasting of one's own cowardice. For whatever grumbling and "griping" one might hear out there, it was never an invitation to a dereliction of duty or even a glorification of the coward. No! The coward was still regarded as a coward, and nothing more; and the contempt that struck him was still universal, just as was the admiration paid to the true hero. Here in the hospital, however, it was already in part almost the opposite: the most unprincipled agitators held sway and tried with all the means of their wretched eloquence to portray the concepts of the decent soldier as ridiculous and the lack of character of the coward as exemplary. A few miserable fellows, above all, set the tone. One of them boasted of having pulled his own hand through the wire entanglement in order to get into the hospital; despite this ridiculous injury, he seemed to have been here for an endless time, just as he had only gotten into the transport to Germany through a swindle in the first place. This poisonous fellow, however, went so far as to portray his own cowardice with a brazen forehead as the result of a higher bravery than the heroic death of the honest soldier. Many listened in silence, others walked away, but some also agreed.

Disgust crawled up my throat, yet the agitator was quietly tolerated in the institution. What was one to do? Who and what he was, the management must have known exactly, and they did know. Nevertheless, nothing happened. When I was able to walk properly again, I received permission to travel to Berlin.

The distress was obviously very severe everywhere. The city of millions suffered from hunger. The dissatisfaction was great. In various homes visited by soldiers, the tone was similar to that of the hospital. It gave the distinct impression that these fellows were intentionally seeking out such places to further spread their views.

However, the conditions in Munich itself were much, much worse!

When I was discharged from the hospital after recovery and transferred to the replacement battalion, I thought I no longer recognized the city. Anger, resentment, and cursing wherever one went! In the replacement battalion itself, the morale was beneath all criticism. Here, the incredibly clumsy way the field soldiers were treated by old instructional officers, who had not spent a single hour in the field and for that reason alone were only partially able to establish a decent relationship with the old soldiers, also played a role. These soldiers possessed certain peculiarities that were explainable by service at the front, but which remained completely incomprehensible to the leaders of these replacement units, whereas the officer who had also come from the front at least knew how to explain them to himself. The latter was, of course, respected by the men in a completely different way than the rear-echelon commander. But quite apart from that, the general mood was miserable; shirking was already regarded almost as a sign of higher intelligence, while loyal perseverance was seen as a mark of inner weakness and narrow-mindedness. The offices were filled with Jews. Almost every clerk was a Jew and every Jew a clerk. I was amazed at the abundance of fighters of the chosen people and could not help but compare them with the sparse representatives at the front.

Things were even worse regarding the economy. Here the Jewish people had indeed become "indispensable." The spider began to slowly suck the blood out of the people's pores. By way of the war societies, the instrument had been found to gradually put an end to the national and free economy.

The necessity of boundless centralization was emphasized.

Thus, in the years 1916/17, almost the entire production was actually under the control of financial Jewry.

But against whom was the hatred of the people now directed?

During this time, I saw with horror a doom approaching which, if not averted at the right hour, was bound to lead to collapse.

While the Jew robbed the entire nation and pressed it under his rule, people were incited against the "Prussians." Just as at the front, nothing was done from above at home against this poisonous propaganda. One did not seem to suspect at all that the collapse of Prussia would by no means bring an upswing for Bavaria; indeed, that on the contrary, every fall of the one was bound to drag the other irretrievably into the abyss.

I was infinitely sorry for this behavior. I could see in it only the most ingenious trick of the Jew, intended to divert general attention from himself and onto others. While the Bavarian and the Prussian quarreled, he snatched the existence of both from under their noses; while people in Bavaria railed against the Prussian, the Jew organized the revolution and smashed Prussia and Bavaria at the same time.

I could not stand this cursed strife among the German tribes and was glad to get back to the front, for which I reported anew immediately after my arrival in Munich.

At the beginning of March 1917, I was back with my regiment.

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Toward the end of 1917, the low point of the army's despondency seemed to have been overcome. Following the Russian collapse, the entire army drew fresh hope and fresh courage once again. The conviction that the struggle would nevertheless end with a German victory began to take hold of the troops more and more. One could hear singing again, and the prophets of doom became rarer. People believed once more in the future of the Fatherland.

The Italian collapse in the autumn of 1917, in particular, had produced the most wonderful effect; for in this victory, one saw proof of the possibility of being able to break through the front even away from the Russian theater of war. A glorious faith now flowed back into the hearts of millions and let them await the spring of 1918 with sighing confidence. The opponent, however, was visibly depressed. During this winter, it remained somewhat quieter than usual. The calm before the storm set in.

But just as the front was making the final preparations for the ultimate conclusion of the eternal struggle, as endless transports of men and material rolled toward the Western Front and the troops received training for the great attack, the greatest piece of knavery of the entire war broke out in Germany.

Germany was not meant to win: at the last hour, when victory already threatened to cling to the German banners, a means was seized upon that seemed suited to stifle the German spring attack in its infancy with one blow, to make victory impossible:

The munitions strike was organized.

If it succeeded, the German front had to collapse and the wish of the "Vorwärts"—that victory might not cling to the German banners this time—would be fulfilled. Due to the lack of ammunition, the front would have to be pierced within a few weeks; the offensive was thus prevented, the Entente saved; but international capital became the master of Germany.

made, the inner goal of the Marxist deception of nations achieved.

The shattering of the national economy for the establishment of the rule of international capital — a goal that, thanks to the stupidity and gullibility of one side and the bottomless cowardice of the other, has indeed been achieved.

Admittedly, the munitions strike did not have the final hoped-for success regarding the starving of the front of weapons: it collapsed too prematurely for the lack of munitions as such — as the plan existed — to have condemned the army to destruction. But how much more appalling was the moral damage that had been inflicted!

First: For what was the army still fighting if the homeland itself did not want victory at all? For whom the enormous sacrifices and privations? The soldier is supposed to fight for victory, and the homeland strikes against it?

Secondly, however: What was the effect on the enemy? In the winter of 1917/18, for the first time, dark clouds rose on the firmament of the Allied world. For nearly four years, they had charged against the German giant and could not bring him down; yet it was only the shield-arm that he had free for defense, while the sword had to strike out now in the East, now in the South. Now, finally, the giant's back was free. Streams of blood had flowed until he succeeded in finally striking down one of his opponents. Now, in the West, the sword was to join the shield, and if the enemy had not succeeded in breaking the defense until now, the attack was now to hit him himself.

He was feared, and there was anxiety for victory.

In London and Paris, one consultation followed another. Even enemy propaganda was already having a hard time; it was no longer so easy to prove the hopelessness of a German victory.

The same, however, applied on the fronts where a drowsy silence reigned, also for the Allied troops.

themselves. The gentlemen's insolence had suddenly vanished. To them, too, an uncanny light slowly began to dawn. Their inner attitude toward the German soldier had now changed. Previously, he might have been regarded by them as a fool destined for defeat; but now there stood before them the destroyer of their Russian ally. The restriction of German offensives to the East, born of necessity, now appeared as brilliant tactics. For three years these Germans had run against Russia, initially seemingly without even the slightest success. People almost laughed at this pointless undertaking; for finally, the Russian giant, with its superior numbers of men, was bound to remain the victor, while Germany would collapse from bleeding out. Reality seemed to confirm this hope.

Since the September days of 1914, when for the first time the endless crowds of Russian prisoners from the Battle of Tannenberg began to roll along roads and railways toward Germany, this stream hardly ever came to an end—for every defeated and destroyed army, a new one arose. Inexhaustibly, the giant empire gave the Tsar ever new soldiers and the war its new victims. How long could Germany keep up this race? Must not the day come when, after a final German victory, the last Russian armies would still not have appeared for the very last battle? And what then? By human estimation, Russia's victory could well be postponed, but it had to come.

Now all these hopes were at an end: the ally who had laid down the greatest sacrifices of blood on the altar of common interests was at the end of his strength and lay on the ground before the relentless attacker. Fear and horror crept into the hearts of the soldiers who had hitherto been blindly faithful. People feared the coming spring. For if it had not been possible to defeat the German so far, when he was only able to take his stand partially on the Western Front, how was one now supposed to count on victory, since the entire strength of the uncanny heroic state seemed to be bunching together for an attack against the West?

The shadows of the South Tyrolean mountains lay oppressively upon the imagination; as far as the Flemish mists, the defeated armies of Cadorna conjured up gloomy visions, and the belief in victory gave way to the fear of the coming defeat.

Then—when one already believed to hear from the cool nights the steady rolling of the advancing storm armies of the German army and stared in anxious concern toward the coming judgment—suddenly a bright red light flashed up from Germany and cast its glow into the very last shell crater of the enemy front: at the moment when the German divisions received their final instructions for the great attack, the general strike broke out in Germany.

At first, the world was speechless. But then, the enemy propaganda, breathing a sigh of relief, pounced upon this help in the eleventh hour. At a single stroke, the means had been found to raise the sinking confidence of the Allied soldiers once again, to present the probability of victory as certain once more, and to transform the anxious concern about coming events into determined confidence. Now, the regiments waiting for the German attack could be sent into the greatest battle of all time with the conviction that the decision regarding the end of this war would not belong to the audacity of the German assault, but to the endurance of its defense. Let the Germans now win as many victories as they still wanted; in their homeland, the revolution was about to make its entry, and not the victorious army.

English, French, and American newspapers began to plant this belief in the hearts of their readers, while an infinitely skillful propaganda bolstered the troops at the front.

“Germany before the revolution! The victory of the Allies is unstoppable!” This was the best medicine to give to the waver-helping the sinking Poilu and Tommy back onto their feet. Now rifles and machine guns could once again be brought to fire, and in place of a flight racing away in panic-stricken terror, hopeful resistance emerged.

This was the result of the munitions strike. It strengthened the belief in victory of the enemy peoples and removed the paralyzing despair of the Allied front—consequently, thousands of German soldiers had to pay for this with their blood. The authors of this most base and villainous trick, however, were the candidates for the highest state offices of the Germany of the Revolution.

While the visible reaction of this act could initially seem to be overcome on the German side, the consequences did not fail to appear on the opponent's side. The resistance had lost the aimlessness of an army giving up everything for lost, and in its place came the bitterness of a struggle for victory.

For victory now had to come, by human estimation, even if the Western Front held out against the German attack for only a few months. In the parliaments of the Entente, however, the possibility of the future was recognized, and unheard-of means were granted for the continuation of propaganda for the disintegration of Germany.

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I had the good fortune to be able to participate in the first two and the last offensive.

These have become the most tremendous impressions of my life; tremendous because now, for the last time, similar to the year 1914, the struggle lost the character of defense and took on that of attack. A sigh of relief went through the trenches and dugouts of the German army when finally, after more than three years of enduring in the enemy hell, the day of retribution came. Once again the victorious battalions cheered, and they hung the last wreaths of immortal laurel on the victory-weathered flags. Once again the songs of the Father-country along the endless marching columns up to the sky, and for the last time the grace of the Lord smiled upon his ungrateful children.

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In the high summer of 1918, a dull, heavy swelter lay over the front. The homeland was quarreling. About what? Much was being told in the individual units of the field army. That the war was now hopeless, and only fools could still believe in victory. That the people no longer had any interest in further endurance, but only capital and the monarchy—this came from the homeland and was also discussed at the front.

At first, the front reacted very little to it. What did universal suffrage matter to us? Had we fought for four years for that? It was a despicable bandit's trick to steal the war aim from the fallen heroes in their graves in such a manner. It was not with the cry "Long live universal and secret suffrage" that the young regiments had once gone to their deaths in Flanders, but with the cry "Germany above all in the world." A small, but not entirely insignificant difference. But those who called for suffrage had, for the most part, not been where they now wanted to fight for it. The front did not know the whole political party pack. One saw the gentlemen parliamentarians only in a fraction of the places where decent Germans, if they only possessed straight limbs, were staying at that time.

Thus, the front in its old ranks was very little receptive to this new war aim of Messrs. Ebert, Scheidemann, Barth, Liebknecht, etc. One did not understand at all why suddenly the draft dodgers could possess the right to presume authority in the state over the heads of the army.

My personal attitude was firm from the beginning: I hated the whole pack of these miserable, people-betraying party scoundrels to the utmost. I had long since realized...

clear about the fact that this rabble was truly not concerned with the welfare of the nation, but rather with the filling of empty pockets. And that they were now even prepared to sacrifice the entire people for it and, if necessary, let Germany perish, made them ripe for the noose in my eyes. To show consideration for their wishes meant sacrificing the interests of the working people in favor of a number of pickpockets; however, one could only fulfill them if one was prepared to give up Germany.

But the vast majority of the fighting army still thought this way. Only the supplies coming from home became rapidly worse and worse, so that their arrival meant not a reinforcement, but a weakening of the fighting strength. Especially the young replacements were for the most part worthless. It was often difficult to believe that these were supposed to be sons of the same people that had once sent out its youth to the battle for Ypres.

In August and September, the phenomena of disintegration increased ever more rapidly, even though the enemy's offensive impact was not to be compared with the terror of our defensive battles of the past. The Battle of the Somme and Flanders, by contrast, lay terrifyingly in the past.

At the end of September, my division came for the third time to the places that we had once stormed as young war volunteer regiments.

What a memory!

In October and November 1914, we had received our baptism of fire there. With love for the Fatherland in our hearts and songs on our lips, our young regiment had gone into battle as if to a dance. The most precious blood was joyfully given there in the belief that it would thus preserve the independence and freedom of the Fatherland.

In July 1917, we set foot for the second time on the ground that was sacred to us all. For in it slumbered the best comrades, still almost children, who once with beam-

...ing eyes for the one dear Fatherland, they had run into their deaths.

We old ones, who had once marched out with the regiment, stood in reverent emotion at this site of the oath of "Loyalty and obedience unto death."

This ground, which the regiment had stormed three years earlier, it was now to defend in a heavy defensive battle.

In a three-week drumfire, the Englishman prepared the great Flanders offensive. There, the spirits of the deceased seemed to come alive; the regiment clawed into the filthy mud and bit into the individual holes and craters and did not yield and did not waver and, as had happened once before at this spot, became smaller and thinner, until the Englishman's attack finally broke loose on July 31, 1917.

In the first days of August, we were relieved.

The regiment had become a few companies: they staggered back encrusted in mud, resembling ghosts more than humans. But except for a few hundred meters of shell holes, the Englishman had only reaped death.

Now, in the autumn of the year 1918, we stood for the third time on the storming ground of 1914. Our former quiet little town of Comines had now become a battlefield. Admittedly, even if the battlefield was the same, the people had changed: there was now also "politicking" within the troops. The poison from home began to take effect here, as everywhere else. The younger replacements, however, failed completely—they came from home.

In the night from October 13 to 14, the English gas shelling started on the southern front before Ypres; they used Yellow Cross, the effect of which was still unknown to us as far as testing it on our own bodies was concerned. I was to get to know it myself that very night. On a hill south of Wervick, we had been caught in a drumfire of gas shells lasting several hours on the evening of October 13, which then continued throughout the night in more or less intense...

continued in this manner. Already towards midnight, a portion of us dropped out, among them some comrades forever. Towards morning, the pain also seized me, becoming worse from quarter-hour to quarter-hour, and at seven o'clock in the morning, I stumbled and staggered back with burning eyes, taking my last report of the war with me.

Only a few hours later, my eyes had turned into glowing coals; it had become dark around me.

Thus I came to the hospital in Pasewalk in Pomerania, and there I had to—experience the revolution!

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Something indefinite but repulsive had been in the air for a long time. People were saying that in the next few weeks things would "get going"—I just could not imagine what was to be understood by that. I thought primarily of a strike, similar to the one in the spring. Unfavorable rumors came constantly from the Navy, where things were said to be fermenting. However, even this seemed to me more the product of the imagination of individual fellows than a matter of larger masses. In the hospital itself, probably everyone spoke of the hopefully soon-approaching end of the war, but no one counted on an "immediate" end. I could not read newspapers.

In November, the general tension increased.

And then one day, suddenly and abruptly, the disaster broke in. Sailors arrived on trucks and called for revolution; a few Jewish youths were the "leaders" in this struggle for the "freedom, beauty, and dignity" of our national existence. Not one of them had been at the front. By way of a so-called "gonorrhea hospital," the three Orientals had been returned from the rear to the homeland. Now they raised the red rag in it.

Things had been going a bit better for me lately. The piercing pain in the eye sockets subsided; I slowly succeeded in seeing my surroundings in rough outlines.

to learn to distinguish again. I was allowed to harbor hope of at least becoming sighted enough again to be able to pursue some profession later on. Of course, I could no longer hope that I would ever be able to draw again. Thus, I was at least on the road to recovery when the monstrous thing happened.

My first hope was still that the treason could only be a more or less local affair. I also tried to encourage some comrades in this direction. Especially my Bavarian hospital mates were more than receptive to this. The mood there was anything but "revolutionary." I could not imagine that madness would break out in Munich as well. Loyalty to the venerable House of Wittelsbach seemed to me to be firmer than the will of a few Jews. So I could not help but believe that it was a naval putsch that would be suppressed in the coming days.

The next days came, and with them the most terrible certainty of my life. The rumors became more and more oppressive. What I had considered a local affair was to be a general revolution. Added to this were the shameful reports from the front. They wanted to surrender. Yes, was such a thing even possible at all?

On November 10th, the pastor came to the hospital for a short address; now we learned everything.

I was present at the short speech, extremely agitated. The old, venerable gentleman seemed to tremble greatly as he informed us that the House of Hohenzollern was no longer permitted to wear the German imperial crown, that the fatherland had become a "Republic," that one must ask the Almighty not to withhold His blessing from this change and not to forsake our people in the coming times. He could not help himself; he had to commemorate the royal house in a few words, wanting to honor its merits in Pomerania, in Prussia, no, for the German fatherland, and — there he began to weep quietly to himself – but in the small hall, the deepest dejection probably settled upon all hearts, and I believe that no eye was able to hold back the tears. But when the old gentleman tried to continue telling the story and began to communicate that we must now end the long war, yes, that our fatherland would be subjected to severe oppression for the future, since the war was now lost and we were surrendering to the mercy of the victors, that the armistice should be accepted in confidence in the magnanimity of our previous enemies – then I could no longer stand it. It became impossible for me to stay any longer. While it turned black before my eyes again, I felt my way and staggered back to the dormitory, threw myself onto my bunk, and buried my burning head in blanket and pillow.

Since the day I had stood at my mother's grave, I had not wept again. When fate gripped me with merciless hardness in my youth, my defiance grew. When, during the long years of war, death took so many a dear comrade and friend from our ranks, it would have seemed almost like a sin to me to complain – for they died for Germany! And when finally I myself – still in the last days of the terrible struggle – was attacked by the creeping gas which began to eat into my eyes, and I was about to despair for a moment under the terror of being blinded forever, the voice of conscience thundered at me: You miserable wretch, you want to cry, while thousands are a hundred times worse off than you. And so I bore my lot, dull and mute. But now I could no longer do otherwise. Only now did I see how much all personal suffering sinks in comparison to the misfortune of the fatherland.

So it had all been in vain. In vain all the sacrifices and privations, in vain the hunger and thirst of sometimes endless months, in vain the hours in which we, clutched by the fear of death, nevertheless did our duty, and in vain the death of two million, who there—

died therein. Should not the graves of all those hundreds of thousands have opened, who once marched out in faith in the Fatherland, never to return? Should they not have opened and sent the silent, mud- and blood-covered heroes back to the homeland as spirits of vengeance—the homeland that had so scornfully betrayed them for the highest sacrifice a man can offer his people in this world? Had they died for this, the soldiers of August and September 1914? Was it for this that the volunteer regiments followed their old comrades in the autumn of that same year? Did these boys of seventeen years sink into the Flemish soil for this? Was this the meaning of the sacrifice that the German mother offered to the Fatherland when, with a heavy heart, she let her dearest boys go then, never to see them again? Did all this happen so that a gang of wretched criminals could now lay their hands upon the Fatherland?

Had the German soldier endured for this, hungering, thirsting, and freezing in the sun's heat and the snowstorm, weary from sleepless nights and endless marches? Had he lain for this in the hell of the drumfire and in the fever of the gas battle, without yielding, always mindful of his only duty: to preserve the Fatherland from the enemy's invasion?

Truly, these heroes too deserved a stone:

> *"Traveler, who comes to Germany, tell the homeland that we lie here, faithful to the Fatherland and obedient to duty."*

And the homeland—?

But—was it only the single sacrifice that we had to weigh? Was the Germany of the past worth less? Was there not also an obligation toward our own history? Were we still worthy of claiming the glory of the past for ourselves? How, then, was this deed to be presented to the future for justification?

Wretched and depraved criminals!

The more I sought clarity in this hour about the monstrous...

The more I tried to achieve clarity on the event, the more the shame of indignation and disgrace burned in my brow. What was all the pain in my eyes compared to this misery?

What followed were terrible days and even worse nights – I knew that all was lost. To hope for the mercy of the enemy was something only fools could manage, or – liars and criminals. During these nights, hatred grew within me, hatred against the originators of this deed.

In the days that followed, I also became aware of my own fate. I had to laugh now at the thought of my own future, which only a short time ago had caused me such bitter worries. Was it not laughable to want to build houses on such ground? Finally, it also became clear to me that what had happened was only what I had so often feared, yet emotionally had never been able to believe.

Kaiser Wilhelm II was the first German Kaiser to offer his hand in reconciliation to the leaders of Marxism, without suspecting that scoundrels possess no honor. While they still held the imperial hand in theirs, the other was already searching for the dagger.

With the Jew, there is no bargaining, but only the hard either-or.

I, however, decided to become a politician.

Chapter 8

Beginning of my Political Activity

At the end of November 1918, I returned to Munich. I went back to the replacement battalion of my regiment, which was in the hands of "Soldiers' Councils." The whole operation was so repulsive to me that I immediately decided to leave again if possible. With a loyal campaign comrade, Ernst Schmiedt, I went to Traunstein and remained there until the camp was dissolved.

In March 1919, we went back to Munich again. The situation was untenable and inevitably pushed toward a further continuation of the revolution. Eisner's death only accelerated the development and finally led to the dictatorship of the councils, or better expressed: to a temporary Jewish rule, as it had originally hovered before the eyes of the initiators of the entire revolution as their goal.

During this time, endless plans chased each other in my head. For days I considered what could possibly be done, but the end of every consideration was always the sober realization that, as a nameless individual, I did not possess even the slightest prerequisite for any purposeful action. I shall come to the reasons why I could not decide to join one of the existing parties at that time later on.

In the course of the new council revolution, I appeared for the first time in such a way that I drew the displeasure of the Central Council upon myself. Early in the morning of April 27, 1919, I was to be arrested—but the three fellows, in the face of my leveled carbine, did not possess the necessary courage and withdrew again, just as they had come.

A few days after the liberation of Munich, I was assigned to the commission of inquiry into the revolutionary events in the 2nd Infantry Regiment.

This was my first more or less purely political active duty.

Only a few weeks later, I received the order to participate in a "course" held for members of the armed forces. In it, the soldier was to receive certain foundations for civic thinking. For me, the value of the entire event lay in the fact that I now had the opportunity to meet some like-minded comrades with whom I was able to discuss the current situation thoroughly. We were all more or less firmly convinced that Germany would no longer be saved from the ripening collapse by the parties of the November crime, the Center and Social Democracy, but that even the so-called "bourgeois-national" formations, even with the best of intentions, would never again understand how to make amends for what had happened. Here, a whole series of prerequisites were missing, without which such work simply could not succeed. The time that followed has proven our view at that time to be correct.

Thus, the formation of a new party was discussed in our small circle. The basic ideas we had in mind were the same ones that were later realized in the "German Workers' Party." The name of the movement to be newly founded had to offer the possibility from the beginning of reaching the broad masses; for without this quality, the entire work seemed pointless and superfluous. So we came up with the name "Social Revolutionary Party"; this was because the social views of the new foundation did indeed represent a revolution.

The deeper reason for this, however, lay in the following:

However much I had already occupied myself with economic problems in the past, it had nevertheless more or less always remained within the limits resulting from the consideration of the social questions themselves. Only later did this framework expand as a result of the examination of German alliance policy. This was, after all, to a very large extent the result of a false assessment of the economy as well as the lack of clarity regarding the possible foundations for feeding the German people in the future. All these thoughts, however, were still based on the opinion that capital was in any case only the result of labor and therefore, like labor itself, was subject to the correction of all those factors that are capable of either promoting or hindering human activity. Therein would also lie the national significance of capital, that it itself depends so completely on the size, freedom, and power of the State, and thus the nation, that this bond alone must lead to a promotion of the State and the nation on the part of this capital, out of the simple instinct of self-preservation or further multiplication. This dependence of capital on the independent free State would therefore, for its part, force it to advocate for this freedom, power, strength, etc., of the nation.

Thus, the task of the State toward capital was also relatively simple and clear: it only had to ensure that it remained a servant of the State and did not imagine itself to be the mistress of the nation. This position could then be maintained within two boundary lines: the preservation of a viable national and independent economy on the one hand, and the securing of the social rights of the employees on the other.

The difference between this pure capital as the final result of creative labor and a capital whose existence and essence rest exclusively on speculation, I was not yet able to recognize with the desirable clarity earlier. I lacked the first stimulus for this, which simply did not reach me.

This was now attended to in the most thorough manner by one of the various gentlemen lecturing in the already mentioned course: Gottfried Feder.

For the first time in my life, I heard a fundamental discussion of international stock exchange and loan capital.

After I had heard Feder's first lecture, the thought immediately flashed through my head that I had now found the way to one of the most essential prerequisites for the founding of a new party.

* * *

In my eyes, Feder's merit lay in the fact that he had established, with ruthless brutality, the equally speculative and economic character of stock exchange and loan capital, but had exposed its eternal prerequisite of interest. His explanations were so correct in all fundamental questions that the critics of the same, from the outset, disputed the theoretical correctness of the idea less than they doubted the practical possibility of its implementation. However, what was thus a weakness of Feder's expositions in the eyes of others, constituted their strength in mine.

* * *

The task of the programmatician is not to determine the various degrees of fulfillability of a matter, but to clarify the matter as such; that is to say: he has to concern himself less with the way than with the goal. Here, however, the fundamental correctness of an idea decides, and not the difficulty of its implementation. As soon as the programmatician attempts to take into account so-called "expediency" and "reality" instead of absolute truth, his work will cease to be a North Star for searching humanity, and instead become a recipe for everyday life. The programmatician of a movement has to establish its goal, the politician has to strive for its fulfillment. The one will accordingly be determined in his thinking by eternal truth, the other in his actions more by the respective practical reality. The greatness of the one lies in the absolute abstract correctness of his idea, that of the other in the correct attitude toward the given facts and a useful application of the same, whereby the goal of the programmer has to serve him as a guiding star. While the success of his plans and deeds may be regarded as the touchstone for the significance of a politician, that is to say, their becoming a reality, the realization of the ultimate intention of the programmer can never take place, since human thought is indeed capable of grasping truths and setting crystal-clear goals, but the complete fulfillment of the same will fail due to general human incompleteness and inadequacy. The more abstractly correct and thus more powerful the idea will be, the more impossible its complete fulfillment remains as long as it depends on human beings. Therefore, the significance of the programmer must not be measured by the fulfillment of his goals, but by the correctness of the same and the influence they have had on the development of mankind. Were it otherwise, the founders of religions could not be counted among the greatest people on this earth, since the fulfillment of their ethical intentions will never be even approximately complete. Even the religion of love is in its effect only a weak reflection of the will of its sublime founder; yet its significance lies in the direction it sought to give to a general human development of culture, ethics, and morality.

The exceedingly great diversity of the tasks of the programmer and the politician is also the reason why a union of both in one person is almost never to be found. This applies especially to the so-called "successful" politician of small stature, whose activity is mostly really only an "art of the possible," as Bismarck somewhat modestly described politics in general. The freer such a "politician" keeps himself from great ideas, the easier and often also more visible, but always faster, his successes will be. To be sure, they are thus also consecrated to earthly transience and sometimes do not survive the death of their fathers. The work of such politicians is, by and large, meaningless for posterity, since their successes in the present are based only on the avoidance of all truly great and incisive problems and ideas, which as such would also have been of value for later generations.

The implementation of such goals, which still have value and significance for the most distant times, is usually little rewarding for the advocate of the same and only rarely finds understanding among the great masses, to whom beer and milk decrees initially seem more plausible than far-sighted plans for the future, the realization of which can only occur later, but whose benefit only benefits posterity in the first place.

Thus, out of a certain vanity, which is always a relative of stupidity, the great mass of politicians will keep away from all truly difficult designs for the future, so as not to lose the momentary sympathy of the great crowd. The success and significance of such a politician then lie exclusively in the present and do not exist for posterity. Small minds are usually little bothered by this; they are satisfied with it.

The situation is different for the theorist. His significance lies almost always only in the future, as he is not infrequently what is described by the word "unworldly." For if the art of the politician is truly considered an art of the possible, then the theorist belongs to those of whom it is said that they only please the gods when they demand and want the impossible. He will almost always have to renounce the recognition of the present, but in return, if his thoughts are immortal, he reaps the fame of posterity.

Within long periods of humanity, it can happen once that the politician with the program—

wedded to the mathematician. However, the more intimate this fusion is, the greater are the resistances that then oppose the work of the politician. He no longer works for requirements that are obvious to every ordinary philistine, but for goals that only the fewest understand. Therefore, his life is then torn by love and hatred. The protest of the present, which does not understand the man, wrestles with the recognition of posterity, for whom he is, after all, also working.

For the greater a person's works are for the future, the less the present is able to grasp them, the harder the struggle is, and the rarer the success. But if it nevertheless blooms for one in centuries, then perhaps in his late days a faint shimmer of coming fame may already shine around him. To be sure, these greats are only the marathon runners of history; the laurel wreath of the present touches only the temples of the dying hero.

Among them, however, are to be counted the great fighters in this world who, not understood by the present, are nevertheless prepared to fight out the dispute for their idea and ideals. They are the ones who will one day be closest to the heart of the people; it almost seems as if every individual then felt the duty to make amends for what the present had once sinned against the great. Their life and work are followed in touchingly grateful admiration and are able to lift up broken hearts and despairing souls again, especially in gloomy days.

To this category belong not only the truly great statesmen, but also all other great reformers. Beside Frederick the Great stand here Martin Luther as well as Richard Wagner.

When I heard Gottfried Feder's first lecture on the "Breaking of Interest Slavery," I knew immediately that this was a theoretical truth that would have to become of immense importance for the future of the German people. The sharp separation of stock market capital from the national economy offered the possibility of opposing the internationalization of the German economy without at the same time threatening the basis of an independent national self-preservation by fighting against capital in general. The development of Germany was already much too clear before my eyes for me not to have known that the hardest struggle had to be fought no longer against the enemy peoples, but against international capital. In Feder's lecture, I sensed a powerful slogan for this coming struggle.

And here, too, later developments proved how correct our feeling at the time was. Today we are no longer laughed at by the clever heads of our bourgeois politicians; today even they see, insofar as they are not conscious liars, that international stock market capital was not only the greatest agitator for war, but even now, after the end of the struggle, leaves nothing undone to turn peace into hell.

The struggle against international finance and loan capital has become the most important program point of the German nation's struggle for its economic independence and freedom.

As for the objections of the so-called practitioners, the following can be answered: All fears about the terrible economic consequences of implementing the "breaking of interest slavery" are superfluous; for firstly, the previous economic recipes have served the German people very poorly, and the positions taken on questions of national self-assertion remind us very strongly of the opinions of similar experts in earlier times, for example, the Bavarian Medical College on the occasion of the question of the introduction of the railway. As is well known, all the fears of this illustrious corporation from that time did not materialize later; the passengers in the trains of the new "iron horse" did not get dizzy, the spectators did not get sick either, and as for the wooden fences to...

to make the new institution invisible, one has refrained – only the wooden partitions in front of the heads of all so-called "experts" remained preserved for posterity as well.

Secondly, however, one should note the following: Every idea, even the best, becomes a danger if it imagines itself to be an end in itself, when in reality it represents only a means to such an end – but for me and all true National Socialists there is only one doctrine: People and Fatherland.

> **What we have to fight for is the securing of the existence and the increase of our race and our people, the nourishment of its children and the maintenance of the purity of the blood, the freedom and independence of the fatherland, so that our people may mature for the fulfillment of the mission assigned to it by the Creator of the universe.**

Every thought and every idea, every doctrine and all knowledge must serve this purpose. From this point of view, everything is also to be examined and used or rejected according to its expediency. Thus, no theory can freeze into a deadly doctrine, since everything has to serve life.

Thus, the insights of Gottfried Feder were the occasion for me to concern myself thoroughly with this field, which until then was still little familiar to me. I began to learn again and only then did I truly come to understand the content of the intent of the life's work of the Jew Karl Marx. His "Capital" now became truly understandable to me for the first time, just like the struggle of Social Democracy against the national economy, which only has to prepare the ground for the rule of truly international finance and stock market capital.

* * *

In yet another respect, however, these courses were of the greatest consequence for me.

One day I requested to speak. One of the participants believed he had to break a lance for the Jews and began to defend them in lengthy explanations. This provoked me to a rebuttal. The vast majority of the course participants present took my side. The result, however, was that a few days later I was designated to join a Munich regiment of that time as a so-called “education officer.”

The discipline of the troops was still quite weak at this time. It suffered from the after-effects of the soldiers' council period. Only very slowly and carefully could one proceed to reintroduce military discipline and subordination in place of “voluntary” obedience—as the pigsty under Kurt Eisner was so fondly called. Likewise, the troops themselves were to learn to feel and think nationally and patriotically. My new activity lay in these two directions.

I began with all zest and passion. For now, all at once, the opportunity presented itself to speak before a larger audience; and what I had previously always simply assumed out of pure feeling, without knowing it, now came true: I could “talk.” My voice, too, had already become so much better that I remained sufficiently intelligible everywhere, at least in small squad rooms.

No task could have made me happier than this one, for now, before my discharge, I was able to perform useful services in the institution that had been infinitely close to my heart: in the army.

I was also able to speak of success: In the course of my lectures, I led many hundreds, indeed probably thousands, of comrades back to their people and fatherland. I “nationalized” the troops and was able to help strengthen general discipline in this way.

In the process, I again got to know a number of like-minded comrades who later began to form the nucleus of the new movement.

Chapter 9

The "German Workers' Party"

One day I received an order from my superior office to investigate what lay behind an apparently political association which, under the name of the "German Workers' Party," intended to hold a meeting in the coming days, and at which Gottfried Feder was also to speak; I was to go there, take a look at the organization, and then submit a report.

The curiosity shown by the army toward political parties at that time was more than understandable. The Revolution had given the soldier the right to political activity, of which precisely the most inexperienced now made the most abundant use. Only at the moment when the Center Party and Social Democracy had to realize, to their own regret, that the sympathies of the soldiers were beginning to turn away from the revolutionary parties toward the national movement and resurgence, did they feel compelled to withdraw the right to vote from the troops again and to prohibit political activity.

That the Center and Marxism resorted to this measure was obvious, for if this curtailment of "civil rights"—as the political equality of the soldier after the Revolution was called—had not been undertaken, only a few years later there would have been no November State, and thus no further national dishonor and shame. At that time, the troops were well on their way to ridding the nation of its bloodsuckers and the henchmen of the Entente in the interior to get off one's back. But the fact that even the so-called "national" parties enthusiastically voted for the correction of the previous views of the November criminals, and thus helped to make the instrument of a national uprising harmless, showed once again where the always merely doctrinaire ideas of these most harmless of the harmless are capable of leading. This bourgeoisie, truly suffering from mental senility, was in all seriousness of the opinion that the army would again become what it was, namely a sanctuary of German military strength, while the Center and Marxism intended only to break its dangerous national poison tooth, without which, however, an army remains forever a police force, but is not a troop capable of fighting before the enemy; something that has probably been sufficiently proven in the period that followed.

Or did our "national politicians" perhaps believe that the development of the army could have been anything other than national? That would look cursedly like these gentlemen and comes from being a windbag, i.e., a parliamentarian, during the war instead of being a soldier, and having no longer any inkling of what may go on in the breasts of men who are reminded by the most powerful past of having once been the first soldiers in the world.

So I decided to go to the already mentioned meeting of this party, which until then was also completely unknown to me.

When I arrived in the evening at the "Leiberzimmer" of the former Sterneckerbräu in Munich, which later became historical for us, I found about 20 to 25 people present, mainly from the lower strata of the population.

Feder's lecture was already known to me from the courses, so I could devote myself more to the observation of the association itself.

The impression on me was neither good nor bad; a new foundation, just like so many others. It was precisely at that time that everyone felt called upon to start a new party, who with the previous develop-was not satisfied and no longer had any confidence in the existing parties. Thus, these associations sprouted up everywhere from the ground, only to disappear again after some time without a trace. The founders mostly had no idea what it meant to turn an association into a party or even a movement. Thus, these foundations almost always suffocated by themselves in their ridiculous philistinism.

I judged the "German Workers' Party" no differently after listening for about two hours. When Feder finally finished, I was glad. I had seen enough and was about to leave when the announced free discussion persuaded me to stay after all. However, here too everything seemed to proceed insignificantly, until suddenly a "Professor" took the floor, who first doubted the correctness of Feder's reasons, but then—after a very good rebuttal by Feder—suddenly placed himself on the "ground of facts," but not without most urgently recommending to the young party, as a particularly important program point, to take up the struggle for the "secession" of Bavaria from "Prussia." The man claimed with bold impudence that in this case, German-Austria in particular would immediately join Bavaria, that peace would then become much better, and similar nonsense.

I could not help but ask for the floor myself and tell the learned gentleman my opinion on this point—with the result that the previous speaker, even before I was finished, left the premises like a whipped dog. While I spoke, people had listened with astonished faces, and only as I prepared to say good night to the assembly and depart did a man come running after me, introduced himself (I had not even correctly understood the name), and pressed a small booklet, evidently a political brochure, into my hand with the urgent request to please read it.

This was very pleasant to me, for now I could hope to perhaps get to know the tedious association in a simpler way to get to know them, without having to continue attending such interesting meetings. Moreover, this apparent worker had made a good impression on me. So with that, I left.

At that time, I was still living in the barracks of the 2nd Infantry Regiment, in a small room that still bore the traces of the revolution very clearly. During the day I was away, mostly with the 41st Rifle Regiment or else at meetings, at lectures with some other unit, etc. Only at night did I sleep in my quarters. Since I used to wake up every morning early, even before 5 o'clock, I had gotten into the habit of playing a little game: laying a few small pieces of hard leftover bread or crusts on the floor for the little mice that carried on their entertainment in the small room, and then watching how the droll little creatures chased each other around these few delicacies. I had experienced so much hardship in my life that I could imagine the hunger, and therefore also the pleasure, of the little beings only too well.

On the morning after this meeting, too, I lay awake in my bunk around 5 o'clock and watched the bustling and scurrying. Since I could no longer fall asleep, I suddenly remembered the previous evening, and now the booklet occurred to me which the one worker had given to me. So I began to read. It was a small brochure in which the author, this very worker, described how he had returned to national thinking from the muddle of Marxist and trade-unionist phrases; hence also the title "My Political Awakening." Since I had only just begun, I read the little pamphlet through with interest; for it reflected a process that I had similarly had to go through myself twelve years earlier. Involuntarily, I saw my own development becoming alive before me again. In the course of the day, I thought about the matter a few more times and was finally about to set it aside again when, not even a week later, I received to my astonishment a postcard to the effect that I...

that the “German Workers' Party” had accepted me: I wanted to express my views on this and therefore come to a committee meeting of this party next Wednesday.

I was, however, more than astonished at this way of “winning” members and did not know whether I should be annoyed about it or whether I should laugh at it. I had no intention at all of joining a ready-made party, but wanted to found my own. This request was really out of the question for me.

I was already about to send my answer to the gentlemen in writing when curiosity triumphed and I decided to appear on the appointed day to explain my reasons orally.

Wednesday came. The inn where the meeting in question was to take place was the “Alte Rosenbad” in Herrnstraße; a very poor establishment into which someone seemed to stray only once in a blue moon. No wonder in 1919, since the menu even of the larger restaurants was only able to attract very modestly and scantily. But I did not know this tavern at all until then.

I went through the poorly lit guest room, in which not a soul sat, looked for the door to the side room and then had the “session” before me. In the twilight of a half-demolished gas lamp, four young people sat at a table, including the author of the small brochure, who immediately greeted me most joyfully and welcomed me as a new member of the “German Workers' Party.”

I was now somewhat flabbergasted. Since I was told that the actual “National Chairman” was yet to arrive, I also wanted to wait with my explanation. Finally, he appeared. It was the chairman of the meeting in the Sterneckerbräu on the occasion of Feder's lecture.

In the meantime, I had become curious again and waited for the things that were to come. Now at least I got to know the names of the individual gentlemen. The chairman of the “National Organization” was a Mr. Harrer, that of Munich, Anton Drexler.

The minutes of the last meeting were now read out and a vote of confidence was expressed in the secretary. Then it was the turn of the treasurer's report—the association's assets amounted to a total of 7 Marks and 50 Pfennigs—for which the treasurer received the assurance of universal confidence. This was again recorded in the minutes. Then the 1st Chairman read out the replies to a letter from Kiel, one from Düsseldorf, and one from Berlin; everyone was in agreement with them. Now the incoming mail was communicated: a letter from Berlin, one from Düsseldorf, and one from Kiel, the arrival of which seemed to be received with great satisfaction. This increasing correspondence was declared to be the best and most visible sign of the spreading significance of the "German Workers' Party," and then—then a long discussion took place regarding the new replies to be given.

Terrible, terrible! This was club-mongering of the very worst kind. Was I supposed to join this club?

Then the new admissions were brought up for discussion, which is to say: my capture came up for treatment.

I now began to ask questions—however, apart from a few guiding principles, nothing was available, no program, no leaflet, nothing printed at all, no membership cards, not even a wretched rubber stamp, only apparent good faith and good will.

My smile had vanished again, for what was this other than the typical sign of complete helplessness and total despondency regarding all the previous parties, their programs, their intentions, and their activities? What drove these few young people together there, to an action that was outwardly so ridiculous, was after all only the outflow of their inner voice, which, probably more instinctively than consciously, made the entire previous party system appear to them as no longer suitable for an uprising of the German nation or for the healing of its internal damages. I quickly read through the guiding principles, which were available in typescript, and I saw from them more...

a searching rather than a knowing. Much there was blurred or unclear, some things were missing, but nothing was present that could not have been considered once again as a sign of a struggling realization.

What these people felt, I knew as well: it was the longing for a new movement that should be more than a party in the previous sense of the word.

When I walked back to the barracks again that evening, I had already formed my judgment about this association. I stood before what was probably the most difficult question of my life: should I join here, or should I decline?

Reason could only advise rejection, but feeling would not let me rest, and the more often I tried to keep the absurdity of this whole club before my eyes, the more often feeling spoke in its favor again.

In the following days, I was restless.

I began to ponder back and forth. To become active politically, I had long since decided; that this could only happen in a new movement was equally clear to me, only the impulse to action had still been lacking until then. I did not belong to those people who start something today only to end it again tomorrow and, if possible, move on to a new thing. Precisely this conviction, however, was one of the main reasons why I found it so difficult to decide on such a new foundation, which either had to become everything or otherwise, more expediently, was omitted altogether. I knew that for me this would be a decision forever, in which there could never be a "turning back."

For me, it was then no temporary plaything, but deadly serious. Even then, I always possessed an instinctive aversion toward people who start everything without even carrying anything through. These Jacks-of-all-trades were hateful to me. I considered the activity of these people worse than doing nothing.

Fate itself seemed to give me a hint now. I would never have gone to one of the existing large parties and will explain the reasons for this in more detail clarify. This ridiculous little creation with its few members seemed to me to possess the one advantage of not yet having stiffened into an "organization," but rather of offering the individual the possibility of real personal activity. Here one could still work, and the smaller the movement was, the sooner it could still be brought into the right form. Here the content, the goal, and the path could still be determined, which was already eliminated from the start with the existing large parties.

The longer I tried to think about it, the more the conviction grew in me that precisely out of such a small movement could the uprising of the nation one day be prepared—but never again from the political parliamentary parties that clung far too much to old ideas or even participated in the benefits of the new regime. For what had to be proclaimed here was a new worldview and not a new election slogan.

Admittedly, it was an infinitely difficult decision to want to translate this intention into reality.

What prerequisites did I myself bring to this task?

That I was penniless and poor seemed to me the easiest thing to bear, but it was harder that I happened to be one of the nameless, one of the millions whom chance allows to live or calls back from existence without even the immediate environment deigning to take notice. Added to this was the difficulty that had to arise from my lack of schooling.

The so-called "intelligentsia" looks down anyway with a truly infinite condescension on anyone who has not been dragged through the obligatory schools and allowed the necessary knowledge to be pumped into them. The question is never: What can the person do? but rather: What has he learned? To these "educated" people, the greatest blockhead, if only he is wrapped in enough certificates, is worth more than the brightest boy to whom these precious bags simply missing. I could therefore easily imagine how this "educated" world would confront me, and I was only mistaken in that I still held people to be better then than they unfortunately are, for the most part, in sober reality. As they are, the exceptions, of course, shine ever brighter, as they do everywhere. But through this, I learned to distinguish between the eternal students and the real masters.

After two days of agonizing brooding and reflection, I finally came to the conviction that I had to take the step.

It was the most decisive resolve of my life. There could and must be no turning back.

So I registered as a member of the "German Workers' Party" and received a provisional membership certificate with the number: seven.

10. Chapter

Causes of the Collapse

The depth of the fall of any body is always the measure of the distance of its momentary position from the one originally occupied. The same applies to the fall of nations and states. With this, however, the previous position, or rather height, acquires a decisive significance. Only that which is accustomed to rising above the general limit can also visibly fall and plunge deep. This makes the collapse of the Reich so difficult and terrible for every thinking and feeling person, for it brought a fall from a height which today, in view of the misery of the current humiliation, is hardly imaginable anymore.

Even the founding of the Reich seemed gilded by the magic of an event that uplifted the entire nation. After a course of victory without equal, a Reich finally grows for the sons and grandsons as the reward for immortal heroism. Whether consciously or unconsciously, it does not matter, the Germans all had the feeling that this Reich, which did not owe its existence to the trickery of parliamentary factions, towered above the measure of other states precisely because of the sublime nature of its founding; for it was not in the chatter of a parliamentary battle of words, but in the thunder and roar of the Paris siege front that the solemn act of a declaration of will took place, that the Germans, princes and people, were determined to form a Reich in the future and to raise the imperial crown once more as a symbol. And it had not happened through assassination, nor were deserters and shirkers the founders of the Bismarckian state, but rather the regiments of the front.

This unique birth and fiery baptism alone already surrounded the Reich with the shimmer of a historical fame, such as only the oldest states—rarely—were able to attain.

And what an ascent then began!

External freedom provided daily bread within. The nation became rich in numbers and earthly goods. The honor of the state, however, and with it that of the entire people, was guarded and shielded by an army that was most visibly able to demonstrate the difference from the former German Confederation.

So deep is the fall that strikes the Reich and the German people that everything, as if seized by vertigo, seems at first to have lost feeling and consciousness; one can hardly remember the former heights anymore, so dreamlike and unreal does the greatness and glory of that time appear compared to today's misery.

Thus, it is also understandable that one is only too blinded by the sublime and, in doing so, forgets to look for the signs of the immense collapse, which must somehow have already been present.

Of course, this only applies to those for whom Germany was more than a mere living space for earning and consuming money, since only they are capable of perceiving the current state as a collapse, while for others it is the long-awaited fulfillment of their previously unquenched desires.

The signs, however, were visibly present at that time, even if only very few attempted to draw a certain lesson from them.

Today, however, this is more necessary than ever.

Just as one can only arrive at the cure of a disease if its pathogen is known, the same applies to the healing of political damage. To be sure, one tends to see and discover the external form of a disease, its eye-catching appearance, more easily than the internal cause. This is indeed the reason why so many people, beyond the recognition of external...

...effects at all and even confuse them with the cause, indeed, they prefer to try to deny the existence of such a cause altogether. Thus, most among us now see the German collapse primarily only in the general economic distress and the resulting consequences. Almost everyone has to bear these personally—a compelling reason, therefore, for every individual to understand the catastrophe. Much less, however, does the great mass see the collapse in political, cultural, and ethical-moral terms. Here, the feelings and also the intellect of many fail completely.

That this is so with the great mass may be acceptable, but that even in circles of the intelligentsia the German collapse is viewed primarily as an "economic catastrophe" and therefore the cure is expected from the economy, is one of the reasons why a recovery has not been possible at all so far. Only when one understands that here, too, the economy plays only a second or even third role, and that political, ethical-moral, as well as blood-related factors play the first, will one come to an understanding of the causes of today's misfortune and thus also be able to find the means and ways for a cure.

The question of the causes of the German collapse is therefore of decisive importance, especially for a political movement whose goal is precisely to overcome the defeat.

But even in such an investigation into the past, one must be very careful not to confuse the more conspicuous effects with the less visible causes.

The easiest and therefore most widespread justification for today's misfortune is that it is a matter of the consequences of the recently lost war, and therefore the war is the cause of the current calamity.

There may be many who seriously believe this nonsense, but there are even more from whose mouths a...

such a justification can only be a lie and a conscious untruth. This latter applies to all those who are currently at the government's feeding troughs. For did not the heralds of the revolution once repeatedly and most urgently point out to the people that it would be all the same to the broad masses how this war ended? Did they not, on the contrary, most earnestly assure them that at most the "big capitalist" could have an interest in the victorious conclusion of the enormous struggle between nations, but never the German people themselves or even the German worker? Indeed, did these apostles of world reconciliation not declare exactly the opposite, that through the German defeat only "militarism" would be destroyed, but the German people would celebrate their most glorious resurrection? Was not the kindness of the Entente praised in these circles, and was not the blame for the entire bloody struggle shifted onto Germany? But could they have done so without the explanation that even military defeat would be without special consequences for the nation? Was not the entire revolution trimmed with the phrase that through it the victory of the German flag would be prevented, but that thereby the German people would all the more move toward their inner and also outer freedom?

Was this not so, you miserable and mendacious fellows?

It takes a truly Jewish audacity to now attribute the blame for the collapse to the military defeat, while the central organ of all traitors to the country, the Berlin "Vorwärts," wrote that this time the German people must no longer bring their flag home victoriously!

And now it is supposed to be the reason for our collapse?

It would, of course, be completely worthless to want to argue with such forgetful liars, and I would therefore lose no words over it at all, if this nonsense were not unfortunately also shared by so many completely thoughtless peowould be babbled after them, without malice or deliberate untruthfulness necessarily being the cause. Furthermore, these discussions are intended to provide aids for our fighters of enlightenment, which are very necessary anyway in a time when the spoken word is often twisted in one's mouth.

Regarding the claim that the lost war bears the blame for the German collapse, the following must be said:

Certainly, the loss of the war was of appalling significance for the future of our fatherland, but its loss is not a cause, but itself only a consequence of causes. That an unfortunate end to this struggle for life and death had to lead to very devastating consequences was perfectly clear to every insightful and non-malicious person. Unfortunately, however, there were also people who seemed to lack this insight at the right time, or who, contrary to their better knowledge, nevertheless first disputed and denied this truth. These were for the most part those who, after the fulfillment of their secret wish, suddenly received the late insight into the catastrophe that they had helped to cause. But they are the ones guilty of the collapse and not the lost war, as they suddenly like to say and know. For the loss of the same was only the consequence of their actions and not, as they now want to claim, the result of "poor" leadership. The opponent, too, did not consist of cowards; he too knew how to die; his numbers were greater than those of the German army from the first day, and the arsenals of the entire world were at the disposal of his technical equipment; therefore, the fact that the German victories, which were fought for four years against a whole world, could only be thanked to superior leadership, despite all heroism and all "organization," cannot be denied out of existence. The organization and management of the German army were the most powerful things the earth has ever seen. Their deficiencies lay in the limit of general human adequacy in general.

That this army collapsed was not the cause of our current misfortune, but only the consequence of other crimes, a consequence which, however, itself initiated the beginning of a further and this time visible collapse.

That this is so is evident from the following:

Must a military defeat lead to such a complete collapse of a nation and a state? Since when has this been the result of an unfortunate war? Do nations perish at all from lost wars in and of themselves?

The answer to this can be very brief: Always when nations receive in their military defeat the receipt for their inner rot, cowardice, lack of character, in short, unworthiness. If it is not so, then the military defeat becomes rather the drive for a coming greater rise than the tombstone of a nation's existence.

History offers infinitely many examples of the correctness of this assertion.

Unfortunately, the military defeat of the German people is not an undeserved catastrophe, but a deserved punishment of eternal retribution. We have more than deserved this defeat. It is only the greatest external symptom of decay among a series of internal ones, which perhaps in their visibility had remained hidden from the eyes of most people, or which one did not want to see in the ostrich-like manner.

One should just observe the accompanying circumstances under which the German people accepted this defeat. Had not joy over the misfortune of the fatherland been expressed in many circles in the most shameless way? But who does this if he does not truly deserve such a punishment? Yes, did one not go even further and boast of having finally brought the front to give way? And this was not done by the enemy, no, no, such shame Germans loaded upon their heads!

Did misfortune perhaps strike them unjustly? But since when does one then go and also take the blame for the war upon oneself? And that against better knowledge and better judgment!

No, and again no: In the manner in which the German people accepted their defeat, one can most clearly recognize that the true cause of our collapse is to be sought elsewhere than in the purely military loss of a few positions or the failure of an offensive; for if the front as such had really failed and the doom of the Fatherland had been brought about by its misfortune, the German people would have accepted the defeat in a completely different way. Then the ensuing misfortune would have been endured with clenched teeth or lamented, overwhelmed by pain; then rage and anger would have filled the hearts against the enemy who had become the victor through the malice of chance or the will of fate; then the nation, similar to the Roman Senate, would have met the defeated divisions with the thanks of the Fatherland for the sacrifices made so far and the plea not to despair of the Reich. Even the capitulation would only have been signed with the intellect, while the heart would have already beaten for the coming uprising.

That is how a defeat would have been received that was due to fate alone. Then people would not have laughed and danced, would not have boasted of cowardice and glorified the defeat, would not have mocked the fighting troops and dragged their flag and cockade through the mud; but above all: then that appalling phenomenon would never have occurred which prompted an English officer, Colonel Repington, to make the contemptuous remark: "Among the Germans, every third man is a traitor." No, this plague would then never have been able to rise to that suffocating flood which for five years now has also drowned the last remnant of respect for us on the part of the rest of the world.

This is the best way to see the lie of the claim that the lost war was the cause of the German collapse. No, this military collapse was itself only the consequence of a whole series of morbid symptoms and their pathogens, which had already afflicted the German nation in times of peace. This was the first catastrophic consequence, visible to all, of a moral and ethical poisoning, a reduction in the instinct for self-preservation and the prerequisites for it, which for many years had already begun to undermine the foundations of the people and the Reich.

But it required the entire bottomless mendacity of Jewry and its Marxist fighting organization to burden the blame for the collapse precisely upon the man who, as the only one with superhuman willpower and energy, attempted to prevent the catastrophe he had foreseen and to spare the nation the time of deepest humiliation and shame. By branding Ludendorff as the one guilty for the loss of the World War, the weapons of moral right were taken out of the hands of the only dangerous accuser who was capable of standing up against the traitors of the fatherland.

In doing so, they proceeded from the very correct principle that in the size of the lie there is always a certain factor of being believed, since the broad mass of a people will, in the deepest core of their hearts, be more easily corrupted than consciously and intentionally evil; consequently, in the primitive simplicity of their minds, they fall victim to a big lie more easily than to a small one, since they themselves probably lie in small matters sometimes, but would be too ashamed of lies that are too large. Such an untruth will not even enter their heads, and they will not be able to believe in the possibility of such monstrous impudence in the most infamous distortion even in others; indeed, even when enlightened about it, they will still doubt and waver for a long time and continue to accept at least some cause as true; therefore, even from the most impudent lie will always leave something behind and stick — a fact that all the great masters of lies and lying associations of this world know only too well and therefore also apply despicably.

The best connoisseurs of this truth about the possibilities of the application of untruth and slander were at all times the Jews; for their entire existence is already built upon a single great lie, namely, that they are a religious community, while it revolves around a race — and what a race at that. As such, however, one of the greatest spirits of mankind has nailed them down forever in an eternally correct sentence of fundamental truth: he called them "the great masters of the lie." Whoever does not recognize this or does not want to believe it will nevermore be able to help truth to victory in this world.

For the German people, it may almost be regarded as a great stroke of luck that the period of its creeping illness was suddenly shortened by such a terrible catastrophe, for in the other case, the nation would probably have perished more slowly, but all the more surely. The illness would have become chronic, whereas in the acute form of the collapse, it became clearly and distinctly recognizable at least to the eyes of a larger multitude. Man did not become master of the plague more easily than tuberculosis by chance. The one comes in terrible waves of death that shake humanity, the other in slow creeping; the one leads to horrific fear, the other to gradual indifference. The result, however, is that man confronted the one with the full ruthlessness of his energy, while he attempts to stem consumption with weak means. Thus he became master of the plague, while tuberculosis masters him.

It is exactly the same with the illnesses of national bodies. If they do not appear catastrophically, man begins to slowly get used to them and goes ultimately perish from them, even if only after some time, yet all the more certainly. It is then already a—to be sure, bitter—piece of luck if fate decides to intervene in this slow process of decay and, with a sudden blow, brings the end of the disease before the eyes of the one afflicted by it. For such a catastrophe often amounts to more than just that. It can then easily become the cause of a healing process that now sets in with the utmost determination.

But even in such a case, the prerequisite is once again the recognition of the internal reasons that gave rise to the illness in question.

The most important thing here remains the distinction between the pathogens and the conditions caused by them. This will become all the more difficult the longer the diseased substances remain in the national body and the more they had already become a matter-of-course belonging to it. For it can very easily happen that, after a certain time, one regards absolutely harmful poisons as a component of one's own nationality or at most tolerates them as a necessary evil, so that a search for the foreign pathogen is no longer considered necessary at all.

Thus, in the long peace of the pre-war years, certain damages had indeed appeared and been recognized as such, although almost no concern was given to the pathogen of the same, apart from a few exceptions. These exceptions were again primarily the phenomena of economic life, which became more strongly conscious to the individual than, for instance, the damages in a whole series of other areas.

There were many signs of decay that should have prompted serious reflection.

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In economic terms, the following should be said regarding this:

Due to the rapid increase in the German population before the war, the question of providing the necessary daily bread came more and more sharply to the forefront of all political and economic thought and action. Unfortunately, people could not decide that the goal could also be achieved in a cheaper way. The renunciation of the acquisition of new soil and its replacement by the delusion of a world-economic conquest had to lead in the end to an industrialization that was as boundless as it was harmful.

The first consequence of the gravest significance was the resulting weakening of the peasantry. To the same extent that the latter declined, the mass of the metropolitan proletariat grew more and more, until finally the equilibrium was completely lost.

Now the sharp contrast between rich and poor also came together in such a way that the consequences could and had to be very sad. Want and frequent unemployment began their play with the people and left behind dissatisfaction and bitterness as a memory. The consequence of this seemed to be the political class division. Despite all economic prosperity, the resentment nevertheless became greater and deeper; indeed, it went so far that the conviction "it cannot go on like this much longer" became a general one, without, however, people forming a definite idea of what should have come, or even being able to do so.

These were the typical signs of a deep dissatisfaction that sought to express itself in such a way.

Worse than these, however, were other consequential phenomena brought about by the economization of the nation.

In the same measure as the economy rose to be the determining mistress of the state, money became the god to whom everything had to serve and before whom everyone had to bow. More and more, the heavenly gods...

cast aside as obsolete and outdated into the corner, and instead of them, incense was offered to the idol Mammon. A truly terrible degeneration set in, especially bad because it occurred at a time when the nation could have used the highest heroic spirit more than ever. Germany had to prepare itself to one day stand up with the sword for its attempt to secure its daily bread by way of "peaceful, economic work."

The rule of money was unfortunately also sanctioned from the very place that should have rebelled against it most: His Majesty the Emperor acted unhappily when he drew the nobility in particular into the sphere of influence of the new financial capital. Admittedly, one had to give him credit for the fact that unfortunately even Bismarck did not recognize the threatening danger in this regard. With this, however, the ideal virtues had practically stepped behind the value of money, for it was clear that, once begun on such a path, the nobility of the sword would soon have to step back behind the financial nobility. Monetary operations succeed more easily than battles. Thus, it was no longer inviting for the true hero or even statesman to be brought into relation with the next best banking Jew; the truly meritorious man could no longer have any interest in the awarding of cheap decorations, but declined for himself with thanks. But also considered purely in terms of blood, such a development was deeply sad: the nobility lost more and more the racial prerequisite for its existence, and for a large part, the designation "un-nobility" would have been much more appropriate.

A severe economic phenomenon of decline was the slow elimination of personal property rights and the gradual transition of the entire economy into the ownership of joint-stock companies.

Only then did work truly become a matter of speculation—

object of unscrupulous hagglers; the alienation of property from the employee, however, was increased to the infinite. The stock market began to triumph and prepared itself, slowly but surely, to take the life of the nation into its care and control.

The internationalization of the German economy had already been initiated before the war via the detour of the stock share. To be sure, a part of German industry still attempted to protect itself with determination from this fate. In the end, however, it also fell victim to the combined attack of greedy finance capital, which fought this battle particularly with the help of its most faithful comrade, the Marxist movement.

The permanent war against German "heavy industry" was the visible beginning of the internationalization of the German economy sought by Marxism, which, however, could only be brought to a complete conclusion through the victory of Marxism in the Revolution. While I am writing this, the general attack against the German Reichsbahn (National Railway) has finally succeeded, which is now being transferred into the hands of international finance capital. "International" Social Democracy has thus once again achieved one of its ultimate goals.

How far this "economization" of the German people had succeeded is perhaps most clearly evident from the fact that finally, after the war, one of the leading heads of German industry and, above all, of trade, was able to express the opinion that the economy as such alone would be in a position to restore Germany. This nonsense was spouted at the very moment when France was primarily placing the instruction of its educational institutions back on humanistic foundations, so as to prevent the error that the nation and the state owe their continued existence to the economy and not to eternal ideal values. The statement that a Stinnes put into the world at that time caused the most unbelievable confusion; for it was immediately seized upon, only to become, with astonishing speed, the leitmotif of all the short-to become bunglers and babblers, whom fate had unleashed upon Germany as "statesmen" since the Revolution.

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One of the worst symptoms of decay in pre-war Germany was the half-heartedness in everything and everyone that was spreading more and more everywhere. It is always a consequence of one's own uncertainty about any matter, as well as a cowardice resulting from these and other reasons. This disease was further promoted by education.

German education before the war was afflicted with an extraordinary number of weaknesses. It was tailored in a very one-sided way to the breeding of pure "knowledge" and less focused on "ability." Even less value was placed on the formation of the character of the individual—insofar as this was possible at all—very little on the promotion of a sense of responsibility, and not at all on the education of the will and decisiveness. Its results were truly not strong people, but rather the compliant "know-it-alls," as we Germans were generally regarded before the war and were accordingly valued. The German was liked because he was very useful, but he was little respected, precisely because of his weakness of will. It was not for nothing that he, among almost all peoples, most easily lost his nationality and fatherland. The beautiful proverb "With hat in hand, one gets through the whole land" says it all.

However, this society became downright disastrous when it also determined the form under which alone it was permitted to approach the monarch. The form accordingly demanded: Never contradict, but approve of everything and anything that His Majesty pleased to deign. At this very point, however, free manly dignity was most necessary; otherwise, the monarchical institution would one day have to perish from this sycophancy; for it was sycophancy and nothing more! And only to wretched sycophants and crawlers—in short, to the entire decadence that has always felt more at home by the most exalted thrones than the upright and decently honest souls—can this be considered the only given form of interaction with the wearers of a crown! These "most humble" creatures have, however, despite all humility before their lord and breadwinner, always demonstrated the greatest audacity toward the rest of humanity, most strongly when they chose to present themselves with a brazen forehead as the only "monarchical" ones among the remaining sinners; a true insolence, such as only a titled or untitled tapeworm can manage! For in truth, these people have always been the gravediggers of the monarchy and especially of the monarchical idea. This is also not conceivable in any other way: a man who is prepared to stand up for a cause will and can never be a sneaker and a characterless sycophant. Whoever is truly serious about the preservation and promotion of an institution will cling to it with every fiber of his heart and will not be able to get over it if any damage appears within it. He will then, of course, not shout around in public, as the democratic "friends" of the monarchy did in an equally mendacious manner, but will most earnestly warn and try to persuade His Majesty, the wearer of the crown himself. In doing so, he will not and must not take the standpoint that His Majesty remains free to act according to his will anyway, even if this must and will evidently lead to a disaster; rather, in such a case, he will have to take the monarchy under protection from the monarch, and indeed at any risk. If the value of this institution lay in the respective person of the monarch, then it would be the worst institution imaginable;

for monarchs are only in the rarest cases the elite of wisdom and reason, or even merely of character, as one would like to portray them. Only professional sycophants and creepers believe that, but all upright people—and these are, after all, the most valuable members of the state—will only feel repelled by the advocacy of such nonsense. For them, history is simply history and truth is truth, even when it concerns monarchs. No, the good fortune of possessing a great monarch as a great human being is so rarely granted to nations that they must be satisfied if the malice of fate at least refrains from the very worst blunder.

Thus, the value and significance of the monarchical idea cannot lie in the person of the monarch himself, unless Heaven decides to press the crown onto the temples of a brilliant hero like Frederick the Great or a wise character like William I. This happens once in centuries and hardly more often. Otherwise, however, the idea here takes precedence over the person, in that the meaning of this arrangement must lie exclusively in the institution itself. With this, however, the monarch himself falls into the sphere of service. He, too, is now merely a gear in this mechanism and, as such, is obligated to it. He, too, now has to submit to the higher purpose, and "monarchical" is then no longer the one who silently allows the wearer of the crown to commit outrages against it, but rather the one who prevents this. If the meaning lay not in the idea, but in the "sacrosanct" person at any price, then not even the deposition of an obviously mentally ill prince could be undertaken.

It is necessary to record this today, as lately more and more phenomena are emerging from obscurity whose wretched attitude was not least responsible for the collapse of the monarchy. With a certain naive audacity, these people are now again talking only of "their" king—whom they, after all, only a few...

years only to leave them in the lurch in the most miserable fashion during the critical hour—and then begin to portray every person who is not willing to join in their mendacious tirades as a bad German. And in truth, these are exactly the same cowards who in 1918 scattered and bolted before every red armband, left their King to be King, quickly exchanged the halberd for a walking stick, donned neutral neckties, and vanished without a trace as peaceful "citizens"! In one fell swoop they were gone, these royal champions, and only after the revolutionary storm had subsided enough, thanks to the activity of others, that one could once again blast his "Hail to the King, Hail" into the air, did these "servants and advisors" of the crown begin to cautiously resurface. But now they are all here, eyeing longingly the fleshpots of Egypt, hardly able to contain themselves with loyalty to the King and a drive for action, until one day the first red armband will likely appear again and the whole ghost-train of interested parties of the old monarchy will bolt anew, like mice before a cat!

If the monarchs themselves were not to blame for these things, one could only pity them most heartily for their defenders of today. They may, however, be certain that with such knights one may well lose thrones, but one wins no crowns.

This devotion, however, was a flaw in our entire education, which now took its revenge here in a particularly appalling way. For because of it, these miserable figures were able to maintain themselves at all courts and gradually hollow out the foundations of the monarchy. When the building finally began to totter, they were as if blown away. Naturally: crawlers and sycophants do not let themselves be beaten to death for their master. That the monarchs never know this and almost fundamentally never learn it, has always been their undoing.

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A consequence of a misguided education was cowardice in the face of responsibility and the resulting weakness in handling even vital problems.

The starting point of this plague in our country lies, however, to a large extent in the parliamentary institution, where irresponsibility is bred in its purest form. Unfortunately, this disease slowly spread to all other areas of life, most strongly to the state. Everywhere, people began to evade responsibility and, for this reason, preferred to resort to half-measures and insufficient actions; for in their application, the degree of personal responsibility to be borne always appears reduced to the smallest extent.

One only needs to look at the attitude of individual governments toward a series of truly harmful phenomena in our public life, and one will easily recognize the terrible significance of this general half-heartedness and cowardice in the face of responsibility. I will take only a few cases from the vast number of existing examples:

In journalistic circles, it is common to refer to the press as a "Great Power" within the state. In fact, its significance is truly enormous. It cannot be overestimated at all; for it truly effects the continuation of education in later life.

In this regard, its readers can be divided by and large into three groups:

firstly, those who believe everything they read;
secondly, those who no longer believe anything at all;
thirdly, the minds who critically examine what they have read and judge accordingly.

The first group is numerically by far the largest. It consists of the great mass of the people and accordingly represents the mentally simplest part of the nation.

However, it cannot be identified by profession, but at most by general levels of intelligence. To it belong all those to whom independent thinking has been neither innate nor instilled through education, and who, partly out of incapacity and partly out of inability, believe everything that is presented to them in black and white. That sort of lazybones also belongs to it, who could probably think for themselves, but out of pure mental laziness gratefully seize upon everything that someone else has already thought, in the modest assumption that the latter will have already exerted themselves properly. Now, for all these people, who represent the great mass, the influence of the press will be an enormous one. They are not in a position or are unwilling to examine what is offered to them themselves, so that their entire attitude toward all daily problems is to be traced back almost exclusively to the external influence of others. This can be of advantage if their enlightenment is undertaken by a serious and truth-loving side, but it is disastrous as soon as scoundrels and liars take care of it.

The second group is already significantly smaller in number. It is composed in part of elements that first belonged to the first group, only to swing to the opposite extreme after long, bitter disappointments and to believe nothing at all anymore, as long as it only comes before their eyes in print. They hate every newspaper, either do not read them at all or, without exception, are annoyed by the content, since in their opinion it is, after all, only composed of lies and untruths. These people are very difficult to handle, as they will always be suspicious even toward the truth. They are thus lost for any positive work.

The third group, finally, is by far the smallest; it consists of the truly fine intellectual minds whom natural disposition and education have taught to think independently, who try to form their own judgment about everything and who subject everything read to their own most thorough examination and further development once more.

undergo. They will not look at any newspaper without constantly collaborating in their own minds, and the author then does not have an easy standing. Consequently, journalists love such readers only with reservation.

For the members of this third group, however, the nonsense that a newspaper may scribble is of little danger or even significance. In any case, they have mostly become accustomed over the course of a lifetime to fundamentally seeing a rogue in every journalist who only occasionally speaks the truth. Unfortunately, however, the significance of these splendid people lies only in their intelligence and not in their number—a misfortune in a time when wisdom is nothing and the majority is everything! Today, since the ballot of the masses decides, the decisive value lies precisely with the most numerous group, and this is the first: the heap of the simple-minded or the gullible.

It is a state and national interest of the highest order to prevent these people from falling into the hands of bad, ignorant, or even malevolent educators. The state therefore has the duty to supervise their education and to prevent any mischief. In doing so, it must particularly keep a close eye on the press; for its influence on these people is by far the strongest and most penetrating, as it is not applied temporarily but continuously. In the consistency and eternal repetition of this instruction lies its quite extraordinary significance. If anywhere, then precisely here the state must not forget that all means must serve one purpose; it must not allow itself to be misled and talked out of its duty by the blather of a so-called "freedom of the press" and neglect its duty to withhold from the nation the fare it needs and which is good for it; it must, with ruthless determination, secure this means of national education and place it in the service of the state and the nation.

But what kind of fare did the German press of the pre-war period set before the people? Was it not the worst poison, that one can only imagine? Was not the worst kind of pacifism instilled into the heart of our people at a time when the rest of the world was already preparing to slowly but surely throttle Germany? Had the press not already in peacetime instilled into the brain of the people doubt about the right of their own state, so as to restrict it from the outset in the choice of means for its defense? Was it not the German press that knew how to make the nonsense of "Western democracy" palatable to our people, until the latter finally, captured by all the enthusiastic tirades, believed it could entrust its future to a League of Nations? Did it not help to educate our people into a wretched immorality? Were not morality and custom ridiculed by it, interpreted as backward and philistine, until finally our people also became "modern"? Did it not, in constant attack, undermine the foundations of state authority for so long until a single blow sufficed to bring this building to collapse? Did it not once fight with all means against every will to give to the state what is the state's, did it not in constant criticism disparage the army, sabotage universal conscription, call for the refusal of military credits, etc., until success could no longer fail to appear?

The activity of the so-called liberal press was gravedigger's work on the German people and the German Reich. One can remain silent altogether about the Marxist lying rags; for them, lying is just as much a necessity of life as mousing is for a cat; for their task is only to break the ethnic and national backbone of the people, in order to make them ripe for the slave yoke of international capital and its masters, the Jews.

But what has the state undertaken against this mass poisoning of the nation? Nothing, absolutely nothing at all! A few ridiculous decrees, a few punishments against all too violent baseness, and that was the end of it. For that but it was hoped to make this plague well-disposed through flattery, through recognition of the "value" of the press, its "significance," its "educational mission," and similar nonsense —but the Jews accepted it with a sly smile and acknowledged it with crafty thanks.

The reason, however, for this shameful failure of the state lay not so much in the failure to recognize the danger, as rather in a heaven-crying cowardice and the resulting half-heartedness of all decisions and measures. No one had the courage to apply drastic, radical means; instead, they tinkered around here as everywhere with nothing but half-measures, and instead of driving the blow into the heart, they at most provoked the viper—with the result that not only did everything remain as it was, but on the contrary, the power of the institutions to be combated increased from year to year.

The defensive struggle of the German government of that time against the press that was slowly corrupting the nation, mainly of Jewish origin, was without any straight line, without determination, but above all without any visible goal. Here, the privy-councilor intellect failed completely, both in assessing the significance of this struggle as well as in the choice of means and the determination of a clear plan. They doctored around aimlessly, sometimes locking up such a journalistic viper for a few weeks or even months when they were bitten too hard, but the nest of snakes as such was left well alone.

Admittedly—in part this was also the result of the infinitely clever tactics of Jewry on the one hand and a truly privy-councilor stupidity or harmlessness on the other. The Jew was far too clever to let his entire press attack uniformly. No, one part of it was there to cover the other. While the Marxist newspapers took to the field in the meanest way against everything that can be sacred to men, attacking state and government in the most infamous

...attacked in such a way and incited large sections of the people against one another, the bourgeois-democratic Jewish newspapers understood how to give themselves the appearance of the famous objectivity, scrupulously avoided all forceful words, knowing full well that all hollow-heads are only capable of judging by appearances and never possess the ability to penetrate into the interior, so that for them the value of a thing is measured by this appearance instead of by the content; a human weakness to which they also owe their own prominence.

For these people, the "Frankfurter Zeitung" was and is, of course, the epitome of all decency. After all, it never uses crude expressions, rejects any physical brutality, and always appeals to the struggle with "spiritual" weapons, which curiously enough is most dear to the hearts of precisely the most spiritless people. This is a result of our semi-education, which detaches people from the instinct of nature, pumps a certain amount of knowledge into them without, however, being able to lead them to ultimate insight, since diligence and good will alone are of no use here, but the necessary understanding must be present, and indeed as something innate. The ultimate insight, however, is always the understanding of instinctive causes—that is to say: man must never fall into the madness of believing that he has really risen to be the lord and master of nature—as the conceit of a semi-education so easily conveys—but he must understand the fundamental necessity of nature's rule and comprehend how much his existence is also subject to these laws of eternal struggle and striving upward. He will then feel that in a world in which planets and suns revolve, moons move around planets, in which strength is always the mistress of weakness and forces it to be an obedient servant or breaks it, special laws cannot apply to man. For him, too, the eternal principles of this ultimate wisdom prevail. He can attempt to grasp them, but he is never able to detach himself from them.

It is precisely for our intellectual semi-world, however, that the...

Jew his so-called intellectual press. For them, the "Frankfurter Zeitung" and the "Berliner Tageblatt" are made; for them, their tone is tuned, and upon them, they exert their influence. While they carefully avoid all seemingly externally crude forms, they nevertheless pour the poison from other vessels into the hearts of their readers. Amidst a drivel of beautiful tones and phrases, they lull them into the belief that truly pure science or even morality are the driving forces of their actions, while in truth it is only the art, as brilliant as it is cunning, to steal the weapon against the press in general from the opponent's hand in such a way. For while some drip with decency, all simpletons believe them all the more readily that the others are merely dealing with slight excesses, which, however, should never lead to a violation of press freedom—as the mischief of this unpunished lying to the people and poisoning of the people is called. Thus, one hesitates to take action against this banditry, fearing that in such a case one would immediately have the "decent" press against them; a fear that is only too well-founded. For as soon as one attempts to take action against one of these scandalous newspapers, all the others will immediately take its side, by no means to approve of its way of fighting, God forbid—it is only about the principle of press freedom and the freedom of public opinion; this alone shall be defended. Before this clamor, however, the strongest men become weak, for it comes from the mouths of nothing but "decent" papers.

Thus, this poison could penetrate and work unhindered in the bloodstream of our people, without the state possessing the strength to master the disease. In the ridiculous half-measures it applied against it, the already threatening decay of the Reich was revealed. For an institution that is no longer determined to protect itself with all weapons, practically gives itself up. Every half-measure is the visible signs of internal decay, which external collapse must and will follow sooner or later.

I believe that today's generation, if properly led, will master this danger more easily. It has experienced various things that were able to somewhat strengthen the nerves of those who did not lose them altogether. Certainly, in the coming time as well, the Jew will raise a mighty outcry in his newspapers once the hand is laid upon his favorite nest, an end is put to the press-mischief, and this means of education is also placed in the service of the state and no longer left in the hands of those alien to the people and enemies of the people. However, I believe that this will bother us younger ones less than it once did our fathers. A thirty-centimeter shell hissed even more than a thousand Jewish newspaper-vipers — so let them just hiss!

* * *

A further example of half-heartedness and weakness in the most important vital questions of the nation under the leadership of pre-war Germany is the following: Parallel to the political, ethical, and moral contamination of the people, a no less appalling health poisoning of the national body had already been running for many years. Syphilis began to spread more and more, especially in the large cities, while tuberculosis held its harvest of death almost equally throughout the entire country.

Although in both cases the consequences for the nation were appalling, people could not bring themselves to take decisive measures against them.

Especially regarding syphilis, the behavior of the national and state leadership can only be described as complete capitulation. In a serious fight, one had to reach out somewhat further than actually happened. The invention of a remedy of a questionable nature, as well as its business-like application, can do little more against this plague to help. Here, too, only the struggle against the causes could be considered, and not the elimination of the symptoms. The cause, however, lies primarily in our prostitution of love. Even if its result were not this natural plague, it would still be of the deepest harm to the people, for the moral devastation that this degeneracy brings with it is enough to slowly but surely ruin a people. This Judaization of our spiritual life and the mammonization of our mating instinct will sooner or later spoil our entire offspring; for in place of vigorous children of a natural feeling, only the miserable manifestations of financial expediency will appear. For this is increasingly becoming the basis and sole prerequisite of our marriages. Love, however, vents itself elsewhere.

For a certain time, one can of course mock nature here as well, but the revenge does not fail to appear; it only manifests itself later here, or better: it is often recognized too late by people.

How devastating the consequences of a permanent disregard for the natural prerequisites for marriage are, however, can be seen in our nobility. Here one has before one the results of a procreation that was based partly on purely social compulsion and partly on financial reasons. The one led to general weakening, the other to blood poisoning, since every department store Jewess is considered suitable to supplement the offspring of His Serene Highness—which, of course, then looks accordingly. In both cases, complete degeneration is the result.

Our bourgeoisie is today endeavoring to follow the same path and will end at the same goal.

With indifferent haste, people try to pass by the unpleasant truths, as if by such behavior they could make the things themselves undone. No, the fact that our large-city population is increasingly prostituted in its love life and is precisely thereby falling victim to the syphilitic plague in ever-widening circles, cannot simply be lied away, but it is there. The most visible results of this mass contamination can be found on the one hand in the insane asylums, but on the other, unfortunately, in our – children. These especially are the sad product of misery of the relentlessly progressing poisoning of our sexual life; in the illnesses of the children, the vices of the parents are revealed.

There are various ways to come to terms with this unpleasant, even terrible fact: Some see nothing at all or, better said, want to see nothing; this is, of course, by far the simplest and cheapest “position.” Others wrap themselves in the holy cloak of a prudery that is as ridiculous as it is mendacious, speak of the whole area only as a great sin, and above all express their deepest inner indignation toward every caught sinner, only to then close their eyes in pious horror before this godless plague and ask the dear Lord to – if possible after their own death – let sulfur and pitch rain down into this whole Sodom and Gomorrah, so as to once again set an edifying example for this shameless humanity. The third group, finally, sees very well the appalling consequences that this plague must and will one day bring with it, yet they only shrug their shoulders, convinced that they can do nothing against the danger anyway, so that one must let things run as they happen to run.

All of this is, to be sure, convenient and simple, only it must not be forgotten that a nation will fall victim to such convenience. The excuse that other peoples are doing no better can, of course, hardly change anything about the fact of one's own downfall, unless the feeling of seeing others also affected by misfortune would in itself bring a mitigation of one's own pain for many. But the question then is precisely all the more, which people is able to be the first and even the only one to master this plague, and which nations perish from it. In the end, that is what it comes down to. This too is only a touchstone of racial value—the race that does not pass the test will simply die out and make room for healthier or at least tougher and more resistant ones. For since this question primarily concerns the offspring, it belongs to those of which it is said with such terrible justice that the sins of the fathers are visited upon the children unto the tenth generation—a truth that applies only to crimes against blood and race.

The sin against blood and race is the original sin of this world and the end of a humanity that surrenders to it.

How truly deplorable, however, was the position of pre-war Germany regarding this one question. What was done to put a stop to the poisoning of our youth in the large cities? What was done to confront the contamination and mammonization of our love life? What was done to combat the resulting syphilization of the national body?

The answer is most easily found by determining what ought to have happened.

To begin with, this question should not have been taken lightly; rather, it had to be understood that the happiness or misfortune of generations would depend on its solution—indeed, that it could, if not must, be decisive for the entire future of our people. Such a realization, however, necessitated ruthless measures and interventions. At the forefront of all considerations had to be the conviction that, first and foremost, the attention of the entire nation had to be concentrated on the appalling danger, so that every individual was able to become inwardly aware of the significance of this struggle. One can only bring truly drastic and sometimes difficult-to-endure obligations and burdens to general effectiveness if the individual...

besides the compulsion, the recognition of necessity is also conveyed. However, this requires an immense amount of enlightenment, while excluding all other daily issues that might otherwise act as a distraction.

> In all cases involving the fulfillment of seemingly impossible demands or tasks, the entire attention of a people must be united and focused solely on this one question, as if their very existence actually depended on its solution. Only in this way will a people be made willing and capable of truly great achievements and efforts.

This principle also applies to the individual person, provided they wish to achieve great goals. They, too, will only be able to do this in gradual stages; they, too, will then always have to concentrate their entire efforts on the achievement of a specifically defined task, until this fulfillment appears and the marking out of a new section can be undertaken. Anyone who does not undertake this division of the path to be conquered into individual stages and then strives to overcome these individually through a systematic and sharp concentration of all forces will never be able to reach the final goal, but will remain lying somewhere along the way, perhaps even off to the side of it. This working toward the goal is an art and requires the deployment of even the last bit of energy in each case, in order to overcome the path step by step.

The very first prerequisite, therefore, which is necessary for the attack on such a difficult stretch of the human path, is that the leadership succeeds in presenting to the masses of the people precisely the partial goal to be reached—or rather, to be fought for—as the only one worthy of human attention, upon whose conquest everything depends. The great mass of the people can never see the whole path before them anyway without becoming weary and despairing of the task. They will, in a certain...

extent keep the goal in mind, but are only able to oversee the path in small sections, similar to the wanderer, who likewise probably knows and recognizes the end of his journey, but who overcomes the endless road better if he divides it into segments and marches off toward each individual one as if it were already the longed-for goal itself. Only in this way does he move forward, without despairing.

Thus, by using all propagandistic means, one should have made the question of the fight against syphilis appear as the task of the nation, not as also a task. For this purpose, its damages should have been hammered into people as the most horrific misfortune in its full extent, using all available means, until the entire nation had come to the conviction that everything depended on the solution of this question: future or downfall.

Only after such a preparation, lasting years if necessary, will the attention and thus also the determination of an entire people be so greatly awakened that one will then also be able to resort to very difficult and sacrificial measures without having to run the risk of perhaps not being understood or of suddenly being left in the lurch by the will of the masses.

For in order to seriously tackle this plague, immense sacrifices and equally great labors are necessary.

The struggle against syphilis requires a struggle against prostitution, against prejudices, old habits, against previous conceptions, general views, including not least against the hypocritical prudery in certain circles.

The first prerequisite for even a moral right to fight against these things is the enabling of early marriage for the coming generations. In late marriage alone lies the compulsion to maintain an institution which, twist and turn as one may, is a disgrace to human-is and remains an institution that is cursedly ill-suited to a being that, in other moments of modesty, likes to see itself as the "image" of God.

Prostitution is a disgrace to humanity, but it cannot be eliminated through moral lectures, pious intentions, etc.; rather, its restriction and eventual dismantling presuppose a myriad of preconditions. The first, however, is and remains the creation of the possibility for an early marriage corresponding to human nature, especially for the man, since the woman is, in any case, only the passive part here.

How lost, indeed incomprehensible, people have already become in part today may be seen from the fact that one not infrequently hears mothers of so-called "better" society say they would be grateful to find a man for their child who has "already sown his wild oats," etc. Since there is usually less of a shortage of such men than the other way around, the poor girl will eventually be lucky enough to find such a "de-horned" Siegfried, and the children will be the visible result of this sensible marriage. When one considers that, in addition, the greatest possible restriction of procreation itself takes place, so that nature is prevented from any selection—since naturally every being, no matter how wretched, must be preserved—the question really remains: why does such an institution exist at all and what purpose is it supposed to serve? Is it then not exactly the same as prostitution itself? Does the duty toward posterity play no role at all anymore? Or does one not know what a curse one loads upon child and grandchild through such a criminally frivolous manner in the preservation of the ultimate right of nature, but also the ultimate obligation of nature?

Thus the civilized nations degenerate and gradually perish.

Marriage, too, cannot be an end in itself, but must serve the one greater goal: the increase and preservation of species and race. That alone is its meaning and its task.

Under these prerequisites, however, its correctness can only be measured by the manner in which it fulfills this task. For this reason alone, early marriage is right, for it gives to the young marriage that strength from which alone a healthy and resilient offspring can come. To be sure, a whole series of social prerequisites is necessary for its realization, without which an early marriage is not to be thought of at all. Consequently, a solution to this seemingly small question cannot take place without drastic measures in social terms. The significance of these should be understood most in a time when the so-called "social" Republic, through its inability to solve the housing problem alone, simply prevents numerous marriages and in this way promotes prostitution.

The nonsense of our type of salary distribution, which takes far too little account of the question of the family and its nutrition, is also a reason that makes many an early marriage impossible.

A real fight against prostitution can therefore only be approached if, through a fundamental change in social conditions, an earlier marriage than can generally take place now is made possible. This is the very best prerequisite for a solution to this question.

In the second instance, however, education and training must eliminate a whole series of defects that are hardly cared about at all today. Above all, in previous education, a balance must occur between intellectual instruction and physical strengthening. What is called a Gymnasium today is a mockery of the Greek model. In our education, it has been completely forgotten that in the long run, a healthy mind can only dwell in a healthy body. Especially if one, apart from individual exceptions, considers the great mass of a people into view, this sentence acquires absolute validity.

There was a time in pre-war Germany when people no longer cared about this truth at all. They simply sinned against the body and believed that in the one-sided cultivation of the "spirit" they possessed a secure guarantee for the greatness of the nation. An error that began to take its revenge faster than one thought. It is no coincidence that the Bolshevist wave found no better ground than where a population degenerated by hunger and permanent malnutrition dwells: in Central Germany, Saxony, and in the Ruhr area. In all these areas, however, there is also hardly any serious resistance against this Jewish disease from the so-called intelligentsia, for the simple reason that the intelligentsia itself is physically completely decayed, even if less due to reasons of necessity than due to reasons of education. The exclusively spiritual attitude of our education in the upper classes makes them incapable of even holding their own, let alone prevailing, in times when not the spirit but the fist decides. In physical infirmities, the first reason for personal cowardice is not infrequently found.

The excessive emphasis on purely intellectual instruction and the neglect of physical training, however, also promote the emergence of sexual ideas in far too early youth. The boy who is brought to an iron hardening in sports and gymnastics succumbs to the need for sensual satisfaction less than the stay-at-home fed exclusively on spiritual fare. A sensible education, however, has to take this into account. Furthermore, it must not lose sight of the fact that the expectations of the healthy young man from a woman will be different from those of a prematurely corrupted weakling.

Thus, the entire education must be geared toward using the boy's free time for a useful strengthening of his body. He has no right, in these years of idling around, making streets and cinemas unsafe, but should, after his other daily work, steel and harden the young body so that one day life may not find him too soft. To pave the way for this and also to carry it out, to direct and to guide it, is the task of youth education, and not the exclusive pumping in of so-called wisdom. It also has to do away with the notion as if the treatment of one's body were each individual's own business. There is no freedom to sin at the expense of posterity and thus of the race.

Simultaneously with the education of the body, the struggle against the poisoning of the soul must begin. Our entire public life today resembles a greenhouse of sexual ideas and stimuli. One only needs to look at the bill of fare of our cinemas, vaudevilles, and theaters, and one can hardly deny that this is not the right nourishment, especially for the youth. In shop windows and on advertising pillars, the lowest means are employed to attract the attention of the crowd. That this must lead to extraordinarily severe damage for the youth is understandable to anyone who has not lost the ability to empathize with their soul. This sensually sultry atmosphere leads to ideas and excitations at a time when the boy should have no understanding of such things at all. The result of this kind of education can be studied in today's youth in a way that is not exactly gratifying. They have become precocious and thus prematurely old. From the courtrooms, proceedings sometimes reach the public that allow gruesome insights into the soul-life of our 14- and 15-year-olds. Who would wonder then that even in these age groups syphilis begins to seek its victims? And is it not a pity to see how many a physically weak but mentally corrupted young person receives his introduction to marriage mediated by a big-city prostitute?

No, whoever wants to tackle prostitution must in primarily help to eliminate the spiritual prerequisite for the same. It must clean up the filth of our moral pollution of big-city "culture," and do so ruthlessly and without wavering in the face of all the shouting and clamor that will naturally be unleashed. If we do not lift the youth out of the morass of their current environment, they will sink within it. Those who do not wish to see these things support them and thereby make themselves accomplices in the slow prostitution of our future, which lies, after all, in the coming generation. This cleaning up of our culture must extend to almost all areas. Theater, art, literature, cinema, press, posters, and displays must be cleansed of the phenomena of a rotting world and placed in the service of a moral idea of the state and culture. Public life must be freed from the stifling perfume of our modern eroticism, just as much as from any unmanly, prudish insincerity. In all these things, the goal and the path must be determined by the concern for the preservation of the health of our people in body and soul. The right of personal freedom recedes before the duty of the preservation of the race.

Only after the implementation of these measures can the medical fight against the plague itself be carried out with some prospect of success. However, even here it cannot be a matter of half-measures; rather, here too one will have to come to the gravest and most decisive resolutions. It is a half-measure to grant incurably ill people the permanent possibility of infecting the rest of the healthy population. This corresponds to a humanity which, in order not to hurt one person, allows a hundred others to perish. The demand that it be made impossible for defective people to procreate other equally defective offspring is a demand of the clearest reason and, in its systematic implementation, represents the most humane act of mankind. It will spare millions of unfortunate people undeserved suffering, but subsequently lead to an overall increase in health. The determination to proceed in this direction will also set up a dam against the further spread of venereal diseases. For here, if necessary, one will have to proceed to the merciless isolation of the incurably ill—a barbaric measure for those unfortunately affected by it, but a blessing for contemporaries and posterity. The temporary pain of a century can and will redeem millennia from suffering.

The fight against syphilis and its facilitator, prostitution, is one of the most colossal tasks of humanity; colossal because it is not a matter of solving a single question in itself, but of eliminating a whole series of harms which provide the occasion for this plague as a consequence. For the disease of the body is here only the result of a disease of the moral, social, and racial instincts.

If this struggle is not fought out due to convenience or even cowardice, then one should look at the nations in five hundred years. One would likely find very few images of God left, without wishing to blaspheme against the Almighty.

But how had they tried to deal with this plague in the old Germany? A calm examination yields a truly distressing answer. Certainly, the government circles recognized the appalling damage of this disease very well, even if they perhaps could not fully contemplate the consequences; however, in the fight against it, they failed completely and, instead of thorough reforms, preferred to resort to miserable measures. They tinkered with the disease and let the causes remain causes. They subjected the individual prostitute to a medical examination, supervised her as well as could be done, and, in the event of a detected illness, put her in some infirmary, from which she was released back onto the rest of humanity after an outward cure had been effected.

To be sure, a "protection paragraph" had been introduced, according to which anyone who was not fully healthy or cured was required to avoid sexual intercourse under penalty of law. Certainly, this measure is correct in itself; however, in practical implementation, it failed almost completely. Firstly, in the event of a misfortune befalling her as a result—already due to our, or rather her, upbringing—a woman will in most cases probably refuse to be dragged into the courtroom as a witness against the wretched thief of her health, often under embarrassing circumstances. This is of very little use to her specifically; she will in most cases be the one suffering the most from it anyway—for the contempt of her heartless surroundings hits her much harder than would be the case for a man. Finally, imagine her situation if the carrier of the disease is her own husband! Should she now sue? Or what should she do then?

In the case of the man, however, there is the added fact that, unfortunately, only too often he crosses paths with this plague precisely after copious consumption of alcohol, as in this state he is least able to judge the qualities of his "beauties," a fact which is only too well known to the already diseased prostitute and therefore always prompts her to fish specifically for men in this ideal condition. The end result, however, is that the person who is later unpleasantly surprised is unable to remember his merciful benefactor even with the most earnest reflection, which should not be surprising in a city like Berlin or even Munich. Added to this is the fact that it often concerns visitors from the provinces who are completely helpless in the face of the whole big-city magic anyway.

Finally, however: Who can know whether he is now sick or healthy? Do not numerous cases occur in which a seemingly cured person relapses and now causes terrible mischief without even suspecting it himself at first?

Thus, the practical effect of this protection through the legal punishment of a culpable infection is...

reality equal to zero. Exactly the same applies to the supervision of prostitutes, and finally, even the cure itself is still uncertain and doubtful today. Only one thing is certain: the plague continued to spread despite all measures. This, however, most strikingly confirms their ineffectiveness. For everything else that happened was just as inadequate as it was ridiculous. The spiritual prostitution of the people was not prevented; indeed, nothing at all was done to prevent it.

But whoever is inclined to take all this lightly should only study the statistical foundations regarding the spread of this pestilence, compare its growth over the last hundred years, then imagine this further development—and he would have to possess the simplicity of a donkey if an unpleasant shiver did not run down his spine!

The weakness and half-heartedness with which such a terrible phenomenon was addressed even in the old Germany must be regarded as a visible sign of a people's decay. When the strength to fight for one's own health is no longer present, the right to life ends in this world of struggle. It belongs only to the powerful "whole" and not to the weak "half."

One of the most obvious signs of decay in the old Empire was the slow decline of the general level of culture, whereby I do not mean by culture what is referred to today by the word civilization. On the contrary, the latter seems rather to be an enemy of true spiritual and vital heights.

Even before the turn of the century, an element began to intrude into our art that until then could be considered completely foreign and unknown. To be sure, aberrations of taste also occurred in earlier times, but in such cases, it was more a matter of artistic slips to which posterity could at least grant a certain historical value.

...was capable of, as it concerned products of a degeneration that was no longer artistic at all, but rather spiritual, to the point of witlessness. In them, the political collapse—which would admittedly become more clearly visible later—already began to manifest itself culturally.

The Bolshevism of art is the only possible cultural life-form and spiritual expression of Bolshevism in general.

To anyone to whom this seems strange, they need only subject the art of the successfully Bolshevized states to an examination, and they will be able to admire with horror the morbid excesses of insane and depraved people, whom we have come to know under the collective terms of Cubism and Dadaism since the turn of the century, there as the officially state-recognized art. Even in the short period of the Bavarian Soviet Republic, this phenomenon had already come to light. Already here, one could see how all the official posters, propaganda drawings in the newspapers, etc., bore the stamp not only of political decay, but also that of cultural decay itself.

Just as a political collapse of the magnitude now achieved would have been unthinkable sixty years ago, so too would a cultural one, as it began to show itself in Futurist and Cubist representations since 1900. Sixty years ago, an exhibition of so-called Dadaist "experiences" would have appeared simply impossible, and the organizers would have been sent to the madhouse, whereas today they even preside over art associations. This plague could not emerge back then because neither public opinion would have tolerated it, nor would the state have stood idly by. For it is the duty of the state leadership to prevent a people from being driven into the arms of spiritual madness. With the latter, however, such a development would eventually have to end one day. Namely, on the day when this kind of art truly corresponded to the general public's view, one of the most serious transformations of humanity would have occurred.

occurred; the regression of the human brain would have begun therewith, but one could hardly imagine the end.

As soon as one lets the development of our cultural life over the last twenty-five years pass before one's eyes from this point of view, one will see with horror how far we are already involved in this regression. Everywhere we encounter germs that cause the beginning of growths from which our culture must sooner or later perish. In them, too, we can recognize the symptoms of decay of a slowly rotting world. Woe to the peoples who are no longer able to master this disease!

Such illnesses could be observed in Germany in almost all areas of art and culture in general. Everything here seemed to have already passed its peak and to be rushing toward the abyss. The theater sank visibly lower and would probably have already been completely eliminated as a cultural factor back then, had not at least the court theaters still turned against the prostitution of art. If one disregards them and a few other laudable exceptions, the offerings of the stage were such that it would have been more expedient for the nation to avoid visiting them altogether. It was a sad sign of inner decay that youth could no longer be sent at all to most of these so-called "places of art," which was also quite shamelessly and openly admitted with the general panopticon warning: *"Youths admitted!"*

Consider that such precautionary measures had to be practiced at the very places that should primarily exist for the education of youth and should not serve for the amusement of old, blasé social strata. What would the great dramatists of all times have said to such a measure, and above all to the circumstances that gave rise to it? How Schiller would have flared up, how Goethe would have turned away in indignation!

But of course, what are Schiller, Goethe, or Shakespeare compared to the heroes of modern German literature! Old, worn-out, and obsolete—no, overcome phenomena. For that was the characteristic of this time: not only did it produce nothing but filth itself, it also defiled everything truly great of the past. This is, however, a phenomenon that can always be observed in such times. The more despicable and wretched the products of an era and its people are, the more they hate the witnesses of a former greater height and dignity. In such times, one would most like to erase the memory of humanity's past altogether, in order to feign one's own kitsch as "art" by eliminating any possibility of comparison. Therefore, every new institution, the more wretched and miserable it is, will strive all the more to erase the last traces of the past era, while every truly valuable renewal of humanity can also unconcernedly connect with the good achievements of past generations, indeed often only then attempting to bring them to full fruition. It does not need to fear fading before the past; rather, it contributes so valuable a share of its own to the general treasury of human culture that it often wishes to keep the memory of earlier achievements alive precisely for their full appreciation, so as to ensure the full understanding of the present for the new gift. Only those who are unable to give the world anything valuable of their own, but try to act as if they wanted to give God knows what, will hate everything truly already given and would prefer to deny or even destroy it.

This applies by no means only to new developments in the field of general culture, but also to those in politics. Revolutionary new movements will hate the old forms all the more, the more inferior they themselves are. Here too, one can see how the concern to make one's own kitsch appear as something noteworthy leads to blind hatred against the superior good of the past—

leads. As long as, for example, the historical memory of Frederick the Great has not died out, Friedrich Ebert can only evoke limited astonishment. The hero of Sanssouci relates to the former Bremen tavern keeper roughly as the sun relates to the moon; only when the rays of the sun are extinguished can the moon shine. It is therefore only too understandable that all the new moons of humanity harbor hatred against the fixed stars. In political life, such nonentities, when fate temporarily tosses power into their laps, tend not only to defile and besmirch the past with tireless zeal but also to shield themselves from general criticism by external means. The Republic Protection Legislation of the new German Reich can serve as an example of this.

Therefore, if any new idea, a doctrine, a new worldview, or even a political or economic movement attempts to deny the entire past, seeking to make it appear bad and worthless, one must be extremely cautious and suspicious for that reason alone. Most often, the reason for such hatred is either merely one's own inferiority or even a bad intention in itself. A truly beneficial renewal of humanity will always and eternally have to continue building where the last good foundation ends. It will not need to be ashamed of using already existing truths. After all, the whole of human culture, as well as man himself, is only the result of a single long development in which every generation contributed and integrated its building block. The sense and purpose of revolutions is then not to tear down the entire building, but to remove what is poorly constructed or unsuitable and to continue building and adding onto the healthy spot that has been exposed again.

Only in this way will one be able and allowed to speak of human progress. Otherwise, the world would never be delivered from chaos, since the right to reject the past would belong to every generation and with—

towards which anyone, as a prerequisite for their own work, might be permitted to destroy the works of the past.

Thus, the saddest thing about the state of our overall culture in the pre-war period was not only the complete impotence of artistic and general cultural creativity, but the hatred with which the memory of the greater past was defiled and extinguished. In almost all fields of art, especially in theater and literature, around the turn of the century, people began to produce less significant new work than rather to disparage the best of the old and to present it as inferior and outdated; as if this era of the most shameful inferiority were capable of overcoming anything at all. From this endeavor, however, to withdraw the past from the eye of the present, the evil intention of these apostles of the future emerged clearly and distinctly. From this, one should have recognized that this was not about new, albeit false, cultural views, but about a process of destroying the foundations of culture altogether, in order to make possible a foolery of healthy artistic perception—and about the spiritual preparation of political Bolshevism. For if the Periclean age appears embodied by the Parthenon, then the Bolshevist present is embodied by a cubist grimace.

In this connection, reference must also be made to the cowardice, visible here once again, on the part of that section of our people who, by virtue of their education and their position, would have been duty-bound to take a stand against this cultural disgrace. Out of sheer fear of the clamor of the Bolshevist art-apostles, who most vehemently attacked anyone who did not want to recognize in them the crown of creation and nailed them down as backward philistines, people renounced all serious resistance and submitted to what, as it then seemed, was after all inevitable. People literally became afraid of being accused of lack of understanding by these half-fools or rogues; as if it were a shame to [reject] the products of spimental degenerates or cunning swindlers was not to be understood. These "disciples of culture" admittedly possessed a very simple means of stamping their nonsense as a—God knows—mighty affair; they presented every incomprehensible and evidently crazy piece of work as a so-called "inner experience" to the astonished world around them, thus cheaply depriving most people of the word of rebuttal from the very start. For there was no doubt at all that this too could be an inner experience, but there was doubt as to whether it is acceptable to present the hallucinations of the mentally ill or of criminals to the healthy world. The works of a Moritz von Schwind or a Böcklin were also inner experiences, but precisely those of artists of a God-given kind and not of buffoons.

But there one could truly study the wretched cowardice of our so-called intelligentsia, which shirked any serious resistance against this poisoning of the healthy instinct of our people, and left it to the people themselves to come to terms with this insolent nonsense. In order not to be regarded as lacking an understanding of art, people accepted every mockery of art, until they finally became truly uncertain in the judgment of good and bad. All in all, however, these were signs of an increasingly evil time.

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The following must also be noted as an alarming characteristic:

In the nineteenth century, our cities began more and more to lose the character of cultural sites and to sink down to mere human settlements. The low level of attachment that our present-day metropolitan proletariat has for its place of residence is the result of the fact that it is really only a matter of the individual's accidental local place of stay and nothing more. In part, this is connected with the frequent change of residence necessitated by social conditions—

ments, which do not give man the time for a closer connection with his city; on the other hand, however, the cause for this is also to be sought in the general cultural insignificance and poverty of our present-day cities in themselves.

Even at the time of the Wars of Liberation, German cities were not only few in number, but also modest in size. The few real large cities were for the most part residences and, as such, almost always possessed a certain cultural value and usually a certain artistic image. The few places with more than fifty thousand inhabitants were, compared to cities with the same population today, rich in scientific and artistic treasures. When Munich counted sixty thousand souls, it was already preparing to become one of the first German centers of art; today almost every factory town has reached this number, if not already exceeded it many times over, without sometimes being able to call even the slightest of real values its own. Mere accumulations of residential and tenement barracks, nothing more. How a special bond with such a place is supposed to arise in the face of such insignificance must remain a mystery. No one will be particularly attached to a city that has nothing more to offer than every other city, which lacks any individual note, and in which everything that could even look like art or the like has been painstakingly avoided.

But that is not enough; even the real large cities become proportionally poorer in real works of art with the increasing growth of the population. They appear more and more worn down and present exactly the same image, albeit on a larger scale, as the small, miserable factory towns. What modern times have added to the cultural content of our large cities is completely inadequate. All our cities live off the fame and the treasures of the past. If one were to take away from present-day Munich everything that was created under Ludwig I, one would see with

...to see with horror how meager the growth in significant artistic creations has been since that time. The same applies to Berlin and most other major cities.

The essential point, however, is still the following: our modern metropolises possess no monuments that dominate the entire cityscape, which could in any way be addressed as landmarks of the entire era. This, however, was the case in the cities of antiquity, as almost every one possessed a special monument of its pride. The characteristic feature of the ancient city did not lie in private buildings, but in the monuments of the community, which seemed intended not for the moment, but for eternity, because they were meant to reflect not the wealth of an individual owner, but the greatness and significance of the community. Thus, monuments were created that were very well suited to connect the individual inhabitant with his city in a way that sometimes seems almost incomprehensible to us today. For what he had before his eyes were less the meager houses of private owners than the magnificent buildings of the entire community. Compared to them, the residential house truly collapsed into an insignificant secondary matter.

If one compares the proportions of ancient state buildings with contemporary residential houses, one will only then understand the overwhelming force and power of this emphasis on the principle of assigning public works the primary position. What we admire today in the heaps of rubble and fields of ruins of the ancient world as a few still-towering colossi are not former business palaces, but temples and state buildings; that is, works whose owner was the community. Even in the splendor of late-period Rome, the first place was taken not by the villas and palaces of individual citizens, but by the temples and baths, the stadiums, circuses, aqueducts, basilicas, etc., of the state—that is, of the entire people.

Even the Germanic Middle Ages maintained the same guiding principle, albeit under completely different...

artistic conceptions, upright. What found its expression in antiquity in the Acropolis or the Pantheon, now wrapped itself in the forms of the Gothic cathedral. Like giants, these monumental buildings towered over the small swarm of half-timbered, wooden, or brick buildings of the medieval city and became landmarks that even today, as tenement blocks climb ever higher beside them, determine the character and image of these places. Cathedrals, town halls, and granaries, as well as defensive towers, are the visible signs of a conception which, in the final analysis, again only corresponded to that of antiquity.

How truly wretched, however, has the relationship between state and private construction become today! Should the fate of Rome befall Berlin, posterity might one day admire the department stores of a few Jews and the hotels of a few corporations as the most powerful works of our time and as the characteristic expression of the culture of our days. One should compare the evil disproportion that exists in a city like Berlin itself between the buildings of the Reich and those of finance and commerce.

Even the amount spent on state buildings is usually truly ridiculous and insufficient. Works are not created for eternity, but mostly only for momentary needs. No higher thought prevails there at all. At the time of its construction, the Berlin Palace was a work of different significance than, for example, the new library is in the context of the present. While a single battleship represented a value of around sixty million, for the first magnificent building of the Reich, which was intended to be for eternity, the Reichstag building, barely half was granted. Indeed, when the question of the interior decoration came to a decision, the High House voted against the use of stone and ordered the walls to be clad with plaster; this time, however, the parliamentarians had, for once, acted truly correctly; plaster heads do not belong between stone walls either.

Thus, our cities of the present lack the towering landmark of the national community, and one should therefore not be surprised if the community does not see a landmark of itself in its cities. A desolation must occur, which manifests itself practically in the total indifference of today's city dweller toward the fate of his city.

This, too, is a sign of our declining culture and our general collapse. Time is suffocated in the smallest expediency, or better said, in the service of money. But there, one should not be surprised if little sense for heroism remains under such a deity. The present day only reaps what the recent past has sown.

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All these phenomena of decay are ultimately only the consequences of the lack of a definite, uniformly recognized worldview, as well as the resulting general uncertainty in judgment and positioning regarding the individual great questions of the time. Therefore, starting with education, everything is half-hearted and wavering, shuns responsibility, and thus ends in cowardly tolerance of even recognized harms. Humanitarian sentimentality becomes the fashion, and by weakly giving in to excesses and sparing individuals, the future of millions is sacrificed.

How far the general fragmentation is spreading is shown by a consideration of the religious conditions before the war. Here, too, a unified and effective worldview-based conviction had long been lost in large parts of the nation. In this regard, the followers officially detaching themselves from the churches play a smaller role than those who are indifferent altogether. While both denominations maintain missions in Asia and Africa to bring new followers to their teachings—an activity that, compared to the advance of the Mohammedan faith in particular, can only show very modest successes—

—they lose in Europe itself millions and millions of inner adherents who either face religious life as complete strangers or go their own ways. The consequences, especially from a moral perspective, are not favorable.

Also noteworthy is the increasingly fierce struggle against the dogmatic foundations of the individual churches, without which, however, the practical existence of a religious faith is unthinkable for humans in this world. The broad mass of a people does not consist of philosophers; but for the masses in particular, faith is often the only foundation of a moral worldview at all. The various substitutes have not proven so effective in their results that one could see in them a useful replacement for previous religious confessions. If, however, religious teaching and faith are to truly reach the broad layers of society, then the absolute authority of the content of this faith is the foundation of all effectiveness. What the respective lifestyle is for general life—without which hundreds of thousands of high-standing people would certainly live rationally and wisely, but millions of others simply would not—the basic state laws are for the state and dogmas are for the respective religion. Only through them is the fluctuating and infinitely interpretable, purely spiritual idea definitely demarcated and brought into a form without which it could never become faith. Otherwise, the idea would never grow beyond a metaphysical view, or, in short, a philosophical opinion. The attack against dogmas as such therefore closely resembles the struggle against the general legal foundations of the state, and just as the latter would find its end in complete state anarchy, so would the former in a worthless religious nihilism.

For the politician, however, the assessment of the value of a religion must be determined less by any inherent flaws it may have than by the quality of an evidently better substitute. But as long as such a...

apparently lacking, what exists can only be demolished by fools or criminals.

To be sure, not the slightest blame for the not very pleasant religious conditions lies with those who burden the religious concept too much with purely earthly things and thus frequently bring it into a completely unnecessary conflict with so-called exact science. Here the victory, even if after a difficult struggle, will almost always fall to the latter, but religion will suffer severe damage in the eyes of all those who are unable to rise above purely superficial knowledge.

Worst of all, however, are the devastations caused by the abuse of religious conviction for political purposes. One really cannot act sharply enough against those wretched profiteers who want to see in religion a means that is to perform political, or rather business, services for them. These brazen liars shout their confession of faith out to the whole world with a Stentorian voice, to be sure, so that other sinners can hear it, but not in order to die for it if necessary, but rather to be able to live better. For a single political deal of corresponding value, the meaning of an entire faith is for sale to them; for ten parliamentary mandates they ally themselves with the Marxist mortal enemies of every religion—and for a ministerial post they would probably even enter into a marriage with the devil, provided the latter were not scared off by a remaining shred of decency.

If in Germany before the war religious life took on an unpleasant aftertaste for many, this was attributable to the abuse carried out with Christianity by a so-called "Christian" party, as well as the insolence with which one attempted to identify the Catholic faith with a political party.

This substitution was a disaster that brought parliamentary mandates to a number of good-for-nothings, but brought damage to the Church.

The result, however, had to be borne by the entire nation, as the consequences of the resulting loosening of religious life occurred precisely at a time when everything was already beginning to give way and waver, and the traditional foundations of custom and morality threatened to collapse.

These, too, were cracks and fissures in our national body, which could remain harmless as long as no particular strain arose, but which were bound to turn into disaster when the weight of great events gave the question of the nation's inner stability a decisive significance.

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Likewise, in the field of politics, there were damages present to attentive eyes which, if no improvement or change were made in the foreseeable future, could and had to be regarded as signs of a coming decay of the Reich. The aimlessness of German domestic and foreign policy was visible to anyone who did not want to be intentionally blind. The system of compromise seemed most to correspond to the Bismarckian view that "politics is the art of the possible."

Now, however, there was a small difference between Bismarck and the later German Chancellors, which allowed the former to let such a remark about the nature of politics drop, while the same view from the mouths of his successors was bound to acquire a completely different meaning. For Bismarck only intended to say with this sentence that, in order to achieve a specific political goal, all possibilities should be used or all possibilities should be pursued; his successors, however, saw in this statement a solemn release from the necessity of having any political thoughts or goals at all. And political goals were truly no longer present for the leadership of the Reich at that time; for the necessary basis of a specific worldview was lacking, as well as the neces—

...full clarity regarding the internal laws of development of political life in general.

There were not a few who saw gloomily in this direction and castigated the lack of planning and thought in imperial policy, thus recognizing its internal weakness and hollowness very well; however, these were only the outsiders in political life; the official government agencies passed by the insights of a Houston Stewart Chamberlain just as indifferently as is still the case today. These people are too stupid to think for themselves, and too conceited to learn what is necessary from others — an eternal truth that prompted Oxenstierna to exclaim: "The world is governed by only a fraction of wisdom," of which fraction, of course, almost every ministerial counselor embodies only an atom. Since Germany became a republic, this admittedly no longer applies — it has therefore also been forbidden by the Law for the Protection of the Republic to believe or even express such a thing. For Oxenstierna, however, it was a stroke of luck to live back then and not in this clever republic of today.

Even in the pre-war period, the institution in which the strength of the Reich was supposed to be embodied was often recognized as the greatest element of weakness: the parliament, the Reichstag. Cowardice and irresponsibility were joined here in a perfect manner.

It is one of the thoughtless remarks that one hears not infrequently today, that parliamentarianism in Germany has failed "since the revolution." This only too easily creates the appearance as if it had been different before the revolution. In reality, this institution cannot act in any way other than destructively — and it did so even at that time when most, still hung with blinkers, saw nothing or did not want to see. For that Germany was overthrown is due in no small part to this institution; but that the catastrophe did not occur even earlier cannot be considered a merit of the Reichstag, but is rather due to the...

resistance to be attributed, which still opposed the activity of this gravedigger of the German nation and the German Reich during the years of peace.

From the vast sum of devastating damages that are to be credited directly or indirectly to this institution, I want to single out only one single disaster that most corresponds to the inner essence of this most irresponsible institution of all time: the horrific half-heartedness and weakness of the political leadership of the Reich, both internally and externally, which, primarily to be attributed to the actions of the Reichstag, became a major cause of the political collapse.

Everything that was somehow subject to the influence of this parliament was half-hearted, no matter what one chooses to consider.

The Reich's alliance policy abroad was half-hearted and weak. While wanting to maintain peace, one inevitably had to steer toward war.

The Polish policy was half-hearted. One provoked without ever taking serious action. The result was neither a victory for Germandom nor a reconciliation with the Poles, but instead enmity with Russia.

The solution to the Alsace-Lorraine question was half-hearted. Instead of crushing the head of the French hydra once and for all with a brutal fist, and then granting the Alsatians equal rights, neither was done. It was not even possible, as the ranks of the largest parties also contained the greatest traitors to the country—in the Center Party, for example, Mr. Wetterlé.

All this, however, would still have been bearable if the general half-heartedness had not also claimed as a victim the power upon whose existence the survival of the Reich ultimately depended: the army.

What the so-called "German Reichstag" had sinned here is enough alone to burden it for all time with the curse of the German nation. For the most wretched reasons, these parliamentary party-scoundrels have [wrested] from the nation the weapon of self-preservation, the only protection of the freedom and independence of our people, from the...

hand stolen and beaten. If the graves of the Flemish plains were to open today, the bloody accusers would rise from them, hundreds of thousands of the best young Germans, who, through the unscrupulousness of these parliamentary criminals, were driven into the arms of death poorly and half-trained; the Fatherland lost them and millions of men who sank among the dead or became cripples, solely and alone to enable a few hundred deceivers of the people to carry out political machinations, extortions, or even the rattling off of doctrinaire theories.

While Jewry, through its Marxist and democratic press, shouted the lie of German "militarism" to the whole world and sought to burden Germany by all means, Marxist and democratic parties refused any comprehensive training of the German national strength. At the same time, the monstrous crime committed thereby had to be immediately clear to anyone who merely considered that in the event of a coming war, the entire nation would have to take up arms, and thus, through the rascality of these fine representatives of their own so-called "popular representation," millions of Germans would be driven before the enemy with poor, half-training. But even if one left the resulting consequences of the brutal and crude unscrupulousness of these parliamentary pimps entirely out of consideration: this lack of trained soldiers at the beginning of the war could only too easily lead to its loss, which was then confirmed in such a terrible way in the Great World War.

The loss of the struggle for the freedom and independence of the German nation is the result of the half-heartedness and weakness, already practiced in peacetime, in the recruitment of the entire national strength for the defense of the Fatherland.

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If too few recruits were trained on land, the same half-heartedness was at work at sea; the weapon to make national self-preservation more or less worthless. Unfortunately, however, the leadership of the Navy itself was infected by the spirit of half-measures. The tendency to build all ships laid down always somewhat smaller than the English ones launched at the same time was not very far-sighted and even less ingenious. Especially a fleet that from the outset cannot be brought to the same level as its prospective opponent in purely numerical terms must seek to compensate for the lack of numbers through the superior combat power of the individual ships. It is the superior combat power that matters, and not a legendary superiority in "quality." In fact, modern technology has advanced so far and reached such great agreement in the individual civilized states that it must be considered impossible to give ships of one power a significantly greater combat value than ships of the same tonnage of another state. Even less conceivable, however, is it to achieve superiority with a smaller displacement compared to a larger one.

In fact, the small tonnage of the German ships could only be achieved at the expense of speed and armament. The phrase with which one tried to justify this fact, however, already showed a very bad lack of logic at the office responsible for this in peacetime. Namely, it was declared that the German gun material was so seriously superior to the British that the German 28-centimeter barrel was in no way inferior to the British 30.5-centimeter barrel in firing performance!! Precisely for that reason, however, it would have been a duty to now likewise switch to the 30.5-centimeter gun, since the goal should not have been the achievement of equal, but superior combat power. Otherwise, the provision of the 42-centimeter mortar for the Army would also have been superfluous, since the German 21-centimeter mortar was in and of itself already far superior to any French high-angle fire gun existing at that time, but the fortresses would probably also have fallen victim to the 30.5-centimeter mortar likewise—

would have fallen. Only the leadership of the land army thought correctly, and that of the Navy, unfortunately, did not.

The renunciation of superior artillery effect as well as superior speed was based entirely on the fundamentally wrong so-called "risk concept." Through the very form of the fleet's expansion, the naval leadership already renounced the offensive and thus inevitably shifted to the defensive from the very beginning. With that, however, they also renounced the ultimate success, which eternally lies and can only lie in the attack.

A ship with lower speed and weaker armament will usually be sunk by a faster and more heavily armed opponent at a firing range favorable to the latter. A good number of our cruisers had to feel this in the most bitter way. How fundamentally wrong the peacetime view of the naval leadership was, was shown by the war, which, wherever possible, forced the re-arming of old ships and the better arming of new ones. If, however, in the naval battle at Skagerrak (Jutland), the German ships had possessed the same tonnage, the same armament, and the same speed as the English ones, then under the hurricane of the more accurate and effective German 38-centimeter shells, the British fleet would have sunk into a watery grave.

Japan once pursued a different naval policy. There, fundamental value was placed on gaining superior combat power in every single new ship compared to the prospective opponent. This then corresponded to the offensive deployment of the fleet made possible thereby.

While the land army in its leadership still kept itself free from such fundamentally wrong lines of thought, the Navy, which "parliamentarily" was unfortunately already better represented, succumbed to the spirit of the Parliament. It was organized from halfway perspectives and was later deployed according to similar ones. What the Navy nevertheless acquired in immortal fame was only due to the account of the good German soldierly work as well as the ability and to the incomparable heroism of the individual officers and men. Had the former Supreme Command of the Navy matched this in terms of genius, the sacrifices would not have been in vain.

Thus, perhaps it was precisely the superior parliamentary skill of the leading head of the Navy in peacetime that became its undoing, in that unfortunately, even in its development, parliamentary viewpoints began to play the decisive role instead of purely military ones. The half-measures and weakness, as well as the meager logic in thinking inherent to the parliamentary institution, rubbed off on the leadership of the fleet.

The Army, as already emphasized, still held back from such fundamentally wrong lines of thought. Especially the then-Colonel in the Great General Staff, Ludendorff, fought a desperate struggle against the criminal half-measures and weakness with which the Reichstag confronted the vital questions of the nation and mostly rejected them. If the struggle that this officer fought out at that time was nevertheless in vain, the blame lay half with the Parliament itself, and half with the —if possible—even more wretched attitude and weakness of the Imperial Chancellor Bethmann Hollweg. This does not in the least prevent those guilty of the German collapse from wanting to shift the blame today onto the only one who turned against this neglect of national interests—one more or less fraud never matters to these born racketeers.

Whoever considers all the sacrifices burdened upon the nation through the criminal recklessness of these most irresponsible of men, whoever visualizes all the pointlessly sacrificed millions of healthy men as well as the boundless shame and disgrace, the immeasurable misery that has now struck us, and knows that all this happened only to clear the path to ministerial chairs for a pack of unscrupulous climbers and job-hunters, will understand that these creatures can truly only be described with words such as can be described as scoundrel, rogue, rascal, and criminal, otherwise the meaning and purpose of the existence of these expressions in linguistic usage would be incomprehensible. For compared to these traitors to the nation, every pimp is still a man of honor.

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Strangely enough, all the real dark sides of the old Germany only became apparent when the internal stability of the nation was bound to suffer damage as a result. Indeed, in such cases, the unpleasant truths were positively screamed out to the broad masses, while otherwise many things were preferred to be shamefully kept silent, or in some cases simply denied. This was the case when an open treatment of a question might perhaps have led to an improvement. At the same time, the authoritative circles of the government understood next to nothing of the value and nature of propaganda. That through the clever and continuous application of propaganda, even heaven can be presented to a people as hell and, conversely, the most miserable life as paradise, was known only to the Jew, who acted accordingly; the German, or rather his government, had not the slightest inkling of it.

This was to take its most severe revenge during the war.

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All the damages in German life before the war indicated here, and countless others, were also offset by many virtues. Upon a fair examination, one must even recognize that most of our defects were for the most part also claimed by other countries and peoples as their own, indeed in some cases they far outshone us, while they did not possess many of our actual virtues.

At the head of these virtues, one can place, among other things, the fact that the German people, among almost all

European peoples, it still tried hardest to preserve the national character of its economy and, despite many evil omens, was still least subject to international financial control. To be sure, this was a dangerous advantage, which later became the greatest cause of the World War.

However, if one sets that and much else aside, three institutions must be singled out from the vast number of the nation's healthy sources of strength, which were exemplary in their kind, and in part remained unsurpassed.

First, the form of state itself and the manifestation it had found in the Germany of the new era.

One may truly look past individual monarchs here, who as human beings were subject to all the weaknesses that tend to afflict this earth and its children—if one were not lenient here, one would otherwise have to despair of the present altogether: for the representatives of the current regime, considered specifically as personalities, are probably the most intellectually and morally modest that one can imagine even after long reflection. Whoever measures the "value" of the German Revolution by the value and stature of the persons it has given to the German people since November 1918 will veil his head in shame before the judgment of posterity, whose mouth one will no longer be able to bind through protection laws, etc., and which will therefore say what we all already recognize today, namely, that brain and virtue in our new-German leaders stand in inverse proportion to their mouths and vices.

Certainly, the monarchy was alienated from many, especially from the broad masses of the people. This was the result of the fact that the monarchs were not always surrounded by the—shall we say—brightest and especially not by the most sincere minds. Unfortunately, they partly loved flatterers more than straightforward natures, and thus they were also "informed" by them. A very serious harm in a time in which the world had undergone a great change in many old views, which naturally also did not stop before the assessment of some traditional traditions of the courts.

Thus, around the turn of the century, the ordinary man and human being could no longer find any special admiration for the princess riding along the front in uniform. One could apparently form no correct idea of the effect of such a parade in the eyes of the people, for otherwise such unfortunate appearances would probably never have occurred. Also, the not always quite genuine humanitarian sentimentality of these circles acted more repulsively than attractively. When, for example, Princess X. deigned to perform a tasting in a soup kitchen with the well-known result, this might have looked quite good in earlier times, but then the success was the opposite. It can be readily assumed that Her Highness really had no idea that the food on the day of her inspection was just a little bit different than it usually was; however, it was quite enough that the people knew this.
Thus, what was possibly the best intention became ridiculous, if not downright provocative.

Descriptions of the ever-proverbial frugality of the monarch, his rising far too early, as well as his formal slaving away until late into the night, moreover with the constant danger of his threatening malnutrition, nevertheless called forth very dubious remarks. One did not demand to know at all what and how much the monarch deigned to consume; one already granted him a "sufficient" meal; one was also not intent on wanting to deny him the necessary sleep; one was satisfied if he otherwise, as a human being and character, brought honor to the name of his lineage and the nation and fulfilled his duties as a regent. The telling of fairy tales was of little use, but did all the more harm instead.

This and much similar, however, were only small things—

ties. Unfortunately, in very large parts of the nation, the conviction increasingly spread that one was governed from above anyway and that the individual therefore did not have to worry about anything else. As long as the government was truly good or at least wanted the best, things still worked out. But woe betide if one day, in place of the old government which intended well in itself, a new, less orderly one should appear; then the will-less docility and the childlike faith were the gravest calamity that one could possibly imagine.

However, all these and many other weaknesses were offset by undeniable values.

Firstly, the stability of the entire state leadership necessitated by the monarchical form of state, as well as the removal of the highest state positions from the turmoil of the speculation of ambitious politicians. Furthermore, the dignity of the institution itself, as well as the authority established thereby, likewise the elevation of the civil service and especially the army above the level of party-political obligations. Added to this was the advantage of the personal embodiment of the head of state by the monarch as a person and the example of a responsibility which the monarch has to bear more strongly than the accidental crowd of a parliamentary majority—the proverbial cleanliness of the German administration was primarily attributable to this. Finally, however, the cultural value of the monarchy for the German people was high and was well able to compensate for other disadvantages. The German residences were still the sanctuary of an artistic spirit which, in our materialized age, is increasingly threatened with extinction anyway. What the German princes did for art and science, especially in the nineteenth century, was exemplary. The present day, at any rate, must not be compared with it.

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As the greatest value factor in this time of the beginning and slowly spreading decomposition of our of the national body, however, we must credit the army. It was the mightiest school of the German nation, and it was not for nothing that the hatred of all enemies was directed precisely against this shield of national self-administration and freedom. No more glorious monument can be given to this unique institution than the establishment of the truth that it was slandered, hated, fought against, but also feared by all inferiors. That the rage of the international exploiters of the people at Versailles was primarily directed against the old German army allows it to be recognized all the more as the sanctuary of our people's freedom against the power of the stock exchange. Without this warning power, the intent of Versailles would have long since been carried out upon our people. What the German people owe to the army can be summarized briefly in a single word, namely: Everything.

The army educated for absolute responsibility at a time when this quality had already become very rare and the shirking of the same became more and more the order of the day, starting from the prime example of all irresponsibility, the parliament; it further educated for personal courage in an age when cowardice threatened to become a rampant disease and the willingness to sacrifice oneself for the general welfare was regarded almost as stupidity, and only he seemed to be clever who understood best how to spare and promote his own "I"; it was the school that still taught the individual German not to seek the salvation of the nation in the mendacious phrases of an international brotherhood between Negroes, Germans, Chinese, French, English, etc., but in the strength and unity of one's own nationality.

The army educated for decisiveness, while in the rest of life indecisiveness and doubt were already beginning to determine the actions of men. It meant something, in an age when the know-it-alls set the tone everywhere, to uphold the principle that an order is always better than none. In this single principles, there lay a still unspoiled, robust health, which would have long since been lost to our remaining life if the army and its education had not provided for the perpetual renewal of this primal force. One only needs to see the appalling indecisiveness of our current Reich leadership, which is unable to rouse itself to any action unless it concerns the forced signing of a new dictate of plunder; in this case, it then naturally rejects all responsibility and signs with the speed of a court stenographer everything that one finds fit to present to it, for in this case the decision is easy to make: it is, after all, dictated to it.

The army educated for idealism and devotion to the Fatherland and its greatness, while in the rest of life greed and materialism had taken hold. It educated a united people against the division into classes and perhaps had here, as its only fault, the one-year-volunteer institution to show. A fault because through it the principle of absolute equality was broken and the more highly educated were again placed outside the framework of the general environment, whereas precisely the opposite would have been advantageous. Given the already great world-estrangement of our upper classes and the ever-increasing alienation from their own people, the army would have been able to work particularly blessedly if it had at least avoided any segregation of the so-called intelligentsia within its ranks. That this was not done was a mistake; but which institution in this world will be faultless? In this one, however, the good outweighed the bad so much that the few defects lay far below the average degree of human inadequacy.

As the highest merit, however, it must be credited to the army of the old Reich that, in a time of the general majoritization of heads, it placed the heads above the majority. The army maintained, in contrast to the Jewish-democratic thought of a blind worship of numbers, it held high the faith in personality. Thus it also bred what modern times needed most: men. — In the swamp of a general spreading effeminacy and feminization, three hundred and fifty thousand vigorous young men emerged annually from the ranks of the army, who, in two years of training, had lost the softness of youth and gained bodies hard as steel. The young person, however, who practiced obeying during this time, could then first learn to command. One could recognize the veteran soldier by his very stride.

This was the high school of the German nation, and not for nothing did the fierce hatred of those who, out of envy and greed, needed and wished for the impotence of the Reich and the defenselessness of its citizens, concentrate upon it. What many Germans, in blindness or ill will, did not want to see, the foreign world recognized: the German army was the mightiest weapon in the service of the freedom of the German nation and the nourishment of its children.

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In addition to the form of state and the army, the incomparable civil service body of the old Reich came as the third in the alliance. Germany was the best-organized and best-administered country in the world. One might easily accuse the German state official of bureaucratic pedantry, but in other states things were no better, rather even worse. What the other states did not possess, however, was the wonderful solidarity of this apparatus as well as the incorruptibly honorable disposition of its members. Better to be a bit pedantic, but honest and loyal, than enlightened and modern, but inferior in character and, as is often shown today, ignorant and incompetent. For if people now like to pretend as if the German administration of the pre-war period was indeed bureaucratically solid, but commercially poor, one can only answer as follows: Which country in the world had a better managed and more commercially organized enterprise than Germany in its state railways? It was reserved for the Revolution to continue destroying this model apparatus until it finally seemed ripe to be taken out of the hands of the nation and socialized in the sense of the founders of this Republic—that is, to serve international stock market capital as the employer of the German Revolution.

What particularly distinguished the German civil service and administrative apparatus was its independence from individual governments, whose respective political leanings were unable to exert any influence on the position of the German civil servant. Since the Revolution, however, this has changed fundamentally. In place of ability and aptitude came party affiliation, and an independent, autonomous character became more of a hindrance than a help.

The wonderful power and strength of the old Reich rested on the form of the state, the army, and the civil service. These were primarily the causes of a quality that is completely lacking in today's state: state authority! For this does not rest on chatter in parliaments or state diets, nor on laws for its protection or court judgments to deter impudent deniers of the same, etc., but on the general trust that may and can be placed in the leadership and administration of a community. This trust, however, is again only the result of an unshakable inner conviction of the selflessness and integrity of the government and administration of a country, as well as the harmony of the spirit of the laws with the feeling of general moral outlook. For in the long run, systems of government are not maintained by the pressure of force, but by the belief in their goodness and in the truthfulness in representing and promoting the interests of a people.

However severely certain damages in the pre-war period ate away at the inner strength of the nation and threatened to hollow it out, one must not forget that other states suffered even more from most of these maladies than Germany and yet did not fail or perish in the critical hour of danger. But when one considers that the German weaknesses before the war were also offset by equally great strengths, then the ultimate cause of the collapse must lie in another field entirely; and this is indeed the case.

The deepest and ultimate reason for the downfall of the old Reich lay in the failure to recognize the racial problem and its significance for the historical development of peoples. For all events in the life of nations are not expressions of chance, but are natural-law processes of the urge for self-preservation and the multiplication of kind and race, even if humans are unable to become conscious of the inner reason for their actions.

Chapter 11

Nation and Race

There are truths which are so obvious in the streets that, for this very reason, they are not seen or at least not recognized by the ordinary world. It sometimes passes by such truisms as if blind and is most highly astonished when someone suddenly discovers what everyone should have known. Columbus's eggs lie around by the hundreds of thousands, only the Columbuses are just rarer to find.

Thus, without exception, men wander about in the garden of nature, imagining they know and understand almost everything, and yet, with few exceptions, they pass by as if blind one of the most prominent principles of her rule: the inner isolation of the species of all living beings on this earth.

Even a superficial observation shows as an almost iron fundamental law of all the countless forms of expression of nature's will to live her internally limited form of reproduction and multiplication. Every animal mates only with a companion of the same species. Titmouse goes to titmouse, finch to finch, the stork to the female stork, field mouse to field mouse, house mouse to house mouse, the wolf to the she-wolf, etc.

Only extraordinary circumstances are able to change this, primarily the compulsion of captivity as well as some other impossibility of mating within the same species. But then nature also begins to resist this with all means, and her most visible protest consists either in the refusal of further procreative ability for the hybrids, or she restricts the fertility of the later descendants; in most cases, however, it robs them of the power of resistance against disease or hostile attacks.

This is only too natural.

Every crossing of two beings not quite equally high produces a product that is a medium between the heights of the two parents. This means: the offspring will stand higher than the racially lower half of the parental pair, but not as high as the higher one. Consequently, it will later succumb in the struggle against this higher one. Such mating, however, contradicts the will of Nature toward the higher breeding of life in general. The prerequisite for this does not lie in the connection of superior and inferior, but in the total victory of the former. The stronger must rule and not merge with the weaker, thus sacrificing its own greatness. Only the born weakling can perceive this as cruel, but for that, he is only a weak and limited human being; for if this law did not prevail, any conceivable higher development of all organic living beings would be unthinkable.

The consequence of this urge for racial purity, which is universally valid in Nature, is not only the sharp outward demarcation of the individual races but also their uniform character within themselves. The fox is always a fox, the goose a goose, the tiger a tiger, etc., and the difference can at most lie in the varying degrees of strength, power, intelligence, skill, endurance, etc., of the individual specimens. But a fox will never be found who, according to his inner disposition, might have humane impulses toward geese, just as there is no cat with a friendly affection for mice.

Therefore, here too, the struggle among one another arises less as a result of inner aversion than rather out of hunger and love. In both cases, Nature looks on calmly, even with satisfaction. The struggle for daily bread lets everything weak and sickly, and the less determined, per-succumb, while the struggle of the males for the female grants the right of procreation, or at least the possibility thereof, only to the healthiest. But the struggle is always a means for promoting the health and power of resistance of the species and thus a cause for its higher development.

Were the process otherwise, any further and higher development would cease and rather the opposite would occur. For since the inferior always outweighs the best in number, if the possibility of life preservation and reproduction were equal, the worse would multiply so much faster that finally the best would necessarily be forced into the background. A correction in favor of the better must therefore be undertaken. This, however, is handled by Nature, in that she subjects the weaker part to such difficult living conditions that their number is limited by them alone, and finally does not allow the remainder to multiply indiscriminately, but here makes a new, ruthless selection according to strength and health.

Just as little as she desires a mating of weaker individuals with stronger ones, she desires even less the blending of a higher race with a lower one, since otherwise her entire other work of higher breeding, perhaps lasting hundreds of thousands of years, would be rendered futile at a single stroke.

Historical experience offers countless proofs of this. It shows with terrifying clarity that with every mixing of Aryan blood with lower peoples, the result was the end of the culture-bearer. North America, whose population consists for the most part of Germanic elements, which mixed only very little with lower colored peoples, shows a different humanity and culture than Central and South America, in which the mainly Romance immigrants had mixed to a sometimes large extent with the indigenous inhabitants. From this one example alone, one can clearly and distinctly recognize the effect of racial mixing. The Ger- [Germanic element] which has remained racially pure and unmixed...

...man of the American continent has risen to be its master; he will remain the master as long as he himself does not fall victim to blood-defilement.

The result of every racial crossing is therefore, briefly stated, always the following:

a) Lowering of the level of the higher race,
b) physical and mental regression and thus the beginning of a slowly but surely progressing decline.

To bring about such a development means nothing else than to commit sin against the will of the eternal Creator.

As a sin, however, this act is also rewarded.

By attempting to rebel against the iron logic of nature, man comes into conflict with the principles to which he himself owes his existence as a human being. Thus, his actions against nature must lead to his own downfall.

Here, of course, comes the typically Jewish-insolent, but equally stupid objection of the modern pacifist: "Man simply overcomes nature!"

Millions thoughtlessly parrot this Jewish nonsense and eventually really imagine that they themselves represent a kind of conqueror of nature; although they have nothing more than an idea at their disposal as a weapon, and a miserable one at that, such that no world could truly be imagined according to it.

But quite apart from the fact that man has not yet overcome nature in any matter, but at most caught and tried to lift one or another tiny corner of her enormous, gigantic veil of eternal riddles and secrets, that in truth he invents nothing but only discovers everything, that he does not rule nature, but has only risen to be the master of those other living beings who lack this knowledge based on the understanding of individual laws of nature and secrets—quite apart from that, an idea cannot fulfill the prerequisites for the becoming and being of humanity.

overcome, since the idea itself depends only on man. Without man, there is no human idea in this world; therefore, the idea as such is always conditioned by the existence of men and thus by all the laws that created the prerequisite for this existence.

And not only that! Certain ideas are even bound to certain people. This applies most of all to those thoughts whose content has its origin not in an exact scientific truth, but in the world of feeling or, as one is accustomed to expressing it so beautifully and clearly today, reflects an "inner experience." All these ideas, which in themselves have nothing to do with cold logic, but represent pure expressions of feeling, ethical conceptions, etc., are bound to the existence of the people to whose spiritual imaginative and creative power they owe their own existence. Precisely then, however, the preservation of these specific races and people is the precondition for the permanence of these ideas. Anyone, for example, who truly wished from the bottom of his heart for the victory of the pacifist idea in this world, would have to commit himself with all means to the conquest of the world by the Germans; for if it should happen the other way around, the last pacifist would very easily die out with the last German, since the rest of the world has hardly ever fallen for this nonsense, which is contrary to nature and reason, as deeply as, unfortunately, our own people. One would therefore, for better or worse, have to decide, if the will were serious, to wage wars in order to arrive at pacifism. This and nothing else was what the American world-savior Wilson had intended, or so at least our German visionaries believed—whereby the purpose was then achieved.

In fact, the pacifist-humane idea is perhaps quite good when the highest-standing man has previously conquered and subjected the world to an extent that makes him the sole master of this earth. This idea then lacks the possibility of a harmful effect to the same extent that its practical application becomes rare and finally impossible. Therefore, first struggle and then perhaps pacifism. In the other case, humanity has passed the peak of its development, and the end is not the rule of some ethical idea, but barbarism and, consequently, chaos. One or another may naturally laugh here, but this planet already moved through the ether for millions of years without humans, and it can one day move along so again if humans forget that they owe their higher existence not to the ideas of a few crazy ideologues, but to the knowledge and ruthless application of iron laws of nature.

Everything that we admire on this earth today—science and art, technology and inventions—is only the creative product of a few peoples and perhaps originally of one race. On them also depends the survival of this entire culture. If they perish, then the beauty of this earth sinks with them into the grave.

However much, for example, the soil may be able to influence people, the result of the influence will always be different, depending on the races in question. The low fertility of a living space may spur one race to the highest achievements; for another, it will only be the cause of the most bitter poverty and eventual malnutrition with all its consequences. The inner disposition of peoples is always decisive for the nature of the effect of external influences. What leads to starvation for some, trains others for hard work.

All great cultures of the past perished only because the originally creative race died out from blood poisoning.

The ultimate cause of such a downfall was always the forgetting that all culture depends on people and not vice versa; that is, in order to preserve a certain culture, the human being who creates it must be preserved.

This preservation, however, is bound to the iron law of necessity and the right of the victory of the best and the strongest.

He who wishes to live, let him therefore fight, and he who does not wish to strive in this world of eternal struggle does not deserve life.

Even if this were hard—that is just the way it is! Certainly, however, the by far hardest fate is that which strikes the man who believes he can overcome Nature and yet, in the final analysis, only mocks her. Distress, misfortune, and diseases are then her answer!

The man who misjudges and disregards the laws of race truly deprives himself of the happiness that seems destined for him. He prevents the triumphal march of the best race and, with it, the prerequisite for all human progress. Consequently, burdened with human sensitivity, he enters the realm of the helpless animal.

* * *

It is an idle undertaking to argue about which race or races were the original bearers of human culture and thus the real founders of all that we encompass with the word humanity. It is simpler to pose this question for the present, and here the answer arises easily and clearly. What we see before us today in terms of human culture, in the results of art, science, and technology, is almost exclusively the creative product of the Aryan. But this very fact allows for the not unfounded conclusion that he alone was the founder of higher humanity in general, and thus represents the archetype of what we understand by the word "man." He is the Prometheus of mankind, from whose bright forehead the divine spark of genius sprang at all times, forever rekindling that fire which, as knowledge, illuminated the night of silent mysteries and thus allowed man to climb the path to becoming the master of the other beings of this earth. Exclude him—and deep darkness will perhaps, after only a few millennia, descend once more upon the earth, human culture would perish and the world would become a desert.

If one were to divide mankind into three species: culture-founders, culture-bearers, and culture-destroyers, then only the Aryan would come into consideration as a representative of the first. From him stem the foundations and walls of all human creations, and only the external form and color are conditioned by the respective character traits of the individual peoples. He provides the mighty building blocks and plans for all human progress, and only the execution corresponds to the nature of the respective races. In a few decades, for example, the entire East of Asia will call a culture its own, the ultimate foundation of which will be just as much Hellenic spirit and Germanic technology as is the case with us. Only the external form will—at least in part—bear the features of Asiatic character. It is not as some believe, that Japan takes European technology for its culture, but rather European science and technology are trimmed with Japanese peculiarities. The basis of actual life is no longer the specific Japanese culture, although it—because externally, as a result of the inner difference, it is more striking to the European—determines the color of life, but rather the enormous scientific-technical work of Europe and America, that is, of Aryan peoples. On these achievements alone can the East also follow general human progress. This provides the basis for the struggle for daily bread, creates weapons and tools for it, and only the external presentation is gradually adapted to the Japanese nature.

If from today all further Aryan influence on Japan were to cease, assuming Europe and America were to perish, then for a short time the current rise of Japan in science and technology might continue; but in only a few years the spring would dry up, the Japanese character would gain ground, but the current culture would stiffen and sink back again into the sleep sink, from which it was startled seven decades ago by the Aryan wave of culture. Therefore, just as today's Japanese development owes its life to Aryan origin, so too in the dim past, foreign influence and a foreign spirit were the awakeners of the Japanese culture of that time. The best proof of this is provided by the fact of its later ossification and complete stagnation. This can only occur in a people when the originally creative racial core was lost, or when the external influence was later lacking, which gave the impetus and the material for the first development in the cultural field. If it is established, however, that a people receives, absorbs, and processes its culture in its most essential basic elements from foreign races, only to stagnate again and again after the absence of further external influence, one can perhaps designate such a race as a "culture-bearing" one, but never as a "culture-creating" one.

An examination of individual peoples from this point of view yields the fact that it is almost consistently a matter not of originally culture-founding, but almost always of culture-bearing ones.

The following picture of their development always emerges: Aryan tribes subjugate—often in truly ridiculously small numbers—foreign peoples and now, stimulated by the special living conditions of the new territory (fertility, climatic conditions, etc.) as well as favored by the quantity of available auxiliary forces of people of an inferior kind, develop their latent intellectual and organizational abilities. In often a few millennia, or even centuries, they create cultures that originally completely bear the inner features of their essence, adapted to the special characteristics of the soil already indicated above as well as the subjugated people. Finally, however, the conquerors sin against the principle of maintaining the purity of their blood, which was observed in the beginning, begin to mix with the subjugated inhabitants, and thereby end—

with their own existence; for the fall from grace in Paradise was always followed by the expulsion from the same.

After a thousand years and more, the last visible trace of the former master people often shows itself in the lighter skin tone that its blood left behind for the subjugated race, and in a frozen culture which it had once founded as the original creator. For just as the actual and spiritual conqueror was lost in the blood of the subjected, so too was the fuel for the torch of human cultural progress lost! Just as the color retained a faint shimmer as a memory of the former masters through their blood, so too is the night of cultural life mildly brightened by the remaining creations of the former light-bringers. These shine through all the returned barbarism and, in the thoughtless observer of the moment, only too often awaken the opinion that he sees the image of the current people before him, while it is only the mirror of the past into which he looks.

It can then happen that such a people comes into contact with the race of its former culture-bringers a second time, or even more often, during its history, without a memory of earlier encounters needing to still exist. Unconsciously, the remnant of the former master-blood will turn toward the new appearance, and what was first only possible through compulsion can now succeed through its own will. A new wave of culture makes its entry and lasts as long as its bearers again perish in the blood of foreign peoples.

It will be the task of a future history of culture and the world to research in this sense and not to suffocate in the reproduction of external facts, as is unfortunately only too often the case with our contemporary historical science.

Already from this sketch of the development of "culture-bearing" nations, however, there also emerges the image of the becoming, the working, and the passing away of the true founders of culture on this earth, the Aryans themselves.

Just as in daily life so-called genius requires a special occasion, indeed often a formal impetus, to be brought to radiance, so too in the life of nations does the race of genius. In the monotony of everyday life, even significant people often tend to appear insignificant and hardly rise above the average of their surroundings; however, as soon as a situation approaches them in which others would despair or go astray, the genius nature visibly grows out of the inconspicuous average child, not infrequently to the astonishment of all those who had previously seen it in the smallness of bourgeois life—hence the prophet is also seldom valued in his own country. There is nowhere more opportunity to observe this than in war. From seemingly harmless children, in hours of need when others despair, heroes suddenly shoot up with death-defying determination and icy coolness of deliberation. Had this hour of trial not come, hardly anyone would have suspected that a young hero was hidden in the beardless boy. Almost always, some impetus is needed to call the genius onto the scene. The hammer blow of fate, which throws one to the ground, suddenly strikes steel in the other, and as the shell of everyday life breaks, the previously hidden core lies open to the eyes of the astonished world. The world then resists and does not want to believe that what appeared to be the same kind should suddenly be a different being; a process that is probably repeated with every significant child of man.

Although an inventor, for example, only establishes his fame on the day of his invention, it is nevertheless erroneous to think that genius itself only entered the man at that hour—the spark of genius has been present in the forehead of the truly creatively gifted person since the hour of birth. True genius is always innate and never nurtured or even learned.

This applies, however, as already emphasized, not only to the in—

dividual humans, but also for the race. Creatively active peoples have always been and are fundamentally creatively predisposed, even if this should not be recognizable to the eyes of superficial observers. Here, too, external recognition is only ever possible in the wake of accomplished deeds, since the rest of the world is not capable of recognizing genius in itself, but only sees its visible manifestations in the form of inventions, discoveries, buildings, pictures, etc.; but even here it often takes a long time before it is able to struggle through to this knowledge. Just as in the life of the individual significant person the genial or at least extraordinary predisposition, driven only by special occasions, strives for its practical realization, so too in the life of peoples the real utilization of existing creative forces and abilities can often only take place when certain prerequisites invite it.

We see this most clearly in the race that was and is the bearer of human cultural development—the Aryans. As soon as fate leads them toward special circumstances, their existing abilities begin to develop in ever faster succession and to cast themselves into tangible forms. The cultures they found in such cases are almost always decisively determined by the existing soil, the given climate, and—the subjected people. This last, however, is almost the most decisive. The more primitive the technical prerequisites for a cultural activity are, the more necessary is the presence of human auxiliary forces, which then, organized and applied collectively, have to replace the power of the machine. Without this possibility of using inferior humans, the Aryan would never have been able to take the first steps toward his later culture; just as, without the help of certain suitable animals which he knew how to domesticate, he would not have arrived at a technology that now allows him to slowly dispense with these very animals. The saying: "The Moor has done his duty, the Moor can go" unfortunately has its only too deep significance. For thousands of years, the horse had to serve man and help lay the foundations of a development which now, as a result of the motor vehicle, makes the horse itself superfluous. In a few years, it will have ceased its activity, but without its former cooperation, man might only with difficulty have reached where he is today.

Thus, for the formation of higher cultures, the presence of lower human beings was one of the most essential prerequisites, in that they alone were able to replace the lack of technical aids, without which a higher development is not even conceivable. Certainly, the first culture of humanity rested less on the tamed animal than on the use of lower human beings.

Only after the enslavement of subjected races did the same fate begin to strike animals as well, and not the other way around, as some would like to believe. For first the conquered went before the plow—and only after him the horse. Only pacifist fools, however, can view this again as a sign of human depravity, without realizing that this development simply had to take place in order finally to reach the point from which today these apostles can release their drivel into the world.

The progress of humanity resembles the ascent on an endless ladder; one simply does not get higher without first having taken the lower steps. Thus the Aryan had to walk the path that reality showed him, and not the one of which the imagination of a modern pacifist dreams. The path of reality, however, is hard and difficult, but it finally leads to where the other would like to dream people toward, from which, however, in truth it rather removes them than brings them closer.

It is therefore no coincidence that the first cultures arose where the Aryan, in meeting with lower peoples, subjugated them and made them subject to his will.

made. They were then the first technical instrument in the service of a developing culture.

With this, however, the path that the Aryan had to take was clearly preordained. As a conqueror, he subjected the lower human beings and then regulated their practical activity under his command, according to his will and for his goals. However, by leading them to such a useful, albeit hard, activity, he not only spared the lives of the subjected, but perhaps even gave them a lot that was better than that of their former so-called "freedom." As long as he ruthlessly maintained the master standpoint, he remained not only truly the master, but also the preserver and multiplier of culture. For this rested exclusively on his abilities and thus on his preservation in itself. As soon as the subjected began to raise themselves and probably also approached the conqueror linguistically, the sharp dividing wall between master and servant fell. The Aryan gave up the purity of his blood and in exchange lost his stay in the paradise that he had created for himself. He sank in the mixture of races, gradually lost more and more of his cultural ability, until he finally began to resemble the subjected and original inhabitants more than his ancestors, not only mentally but also physically. For a time he could still draw from the existing cultural assets, but then stagnation set in, and he finally fell into oblivion.

Thus cultures and empires collapse to make room for new formations.

The mixture of blood and the resulting lowering of the racial level is the sole cause of the dying out of all cultures; for men do not perish from lost wars, but from the loss of that power of resistance which is unique only to pure blood.

What is not good race in this world is chaff.

All world-historical events, however, are only the expression of the self-preservation instinct of the races in a good or bad sense.

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The question regarding the inner causes of the preeminent significance of Aryanism can be answered by stating that these are to be sought less in a stronger predisposition of the self-preservation instinct in itself, but rather in the particular nature of its expression. The will to live is, subjectively considered, equally great everywhere and differs only in the form of its actual manifestation.

In the most primitive living beings, the self-preservation instinct does not go beyond concern for one's own self. Egoism, as we call this craving, goes so far here that it even encompasses time, so that the moment itself again claims everything and is unwilling to grant anything to the coming hours. In this state, the animal lives only for itself, seeks food only for its immediate hunger, and fights only for its own life. As long as the self-preservation instinct manifests itself in this way, every basis for the formation of a community is lacking, even if it were the most primitive form of the family. Even the community between male and female beyond pure mating requires an expansion of the self-preservation instinct, in that the care and the struggle for one's own self also turns toward the second part; the male sometimes also seeks food for the female, but mostly both seek nourishment for the young. One almost always stands up for the protection of the other, so that here the first, albeit infinitely simple, forms of a sense of sacrifice emerge. As soon as this sense expands beyond the limits of the narrow framework of the family, the prerequisite for the formation of larger associations and finally formal states arises.

Among the lowest humans on earth, this quality is present only to a very small extent, so that it does not go beyond the formation of the family. The greater the willingness to set aside purely personal interests becomes, the more the capacity for the establishment of comprehensive communities also increases.

This will to sacrifice for the application of personal labor and, if necessary, one's own life for others is most strongly developed in the Aryan. The Aryan is not greatest in his intellectual properties in themselves, but in the extent of his willingness to put all his abilities into the service of the community. The instinct for self-preservation has reached its noblest form in him, in that he willingly subordinates his own ego to the life of the whole and, if the hour demands it, even offers it as a sacrifice.

The cause of the Aryan's culture-forming and culture-building ability does not lie in intellectual gifts. Had he these alone, he would always be able to act only destructively, but in no case organizingly; for the innermost essence of every organization rests on the fact that the individual renounces the representation of his personal opinion as well as his interests and sacrifices both in favor of a majority of people. Only through the detour of this generality does he then receive his part back. He no longer works, for example, directly for himself, but integrates himself with his activity into the framework of the whole, not only for his own benefit, but for the benefit of all. The most wonderful explanation of this disposition is offered by his word "work," by which he by no means understands an activity for self-preservation in itself, but only a creation that does not contradict the interests of the community. In the other case, he designates human activity, insofar as it serves the instinct of self-preservation without regard for the welfare of the fellow world, as theft, usury, robbery, burglary, etc.

This disposition, which allows the interest of one's own ego to recede in favor of the preservation of the community, is truly the first prerequisite for every truly human culture. Only out of it are all the great works of mankind able to arise, which bring little reward to the founder, but the richest blessing to posterity. Yes, from it alone can one understand how so many are able to endure a meager life in honesty, which imposes only poverty and modesty upon themselves, but provides the community with the foundations of existence.

ensures. Every worker, every peasant, every inventor, official, etc., who creates without ever being able to achieve happiness and prosperity himself, is a bearer of this high idea, even if the deeper meaning of his actions always remained hidden from him.

But what applies to labor as the basis of human sustenance and all human progress, applies to an even greater extent to the protection of man and his culture. In the devotion of one's own life for the existence of the community lies the crowning of all sense of sacrifice. Only through this is it prevented that what human hands built, human hands overthrow again or nature destroys.

Our German language in particular, however, possesses a word that magnificently describes acting in this sense: fulfillment of duty (*Pflichterfüllung*); that is, not to satisfy oneself, but to serve the general public.

The fundamental disposition from which such action grows, we call—in contrast to egoism, to self-interest—idealism. By this we understand only the capacity for self-sacrifice of the individual for the whole, for his fellow men.

How necessary it is, however, to recognize again and again that idealism does not represent some superfluous expression of feeling, but that in truth it was, is, and will be the prerequisite for what we designate as human culture; indeed, that it alone first created the concept of "man." To this inner disposition the Aryan owes his position in this world, and to it the world owes man; for it alone has formed from the pure spirit the creative power which, in a unique marriage of raw fist and brilliant intellect, created the monuments of human culture.

Without his ideal disposition, all, even the most dazzling abilities of the mind, would be only mind in itself, outward appearance without inner value, but never creative power.

Since, however, true idealism is nothing more than the...

The subordination of the interests and life of the individual to the community, which in turn represents the prerequisite for the formation of organizational forms of every kind, corresponds in its innermost core to the ultimate will of Nature. It alone leads men to the voluntary recognition of the privilege of force and strength and thus lets them become a speck of dust in that order which forms and shapes the entire universe.

Purest idealism unconsciously coincides with the deepest knowledge.

How true this is and how little true idealism has to do with playful fantasy can be recognized immediately if one lets an unspoiled child, a healthy boy for example, judge. The same boy who stands uncomprehending and dismissive toward the tirades of an "ideal" pacifist is ready to throw away his young life for the ideal of his people.

Unconsciously, instinct here obeys the knowledge of the deeper necessity of preserving the species, if necessary at the expense of the individual, and protests against the fantasy of the pacifist windbag, who in truth, though masked, acts as a cowardly egoist against the laws of development; for this development is conditioned by the willingness of the individual to sacrifice for the benefit of the community and not by the morbid notions of cowardly know-it-alls and critics of Nature.

Precisely in times in which the ideal disposition threatens to disappear, we can therefore also immediately recognize a sinking of that force which forms the community and thus creates the prerequisites for culture. As soon as egoism becomes the ruler of a people, the bonds of order dissolve, and in the hunt for their own happiness, people plunge from heaven all the more surely into hell.

Indeed, even posterity forgets the men who served only their own benefit, and praises the heroes who renounced their own happiness.

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The Jew forms the mightiest contrast to the Aryan. In hardly any people in the world is the instinct of self-preservation more strongly developed than in the so-called chosen one. The simple fact of the existence of this race alone may be considered the best proof of this. Where is the people that in the last two thousand years has been exposed to so few changes of inner disposition, character, etc., as the Jewish? Which people, finally, has undergone greater upheavals than this one—and yet has always emerged as the same from the mightiest catastrophes of mankind? What an infinitely tough will to live, to preserve the species, speaks from these facts!

The intellectual qualities of the Jew have been trained in the course of millennia. Today he is considered "clever," and he was so in a certain sense at all times. Yet his intellect is not the result of his own development, but of visual instruction provided by others. The human spirit, too, is unable to climb to the heights without steps; for every step upward it needs the foundation of the past, and indeed in that comprehensive sense in which it can only reveal itself in general culture. All thinking is based only to a small extent on one's own knowledge, but for the most part on the experiences of the preceding time. The general cultural level provides the individual, without him usually noticing it, with such a wealth of preliminary knowledge that, thus equipped, he can more easily take further steps of his own. The boy of today, for example, grows up among a true multitude of technical achievements of the last centuries, so that he no longer pays any attention to many things that a hundred years ago were still a mystery to the greatest minds, as if they were a matter of course, although for him they are of decisive importance for following and understanding our progress in the field concerned. If even a brilliant mind from the twenties of the last century were suddenly to leave his grave today leave, his even purely spiritual orientation in the present time would be more difficult than is the case for a moderately gifted fifteen-year-old boy of today. For he would lack all the infinite preliminary training that the contemporary of today absorbs, so to speak, unconsciously within himself while growing up amidst the phenomena of the respective general culture.

Since the Jew—for reasons which will immediately become apparent—was never in possession of a culture of his own, the foundations of his intellectual work have always been provided by others. His intellect has at all times developed through the cultural world surrounding him. The reverse process never took place.

For even if the self-preservation instinct of the Jewish people is not smaller, but rather even greater than that of other peoples, and even if his mental abilities are very easily capable of creating the impression that they are equal to the intellectual disposition of the other races, the most essential prerequisite for a cultural people is completely lacking: the idealistic mindset.

The will to sacrifice in the Jewish people does not go beyond the naked self-preservation instinct of the individual. The seemingly great sense of solidarity is based on a very primitive herd instinct, as is similarly shown in many other living beings in this world. It is noteworthy that the herd instinct always leads to mutual support only as long as a common danger makes this appear expedient or inevitable. The same pack of wolves that just a moment ago attacked its prey together, dissolves back into its individual animals when hunger subsides. The same applies to horses, which seek to defend themselves against an attacker in a closed group, only to scatter again after the danger has passed.

The situation is similar with the Jew. His sense of sacrifice is only apparent. It exists only as long as the existence of each individual makes this absolutely necessary makes. However, as soon as the common enemy is defeated, the danger threatening all is removed, and the booty is secured, the apparent harmony among the Jews ceases, in order to give way again to the underlying natural dispositions. The Jew is only united when a common danger forces him to be or a common prey entices him; if both reasons disappear, then the qualities of the crassest egoism come into their own, and in the blink of an eye, the united people becomes a pack of rats fighting each other bloodily.

If the Jews were alone in this world, they would stifle in filth and offal just as much as they would try to overreach and exterminate each other in hate-filled struggle, unless the complete lack of any sense of self-sacrifice, expressed in their cowardice, also turned the struggle here into a theatrical performance.

It is therefore fundamentally wrong to want to conclude from the fact of the Jews standing together in struggle—or more correctly expressed, in the plundering of their fellow human beings—that they possess a certain ideal sense of self-sacrifice. Here, too, the Jew is guided by nothing other than the naked egoism of the individual.

Therefore, the Jewish state—which should be the living organism for the preservation and multiplication of a race—is territorially completely unlimited. For a specific spatial form of a state structure always presupposes an idealistic attitude of the state race, but especially a correct conception of the concept of labor. To the same extent that this attitude is lacking, every attempt at the formation, or even the preservation, of a spatially limited state fails. With this, however, the basis upon which a culture alone can arise is lost.

Therefore, despite all apparent intellectual qualities, the Jewish people are nevertheless without any true culture, and especially without any of their own. For what the Jew possesses today in terms of sham culture is the property of other peoples, which has mostly already been corrupted in his hands.

As an essential characteristic in assessing Judaism in its position on the question of human culture, one must always keep in mind that there never was a Jewish art and, accordingly, there is none today; that above all, the two queens of all arts, architecture and music, owe nothing original to Judaism. What it achieves in the field of art is either bowdlerization or intellectual theft. Thus, however, the Jew lacks those qualities that distinguish races blessed with creativity and, therefore, culture.

How much the Jew only adopts foreign culture by imitation, or rather by corruption, is evident from the fact that he is most frequently found in the art that appears least geared toward original invention: the art of acting. But even here, he is really only the "juggler," or better, the mimic; for even here he lacks the final stroke of real greatness; even here he is not the brilliant creator, but an external imitator, whereby all the antics and tricks employed cannot deceive one about the inner lifelessness of his creative gift. Here, only the Jewish press helps out in the most affectionate way by raising such a cry of Hosanna over everyone, even the most mediocre bungler, as long as he is just a Jew, that the rest of the world finally truly believes they see an artist before them, while in truth it is only a miserable comedian.

No, the Jew possesses no culture-forming power of any kind, since idealism, without which there is no true higher development of man, is not present in him and never was. Therefore, his intellect will never act constructively, but destructively and, in very rare cases, perhaps at most as a stimulant, but then as the archetype of the "power that always wills evil and always creates good." No progress of mankind takes place through him, but in spite of him.

Since the Jew never [possessed] a state with a specific territorial limitation and thus never called a culture his own, the idea arose as if this were a people to be counted among the ranks of the NOMADS. This is an error as great as it is dangerous. The nomad certainly possesses a strictly defined living space, only he does not cultivate it as a settled farmer, but lives from the yield of his herds, with which he wanders within his territory. The external reason for this is to be seen in the low fertility of a soil that simply does not permit settlement. The deeper cause, however, lies in the disproportion between the technical culture of a time or a people and the natural poverty of a living space. There are areas in which even the Aryan is only able to master the vast soil in closed settlements and to meet the requirements of life from it through his technology developed over more than a thousand years. If he did not possess this technology, he would either have to avoid these areas or likewise eke out a living as a nomad in constant wandering, provided that his thousand-year education and habituation to settled life did not make this appear simply unbearable to him. One must consider that during the time of the opening of the American continent, numerous Aryans fought for their lives as trappers, hunters, etc., and often in larger groups with wife and child, always moving around, so that their existence completely resembled that of the nomads. But as soon as their increasing numbers and better resources permitted them to clear the wild soil and hold their ground against the original inhabitants, more and more settlements sprang up in the land.

Probably the Aryan was also a nomad at first and became settled in the course of time, but for that reason alone he was never a Jew! No, the Jew is no nomad; for even the nomad already had a certain position toward the concept of "work," which could serve as a basis for later development, provided the necessary spiritual prerequisites for this were present. The idealistic

However, a fundamental outlook exists within him, even if in infinite dilution; therefore, in his entire being, he may appear strange to the Aryan peoples, but not unsympathetic. Among the Jews, on the other hand, this attitude does not exist at all; he was therefore never a nomad, but always only a PARASITE in the body of other peoples. That he sometimes leaves his previous living space in the process is not related to his intention, but is the result of the expulsion he experiences from time to time by the abused host peoples. His further spreading, however, is a typical phenomenon for all parasites; he always seeks new breeding ground for his race.

This, however, has nothing to do with nomadism because the Jew does not even think of vacating a territory he has occupied, but remains where he sits, and indeed so settled that even with force he is only very difficult to drive out. His expansion into ever new countries occurs only at the moment when certain conditions for his existence are given there, without him thereby—like the nomad—changing his previous residence. He is and remains the eternal parasite, a sponger who, like a harmful bacillus, spreads more and more as soon as a favorable breeding ground invites it. The effect of his existence, however, also resembles that of spongers: wherever he appears, the host people dies off after a shorter or longer period of time.

Thus, the Jew lived at all times in the states of other peoples and formed his own state there, which, however, used to sail masked under the designation "religious community" for as long as external circumstances did not make a complete unveiling of his nature appear advisable. But once he believed himself strong enough to be able to dispense with the protective cover, he always let the veil fall and was suddenly what so many others previously did not want to believe and see: the Jew.

In the life of the Jew as a parasite in the body of other nations and states lies a peculiarity grounded, which...

...once prompted Schopenhauer to make the previously mentioned remark that the Jew is the “great master of lying.” Existence drives the Jew to lie, and indeed to a perpetual lie, just as it forces the inhabitant of the North to wear warm clothing.

His life within other peoples can only endure in the long run if he succeeds in creating the impression that he is not a people, but rather a—albeit special—“religious community.”

But this is the first great lie.

In order to lead his existence as a parasite of nations, he must resort to the denial of his inner nature. The more intelligent the individual Jew is, the more he will succeed in this deception. Indeed, it can go so far that large parts of the host nation will finally seriously believe that the Jew is truly a Frenchman or an Englishman, a German or an Italian, albeit of a special denomination. Government agencies in particular, which always seem to be animated by only a historical fraction of wisdom, fall victim to this infamous fraud most easily. Independent thinking is sometimes regarded in these circles as a true sin against sacred advancement, so that one should not be surprised if, for example, a Bavarian State Ministry even today has no faint idea that the Jews are members of a PEOPLE and not of a “DENOMINATION,” although a mere glance into the newspaper world peculiar to Judaism should immediately reveal this even to the most modest mind. To be sure, the “Jewish Echo” is not yet the official gazette and is therefore irrelevant to the intellect of such a government potentate.

Judaism was always a people with certain racial characteristics and never a religion; only its advancement caused it to seek a means at an early stage that was able to dissipate unpleasant attention regarding its members. But what means would have been more expedient and at the same time more harmless than the insertion of the borrowed concept of a religious...

community? For here, too, everything is borrowed, or rather stolen — the Jew cannot possess a religious institution from his own original nature for the simple reason that he lacks idealism in any form and thus the belief in a hereafter is completely foreign to him. However, one cannot imagine a religion according to the Aryan conception which lacks the conviction of survival after death in some form. In fact, the Talmud is not a book for preparation for the hereafter, but only for a practical and tolerable life in this world.

Jewish religious doctrine is primarily an instruction for maintaining the purity of the blood of Jewry as well as for regulating the intercourse of Jews among themselves, but even more so with the rest of the world, that is, with non-Jews. But here, too, it is by no means a matter of ethical problems, but of extremely modest economic ones. Regarding the moral value of Jewish religious instruction, there are today, and have been at all times, quite thorough studies (not from the Jewish side; the ramblings of the Jews themselves on the subject are naturally adapted to the purpose), which make this kind of religion appear downright uncanny according to Aryan concepts. The best characterization, however, is given by the product of this religious education, the Jew himself. His life is only of this world, and his spirit is as inwardly foreign to true Christianity as his nature was two thousand years ago to the great founder of the new doctrine himself. To be sure, the latter made no secret of his attitude toward the Jewish people, even resorting to the whip when necessary to drive from the Temple of the Lord this adversary of all humanity, who even then, as always, saw in religion only a means for business existence. For this, Christ was then indeed nailed to the cross, while our present-day party Christianity degrades itself by begging for Jewish votes during elections and later seeks to arrange political deals with atheistic Jewish parties, and that against its own folkdom.

Upon this first and greatest lie, that Judaism is not a race but a religion, further lies are then built up in inevitable succession. Among them belongs also the lie regarding the language of the Jew. For him, it is not the means to express his thoughts, but the means to hide them. While he speaks French, he thinks Jewish, and while he fashions German verses, he only lives out the essence of his nationality.

As long as the Jew has not become the master of the other peoples, he must, for better or worse, speak their languages; however, as soon as these were his servants, they would all have to learn a universal language (e.g., Esperanto!), so that through this means as well, Judaism could more easily rule them!

How much the entire existence of this people is based on a continuous lie is shown in an incomparable way in the "Protocols of the Elders of Zion," so infinitely hated by the Jews. They are said to be based on a forgery, the "Frankfurter Zeitung" moans again and again out into the world: the best proof that they are genuine. What many Jews may do unconsciously is here consciously made clear. But that is what matters. It is quite immaterial from whose Jewish brain these revelations stem; what is decisive, however, is that with almost horrifying certainty they uncover the nature and activity of the Jewish people and expose them in their inner connections as well as their ultimate final goals. The best criticism of them, however, is formed by reality. Anyone who examines the historical development of the last hundred years from the viewpoints of this book will also immediately understand the clamor of the Jewish press. For once this book has become the common property of the people, the Jewish danger may already be considered broken.

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In order to get to know the Jew, it is best to study the path he takes within the other peoples and has taken over the course of the centuries. It is sufficient to follow this in only one example in order to arrive at the necessary insights. Since its development was always and at all times the same, just as the peoples devoured by it are always the same, it is advisable in such an observation to break down its development into specific sections, which in this case I designate with letters for the sake of simplicity.

The first Jews came to Germania in the course of the Roman advance, and as always as traders. In the storms of the Migration Period, however, they apparently disappeared again, and so the time of the first Germanic state formation may be regarded as the beginning of a new and now permanent Judaization of Central and Northern Europe. A development begins that was always the same or similar whenever Jews encountered Aryan peoples.

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a) With the emergence of the first permanent settlements, the Jew is suddenly "there." He comes as a trader and initially places little value on the concealment of his nationality. He is still a Jew, partly perhaps because the external racial difference between him and the host people is too great, his linguistic knowledge still too low, and the seclusion of the host people, however, too sharp for him to dare to want to appear as anything other than a foreign trader. Given his flexibility and the inexperience of the host people, maintaining his character as a Jew also means no disadvantage for him, but rather an advantage; the stranger is met with friendliness.

b) Gradually he begins to slowly become active in the economy, not as a producer, but exclusively as an intermediary. In his thousand-year-old commercial dexterity, he is far superior to the still clumsy, but above all boundlessly honest Aryans, so that in a short time trade threatens to become his monopoly.

He begins with the lending of money, and as always at usurious interest rates. In fact, he also introduces interest in this way. The danger of this new institution is not recognized at first, but is even welcomed for the sake of momentary advantages.

c) The Jew has become completely sedentary, i.e., he settles in special quarters in the towns and villages and increasingly forms a state within the state. He regards trade as well as all money transactions as his very own privilege, which he exploits ruthlessly.

d) Money transactions and trade have become entirely his monopoly. His usurious interest rates finally provoke resistance, but his increasing general insolence provokes indignation, and his wealth provokes envy. The measure becomes overfull when he also includes the soil in the circle of his commercial objects and degrades it to a salable, or better, tradable commodity. Since he himself never cultivates the soil, but merely regards it as an object of exploitation on which the farmer may well remain, but only under the most wretched extortions on the part of his now-master, the dislike toward him gradually increases to open hatred. His blood-sucking tyranny becomes so great that it leads to excesses against him. People begin to look more closely at the stranger and discover more and more repulsive traits and characteristics in him, until the gap becomes unbridgeable.

In times of bitterest need, the rage against him finally breaks out, and the plundered and ruined masses resort to self-help to defend themselves against the scourge of God. In the course of several centuries, they have come to know him and feel his mere existence to be a hardship equal to the plague.

e) Now, however, the Jew begins to reveal his true qualities. With loathsome flattery, he approaches the governments, lets his money work, and in this way repeatedly secures the charter for new plundering of his victims. Even if sometimes the rage of the people flares up against the eternal leech burns out, this does not hinder him in the slightest from reappearing in a few years in the place he had barely left and starting the old life all over again. No persecution can dissuade him from his way of exploiting people, none can drive him away; after each one, he is back in a short time, and indeed as his old self.

To prevent at least the very worst, one begins to withdraw the soil from his usurious hand by simply making it legally impossible for him to acquire it.

f) To the extent that the power of the princes begins to rise, he pushes himself ever closer to them. He begs for "letters of safe conduct" and "privileges," which he gladly receives from the lords, who are always in financial distress, in exchange for appropriate payment. Whatever this costs him, he brings back the spent money with interest and compound interest within a few years. A true leech that attaches itself to the body of the unfortunate people and cannot be removed until the princes themselves need money again and tap the sucked-out blood from him in person.

This game repeats itself over and over again, whereby the role of the so-called "German princes" is just as miserable as that of the Jews themselves. They were truly the punishment of God for their dear peoples, these lords, and find their parallel only in various ministers of the present day.

It is thanks to the German princes that the German nation was unable to rid itself definitively of the Jewish danger. Unfortunately, nothing changed in this regard later on, so that they received from the Jew only the thousandfold deserved reward for the sins they once committed against their peoples. They allied themselves with the devil and landed with him.

g) Thus his ensnarement of the princes leads to their ruin. Slowly but surely, their position relative to the peoples loosens to the extent that they cease to serve the interests of the same, and instead become beneficiaries of their become subjects. The Jew knows their end exactly and seeks to accelerate it as much as possible. He himself promotes their eternal financial distress by alienating them more and more from their true tasks, fawning over them with the worst kind of flattery, leading them into vices, and thereby making himself increasingly indispensable. His dexterity, or rather unscrupulousness, in all monetary matters enables him to squeeze, even to flay, ever new resources out of the plundered subjects, who go the way of all flesh in ever shorter periods of time. Thus every court has its "Court Jew" — as those monsters are called who torment the dear people to the point of despair and provide the princes with eternal pleasure. Who can wonder then that these ornaments of the human race are finally also externally adorned and rise into the hereditary nobility, thus helping not only to expose this institution to ridicule but even to poison it? Now, of course, he is all the more able to use his position for the benefit of his own advancement.

Finally, he only needs to be baptized in order to come into possession of all the possibilities and rights of the children of the land themselves. He performs this business not infrequently to the joy of the churches over the won son and of Israel over the successful swindle.

h) In Jewry, a change is now beginning to take place. Previously they were Jews, i.e., no value was placed on wanting to appear as something else, and this was not possible anyway given the so extremely pronounced racial characteristics on both sides. Even in the time of Frederick the Great, it occurred to no one to see in the Jews anything other than the "foreign" people, and even Goethe is horrified at the thought that in the future marriage between Christians and Jews should no longer be legally prohibited. Yet Goethe was, truly God, no reactionary or even a zealot; what spoke out of him was nothing other than the voice of blood and reason. Thus — despite all the shameful actions of the courts — the people instinctively saw in the Jew the foreign body in his own flesh and adjusted himself to it accordingly.

But now this was to change. In the course of more than a thousand years, he has learned to master the language of the host nation to such an extent that he now believes he can venture to emphasize his Judaism a little less in the future and place his "Germanness" more in the foreground; for as ridiculous, even absurd, as it may initially appear, he nevertheless takes the liberty and transforms himself into a "Germanic," in this case, therefore, into a "German." With this begins one of the most infamous deceptions imaginable. Since he truly possesses nothing of Germanness but the art of mangling its language—and that in a terrible manner—his entire Germanness rests solely on the language alone. Race, however, does not lie in language, but exclusively in the blood, something that no one knows better than the Jew, who places very little value on the preservation of his language, but on the contrary, places all value on the purity of his blood. A person can easily change their language, i.e., they can make use of another; however, they will then express the old thoughts in their new language; their inner essence is not changed. This is best shown by the Jew, who can speak in a thousand languages and yet always remains the same Jew. His character traits have remained the same, whether he spoke Latin as a grain merchant in Ostia two thousand years ago or whether he haggles in German as a flour profiteer today. It is always the same Jew. That this self-evident fact is not understood by a normal modern ministerial counselor or high-ranking police official is, of course, also self-evident, for something more devoid of instinct and spirit than these servants of our exemplary state authority of the present day hardly walks around.

The reason why the Jew decides to suddenly become a "German" is obvious. He feels as the power of the princes slowly begins to falter, and he therefore seeks to get a platform under his feet early on. Furthermore, his financial control of the entire economy has already progressed so far that he can no longer support the whole immense building without the possession of all "civil" rights; in any case, no further increase in his influence can take place. But he desires both; for the higher he climbs, the more enticingly his old goal, once promised to him, emerges from the veil of the past, and with feverish greed his brightest minds see the dream of world domination moving into tangible proximity again. Thus, his sole endeavor is directed toward putting himself in full possession of "civil" rights.

This is the reason for the emancipation from the ghetto.

i) Thus, the "Court Jew" slowly develops into the "People's Jew," which means, of course: the Jew remains as before in the vicinity of the high lords; indeed, he seeks even more to push himself into their circle, but at the same time another part of his race ingratiates itself with the dear people. When one considers how much he had sinned against the masses in the course of the centuries, how he squeezed and sucked them dry again and again without mercy, when one further considers how the people gradually learned to hate him for it and in the end really saw in his existence only a punishment from heaven for the other nations, one can understand how difficult this transition must be for the Jew. Yes, it is a laborious task to suddenly present oneself to the flayed victims as a "friend of humanity."

He therefore first sets about making amends in the eyes of the people for what he had previously perpetrated against them. He begins his transformation as a "benefactor" of mankind. Since his new goodness has a real reason, he cannot very well stick to the old biblical word that the left hand should not know what the right hand gives, but he must, for better or worse, reconcile himself to making it as...

letting many know how much he feels the suffering of the masses, and what sacrifices he personally makes against it. In this modesty, which is innate to him, he drums his merits into the rest of the world for so long until the world actually begins to believe in them. Whoever does not believe in them does him a bitter injustice. In a short time, he already begins to twist things as if, until now, injustice had only ever been inflicted upon him and not the other way around. Particularly stupid people believe this and then cannot help but pity the poor "unfortunate one."

Furthermore, it should be noted here that the Jew, despite all his willingness to sacrifice, naturally never becomes impoverished personally. He knows how to budget; indeed, sometimes his benevolence is truly only comparable to fertilizer, which is also not scattered on the field out of love for the field, but out of foresight for one's own later well-being. In any case, however, in a relatively short time, everyone knows that the Jew has become a "benefactor and philanthropist." What a peculiar transformation!

But what is considered more or less self-evident in others arouses the highest astonishment, even obvious admiration in many, precisely because it is simply not self-evident with him. Thus it happens that every such deed is credited to him much more highly than to the rest of humanity.

But even more: the Jew suddenly also becomes liberal and begins to rave about the necessary progress of mankind.

Slowly, he thus makes himself the spokesperson for a new era.

To be sure, he also destroys ever more thoroughly the foundations of a truly nationally beneficial economy. By way of the detour of the stock share, he pushes himself into the circulation of national production, turns it into a purchasable, more easily tradable object of haggling, and thereby robs the enterprises of the foundations of personal ownership. Only then does that... step between employer and employee.

internal alienation sets in, which leads over to the later political class division.

Finally, however, Jewish influence on economic matters via the stock exchange now grows at an uncannily rapid pace. He becomes the owner or at least the controller of the national labor force.

To strengthen his political position, he attempts to tear down the racial and civic barriers that initially still restrict him at every turn. For this purpose, he fights with all his inherent tenacity for religious tolerance—and has found in Freemasonry, which has completely succumbed to him, an excellent instrument for championing as well as for pushing through his goals. The circles of the governing authorities as well as the higher strata of the political and economic bourgeoisie fall into his snares through Masonic threads, without them even needing to suspect it.

Only the people as such, or rather the estate which, in the process of awakening, is fighting for its own rights and freedom, cannot yet be sufficiently grasped in deeper and broader layers by this means. This, however, is more necessary than anything else; for the Jew feels that the possibility of his rise to a dominant role is only given if a "pacemaker" is positioned before him; he believes he can recognize this in the bourgeoisie, and indeed in its broadest layers. However, glove-makers and linen-weavers cannot be caught with the fine net of Freemasonry; rather, coarser and yet no less intrusive means must be applied here. Thus, alongside Freemasonry, a second weapon comes into the service of Judaism: the Press. He takes possession of it with all tenacity and skill. With it, he slowly begins to clasp and ensnare, to guide and to push the whole of public life, as he is in a position to generate and direct that power which is better known today under the designation "public opinion" than it was only a few decades ago.

In doing so, he personally always presents himself as infinitely thirsty for knowledge, praises every progress, though most of all that which leads to the ruin of others; for he always judges all knowledge and every development only by the possibility of promoting his nationality, and where this is lacking, he is the relentless mortal enemy of every light, the hater of every true culture. Thus, he uses all the knowledge he acquires in the schools of others only in the service of his race.

But he guards this nationality as never before. While he seems to overflow with "enlightenment," "progress," "freedom," "humanity," etc., he himself practices the strictest seclusion of his race. Although he sometimes attaches his women to influential Christians, he fundamentally always keeps his male lineage pure. He poisons the blood of others but preserves his own. The Jew almost never marries a Christian woman, but rather the Christian man marries the Jewish woman. The bastards, however, still lean toward the Jewish side. Especially a part of the higher nobility is completely degenerating. The Jew knows this very well and therefore systematically carries out this type of "disarmament" of the intellectual leadership of his racial opponents. To mask his activities and to lull his victims to sleep, however, he speaks more and more of the equality of all people, regardless of race and color. The fools are beginning to believe him.

Since, however, his entire being still has the smell of the all-too-foreign clinging to it too strongly for the broad mass of the people to easily fall into his snare, he has a picture of himself presented through his press that corresponds as little to reality as it serves his pursued purpose. In satirical magazines especially, efforts are made to portray the Jews as a harmless little people who simply have their peculiarities—just like others do—but who, even in their perhaps somewhat foreign-seeming behavior, show signs of a possibly comical, yet always fundamentally honest and kind soul. As one generally...

striving to make him appear more and more insignificant rather than dangerous.

His ultimate goal at this stage, however, is the victory of democracy or, as he understands it: the rule of parliamentarianism. It corresponds most closely to his needs; for it eliminates personality — and puts in its place the majority of stupidity, incapacity, and last but not least, cowardice.

The final result will be the overthrow of the monarchy, which must now occur sooner or later.

j) The immense economic development leads to a change in the social stratification of the people. As small-scale craftsmanship slowly dies out and thus the possibility of gaining an independent existence for the worker becomes increasingly rare, the latter becomes visibly proletarianized. The industrial "factory worker" emerges, whose most essential characteristic is to be found in the fact that he is hardly ever in a position to be able to establish his own existence in later life. He is, in the truest sense of the word, propertyless; his old age is a torment and can hardly be described as life anymore.

Once before, a similar situation was created which imperatively pressed for a solution and found it. In addition to the farmer and the craftsman, the civil servant and the employee — especially of the state — had slowly joined as a further class. They too were propertyless in the truest sense of the word. The state finally found a way out of this unhealthy condition by taking over the provision for the state employee, who could not provide for his own old age, and introduced the pension, the retirement pay. Slowly, more and more private enterprises followed this example, so that today almost every permanent mental worker receives his later pension, provided the enterprise has already reached or exceeded a certain size. And only the security of the state official in old age was able to educate him to that selfless devotion to duty which was the most noble quality of the German civil service in the pre-war period.

Thus, an entire class, which remained propertyless, was wisely rescued from social misery and thereby integrated into the national community.

Now this question had recently approached the state and the nation once again, and this time on a much larger scale. Ever new masses of people, numbering in the millions, migrated from rural areas to the larger cities to earn their daily bread as factory workers in the newly founded industries. The working and living conditions of the new class were worse than dismal. Even the more or less mechanical transfer of the former working methods of the old craftsman or even the farmer to the new form was in no way suitable. The activity of the one as well as the other could no longer be compared with the efforts that the industrial factory worker has to perform. In the old craft, time might perhaps have played less of a role, but in the new working methods, it played it all the more. The formal adoption of the old working hours into the large-scale industrial enterprise had a downright disastrous effect; for the actual work performance of the past was small due to the lack of today's intensive working methods. If, therefore, one could still endure the fourteen- or fifteen-hour workday before, one was certainly no longer able to endure it in a time when every minute is exploited to the utmost. Indeed, the result of this senseless transfer of old working hours to the new industrial activity was unfortunate in two directions: health was destroyed and faith in a higher right was shattered. Finally, there was the miserable remuneration on the one hand and the visibly much better position of the employer on the other.

In the countryside, there could be no social question, since master and servant did the same work and, above all, ate from the same bowl. But this too changed. The separation of the employee from the employer now appears complete in all areas of life. How

how far the internal Judaization of our people has already progressed can be seen from the low respect, if not already contempt, shown for manual labor itself. This is not German. Only the "foreignization" of our lives, which in truth was a Judaization, transformed the former respect for craftsmanship into a certain contempt for all physical labor in general.

Thus, a new, very little-respected class is actually emerging, and one day the question must arise whether the nation would possess the strength to reintegrate the new class into general society on its own, or whether the status-based difference would expand into a class-like chasm.

One thing, however, is certain: the new class did not possess the worst elements in its ranks, but on the contrary, in any case, the most energetic. The over-refinements of so-called culture had not yet exerted their debilitating and destructive effects here. The new class in its broad mass was not yet afflicted by the poison of pacifist weakness, but was robust and, if necessary, even brutal.

While the bourgeoisie does not concern itself with this weighty question at all, but indifferently lets things take their course, the Jew grasps the immense possibility that offers itself here for the future; and while on the one hand he organizes the capitalist methods of human exploitation to their ultimate consequence, he approaches the victims of his own spirit and rule and shortly becomes the leader of their struggle against himself. That means, of course, only figuratively speaking, "against himself," for the great master of lies knows how to appear, as always, as the pure one and to shift the blame onto others. Since he has the audacity to lead the masses himself, it does not even occur to them that this could be the most infamous fraud of all time.

And yet it was so.

Hardly had the new class emerged from the general eco-

economic transformation has evolved, the Jew also clearly and distinctly sees before him the new pacesetter for his own further advancement. First, he used the bourgeoisie as a battering ram against the feudal world, and now he uses the worker against the bourgeois world. Just as he once knew how to sneak into bourgeois rights in the shadow of the bourgeoisie, he now hopes, in the worker's struggle for existence, to find the way to his own mastery.

From now on, the worker has only the task of fighting for the future of the Jewish people. Unconsciously, he is placed in the service of the power he believes he is fighting. He is seemingly allowed to run up against capital and can thus most easily be made to fight for it. At the same time, there is always a cry against international capital, while in truth, national economy is meant. This is to be demolished so that the international stock exchange can triumph on its field of corpses.

The Jew's procedure in this is as follows:

He approaches the worker, feigns pity for his fate or even indignation at his lot of misery and poverty, in order to gain trust in this way. He strives to study all the individual actual or even imagined hardships of his life—and to awaken the longing for a change in such an existence. The need for social justice, which slumbers in some way in every Aryan person, he increases in an infinitely clever way into hatred against those better favored by fortune, and in doing so, gives the struggle for the elimination of social ills a very specific ideological character. He establishes the Marxist doctrine.

By presenting it as inseparably linked with a whole number of socially just demands, he promotes its spread just as, conversely, he promotes the aversion of decent humanity to comply with demands which, presented in such a form and accompaniment, appear from the beginning as unjust, even impossible to fulfill.

For beneath this cloak of purely social thoughts lie truly devilish intentions hidden; indeed, they are even presented with the boldest clarity in full public view. This doctrine represents an inseparable mixture of reason and human absurdity, but always in such a way that only the madness is able to become reality, never the reason. Through the categorical rejection of the personality and thus of the nation and its racial content, it destroys the elementary foundations of all human culture, which is precisely dependent on these factors. This is the true inner core of the Marxist worldview, insofar as one may designate this offspring of a criminal brain as a "worldview." With the shattering of the personality and the race, the essential obstacle to the rule of the inferior falls—and this, however, is the Jew.

The meaning of this doctrine lies precisely in its economic and political madness. For through it, all truly intelligent people are prevented from placing themselves in its service, while those of lesser mental activity and poor economic education rush to it with flying colors. The intelligence for the movement, however—for even this movement needs intelligence for its existence—the Jew "sacrifices" from his own ranks.

Thus arises a pure manual laborers' movement under Jewish leadership, seemingly aimed at improving the situation of the worker, but in truth intending the enslavement and thereby the destruction of all non-Jewish peoples.

What Freemasonry initiates in the circles of the so-called intelligentsia as a general pacifist paralysis of the national instinct for self-preservation is conveyed to the broader masses, but above all to the bourgeoisie, through the activity of the great, today always Jewish, press. To these two weapons of disintegration now comes as a third and by far most terrible one: the organization of brute force. Marxism is intended as an offensive and storming—

column to complete what the work of attrition by the first two weapons had already prepared for collapse.

Thus, a truly masterly interplay takes place, so that one really need not wonder if, in contrast, precisely those institutions fail the most which always like to present themselves as the bearers of the more or less legendary state authority. In our high and highest state officialdom, the Jew has at all times (with few exceptions) found the most compliant promoter of his work of destruction. Cringing subservience toward "above" and arrogant haughtiness toward "below" characterize this class as much as an often heaven-crying narrow-mindedness, which is only surpassed by a sometimes truly astonishing conceit.

These, however, are qualities that the Jew needs in our authorities and accordingly also loves.

The practical struggle that now begins proceeds, drawn in broad strokes, as follows:

In accordance with the ultimate goals of the Jewish struggle, which are not exhausted merely in the economic conquest of the world but also demand its political subjugation, the Jew divides the organization of his Marxist world doctrine into two halves, which, seemingly separated from each other, in truth form an inseparable whole: the political and the trade union movement.

The trade union movement is the recruiting one. It offers the worker help and protection in his difficult struggle for existence, which he has to wage thanks to the greed and shortsightedness of many entrepreneurs, and thus the possibility of fighting for better living conditions. If the worker does not want to surrender the representation of his human rights to the blind arbitrariness of people who are partly lacking in responsibility and often heartless, at a time when the organized national community, the state, concerns itself with him hardly at all, he must take their defense into his own hands.

To the same extent that the so-called national bourgeoisie, blinded by monetary interests, places the most difficult obstacles in the way of this struggle for life—not only resisting but frequently and effectively sabotaging all attempts to shorten inhumanly long working hours, end child labor, ensure the safety and protection of women, and improve health conditions in workshops and homes—the cleverer Jew takes up the cause of those so oppressed. He gradually becomes the leader of the trade union movement, and this is all the easier as he is not concerned with a real remedy for social ills in an honest sense, but only with the training of an economic combat force blindly devoted to him for the destruction of national economic independence. For while the leadership of a healthy social policy will constantly move between the guidelines of preserving the people's health on the one hand and securing an independent national economy on the other, for the Jew in his struggle, these two perspectives not only fall away, but their elimination is his life's goal. He does not desire the preservation of an independent national economy, but its destruction. Consequently, no pangs of conscience can prevent him, as leader of the trade union movement, from making demands that not only overshoot the mark but whose fulfillment is practically either impossible or means the ruin of the national economy. Moreover, he does not want to have a healthy, sturdy race before him, but a rotten, subjugatable herd. This desire allows him once again to make demands of the most senseless kind, the practical fulfillment of which he himself knows is impossible, and which therefore could lead to no change in things, but at most to a wild whipping up of the masses. But that is what he is concerned with, and not with the real and honest improvement of their social situation.

Thus, the leadership of Jewry in trade union...

...economic matters remains undisputed as long as an enormous amount of educational work does not influence the broad masses, teaching them better regarding their supposedly never-ending misery, or the state deals with the Jew and his work. For as long as the insight of the masses remains as low as it is now and the state as indifferent as it is today, these masses will always follow the one who first offers the most shameless promises in economic matters. In this, however, the Jew is a master. After all, his entire activity is not hampered by any moral scruples.

Thus, in this field, he inevitably drives every competitor out of the arena in a short time. In accordance with his entire inner predatory brutality, he simultaneously gears the trade union movement toward the most brutal use of force. Whoever's insight resists the Jewish lure has their defiance and understanding broken by terror. The successes of such an activity are immense.

In fact, by means of the trade union, which could be a blessing for the nation, the Jew shatters the foundations of the national economy.

Parallel to this, the political organization progresses. It plays together with the trade union movement insofar as the latter prepares the masses for the political organization, indeed whips them into it with force and compulsion. It is furthermore the permanent source of finance from which the political organization feeds its enormous apparatus. It is the controlling organ for the political activity of the individual and performs the service of a driver for all large demonstrations of a political nature. Finally, however, it no longer stands up for economic interests at all, but places its main weapon of struggle, the work stoppage, at the disposal of the political idea as a mass and general strike.

Through the creation of a press whose content is adapted to the intellectual horizon of the least educated people, the political and trade union...

...organization, finally, is the inflammatory device through which the lowest strata of the nation are made ripe for the most audacious deeds. Its task is not to lead people out of the swamp of a base mentality and up to a higher level, but rather to cater to their lowest instincts. A business as speculative as it is lucrative with the mass, which is as lazy in thinking as it is sometimes arrogant.

It is this press, above all, which, in a downright fanatical campaign of slander, tears down everything that can be regarded as a support of national independence, cultural height, and the economic autonomy of the nation.

Above all, it drums away at all those characters who will not bow to the Jewish arrogance of dominion, or whose brilliant ability appears to the Jew in itself as a danger. For to be hated by the Jew, it is not necessary to fight him; rather, the mere suspicion is enough that the other might either one day come upon the idea of fighting him or, on account of his superior genius, be an augmenter of the strength and greatness of a people hostile to the Jew.

His unerring instinct in these matters scents the original soul in everyone, and his enmity is certain for anyone who is not spirit of his spirit. Since it is not the Jew who is the attacked, but the attacker, not only he who attacks is considered his enemy, but also he who offers him resistance. The means, however, with which he attempts to break such bold but upright souls is not honest struggle, but lies and slander.

Here he shrinks from nothing at all and becomes so gigantic in his vileness that no one need be surprised if, among our people, the personification of the devil as the symbol of all evil assumes the living shape of the Jew.

The ignorance of the broad mass about the inner...

nature of the Jew, the instinctless narrow-mindedness of our upper classes allow the people to easily fall victim to this Jewish campaign of lies.

While the upper classes, out of innate cowardice, turn away from a man whom the Jew attacks in such a way with lies and slander, the broad masses, out of stupidity or simplicity, tend to believe everything. The state authorities, however, shroud themselves either in silence or, as is most often the case, in order to put an end to the Jewish press campaign, they persecute the unjustly attacked person, which in the eyes of such an official ass appears as the preservation of state authority and the securing of peace and order.

Slowly, the fear of the Marxist weapon of Jewry settles like a nightmare on the brain and soul of decent people.

One begins to tremble before the terrible enemy and has thus become his final victim.

k) The rule of the Jew in the state already appears so secure that he may now not only call himself a Jew again, but also ruthlessly admits his ultimate national and political thoughts. A part of his race already professes quite openly to be a foreign people, not without lying again in the process. For while Zionism tries to make the rest of the world believe that the national self-reflection of the Jew would find its satisfaction in the creation of a Palestinian state, the Jews once again dupe the stupid Goyim in the most cunning way. They do not think at all of building a Jewish state in Palestine in order to inhabit it, but they only desire an organizational center of their international world swindling, equipped with its own sovereign rights and withdrawn from the reach of other states; a place of refuge for convicted scoundrels and a high school for budding crooks.

But it is a sign not only of their increasing confidence, but also of the feeling of their security, when boldly and openly at a time when one part still conlies to the Germans, French, or English, while the other documents himself as the Jewish race.

How clearly they already see the approaching victory before their eyes is evident from the terrible manner in which their interaction with members of other nations is taking on.

The black-haired Jewish youth lurks for hours, satanic joy on his face, for the unsuspecting girl whom he defiles with his blood and thereby robs from her, the girl's, people. With every means, he attempts to ruin the racial foundations of the people to be subjugated. Just as he himself systematically ruins women and girls, he does not shrink from tearing down the blood barriers for others on an even larger scale. It was and is Jews who bring the Negro to the Rhine, always with the same ulterior motive and clear goal of destroying the white race they hate through the resulting inevitable bastardization, toppling it from its cultural and political height and rising to become its masters themselves.

For a racially pure people that is conscious of its blood will never be able to be subjugated by the Jew. In this world, he will eternally only be the master of bastards.

Thus, he systematically attempts to lower the racial level through a continuous poisoning of individuals.

Politically, however, he begins to replace the idea of democracy with that of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

In the organized mass of Marxism, he has found the weapon that allows him to dispense with democracy and permits him instead to subjugate and govern the peoples dictatorially with a brutal fist.

He works systematically toward revolutionization in a dual direction: economic and political.

Peoples who offer too much resistance to the attack from within, he entangles in a web of enemies thanks to his international influences, goads them into wars, and finally, if necessary, plants the flag of revolution even on the battlefields.

Economically, he shakes the states for as long as it takes until the social enterprises, which have become unprofitable, are denationalized and placed under his financial control.

Politically, he denies the state the means for its self-preservation, destroys the foundations of every national self-assertion and defense, annihilates faith in leadership, reviles history and the past, and drags everything truly great into the gutter.

Culturally, he infects art, literature, and theater, befuddles natural sensibilities, overthrows all concepts of beauty and sublimity, of nobility and goodness, and instead drags people down into the sphere of influence of his own base nature.

Religion is made ridiculous, customs and morality are presented as obsolete, until the last supports of a folkdom in the struggle for existence in this world have fallen.

1) Now begins the great, final revolution. As the Jew achieves political power, he casts off the few veils he still wears. From the democratic People's Jew, he becomes the Blood Jew and tyrant of nations. In a few years, he attempts to exterminate the national pillars of intelligence and, by robbing the nations of their natural spiritual leaders, makes them ripe for the slave's lot of permanent subjugation.

The most terrible example of this kind is Russia, where he killed or starved to death nearly thirty million people in truly fanatical savagery, partly under inhuman tortures, in order to secure the rule over a great people for a gang of Jewish literati and stock market bandits.

The end, however, is not only the end of the freedom of the peoples oppressed by the Jew, but also the end of this parasite of nations itself. After the death of the victim, the vampire also dies sooner or later.

If we let all the causes of the German collapse pass before our eyes, then the last and decisive one remains the failure to recognize the racial problem and especially the Jewish danger.

The defeats on the battlefield in August 1918 would have been child's play to endure. They were out of all proportion to the victories of our people. It was not they who overthrew us; rather, we were overthrown by that power which prepared these defeats by systematically robbing our people, for many decades, of the political and moral instincts and strengths which alone enable and thus also justify the existence of peoples.

By carelessly passing over the question of preserving the racial foundations of our nationhood, the old Reich also disregarded the sole right that gives life in this world. Peoples who bastardize themselves, or allow themselves to be bastardized, sin against the will of eternal Providence, and their downfall, brought about by a stronger one, is then not an injustice inflicted upon them, but only the restoration of justice. If a people no longer wishes to respect the qualities of its being, given to it by Nature and rooted in its blood, it no longer has the right to complain about the loss of its earthly existence.

Everything on earth can be improved. Every defeat can become the father of a later victory. Every lost war can become the cause of a later uprising, every hardship the fertilization of human energy, and from every oppression the forces for a new spiritual rebirth can come — as long as the blood is kept pure.

The loss of blood purity alone destroys inner happiness forever, sinks man down eternally, and the consequences can never again be removed from body and spirit.

If one compares all other questions to this single one...

If one examines and compares the problems of life, only then will one see how ridiculously small they are when measured against this. They are all limited in time—but the question of the preservation of blood purity or its non-preservation will exist as long as there are humans.

All truly significant symptoms of decay in the pre-war period are ultimately attributable to racial causes.

Whether it concerns questions of general law or excesses of economic life, cultural symptoms of decline or processes of political degeneration, questions of a failed school education or a bad influence on adults by the press, etc., always and everywhere it is, at the deepest level, the disregard for the racial interests of one's own people or the failure to see a foreign racial danger.

Therefore, all attempts at reform, all social welfare works and political efforts, all economic advancement and every apparent increase in intellectual knowledge were nevertheless inconsequential in their aftermath. The nation and its life-enabling and sustaining organism on this earth, the state, did not become inwardly healthier, but visibly continued to sicken more and more. All the mock bloom of the old Empire could not hide the inner weakness, and every attempt at a true strengthening of the Empire failed again and again by bypassing the most significant question.

It would be wrong to believe that the followers of the various political movements who doctored the German national body, or even the leaders to a certain extent, were in themselves bad or malevolent people. Their activity was condemned to sterility only because, in the best case, they saw at most the manifestations of our general illness and tried to combat them, but blindly passed by the pathogen. Whoever follows the line of poli-

Anyone who has systematically followed the political development of the old Reich must, upon calm reflection, come to the realization that even during the period of unification and thus the rise of the German nation, internal decay was already in full swing, and that despite all apparent political successes and despite increasing economic wealth, the general situation deteriorated from year to year. Even the elections to the Reichstag, in their outward swelling of Marxist votes, signaled the ever-approaching internal and thus also external collapse. All successes of the so-called bourgeois parties were worthless, not only because they were unable to stem the numerical growth of the Marxist flood even during so-called bourgeois electoral victories, but because they themselves, above all, already carried the ferments of decomposition within them. Without suspecting it, the bourgeois world was already internally infected by the cadaverous poison of Marxist ideas, and its resistance often sprang more from the competitive envy of ambitious leaders than from a principled rejection by opponents determined to fight to the end. Only one fought during these long years with unwavering consistency, and that was the Jew. His Star of David rose higher in the same measure as the will for self-preservation of our people vanished.

In August 1914, it was therefore not a people determined for attack that stormed onto the battlefield, but rather only the last flickering of the national instinct for self-preservation against the progressive pacifist-Marxist paralysis of our national body. Since the internal enemy was not recognized even in these days of destiny, all external resistance was in vain, and Providence did not give its reward to the victorious sword, but followed the law of eternal retribution.

Out of this inner realization, the guiding principles as well as the tendency of the new movement were to be formed for us, which, according to our conviction, were alone capable not only of bringing the decline of the German people to a halt—

to bring about, but to create the granite foundation upon which one day a state can exist that does not represent an alien mechanism of economic concerns and interests, but a folkish organism:

A Germanic State
of the German Nation.

Chapter 12

The First Period of Development of the National Socialist German Workers' Party

When, at the conclusion of this volume, I describe the first period of development of our movement and briefly discuss a series of questions arising therefrom, this is not done in order to provide a treatise on the spiritual goals of the movement. The goals and tasks of the new movement are so vast that they can only be treated in a separate volume. Thus, in a second volume, I will discuss the programmatic foundations of the movement in detail and attempt to draw a picture of what we imagine under the word "State." By "us," I mean all those hundreds of thousands who, in principle, long for the same thing without finding the individual words to describe that which floats inwardly before their eyes. For it is the remarkable thing about all great reforms that they initially often have only a single champion, but as supporters, many millions. Their goal has often been the inner, longing wish of hundreds of thousands for centuries, until one arises as the proclaimer of such a general will and, as the banner-bearer of the old longing, helps a new idea to victory.

But that millions carry in their hearts the wish for a fundamental change in the conditions existing today is proven by the deep dissatisfaction under which they suffer. It expresses itself in a thousandfold forms of appearance: in one as despondency and hopelessness, in another as aversion, in anger and indignation; in this one as indifference, and in that one again in furious excess. As witnesses to this inner dissatisfaction, those weary of voting may be considered just as much as the many who lean toward the most fanatical extreme of the left side.

And it is to these that the young movement should primarily turn. It should not form an organization of the satisfied and the satiated, but rather it should unite the suffering-tormented and the restless, the unhappy and the dissatisfied; and above all, it should not swim on the surface of the national body, but should be rooted in the very depths of the same.

* * *

Taken purely politically, the following picture emerged in the year 1918: A people is torn into two parts. One, by far the smaller, comprises the strata of the national intelligentsia, excluding all those engaged in physical labor. It is outwardly national, but is unable to imagine anything under this word other than a very bland and weak representation of so-called state interests, which in turn appear identical with dynastic ones. It attempts to defend its thoughts and goals with intellectual weapons that are as full of gaps as they are superficial, but which in themselves already fail in the face of the opponent's brutality. With a single terrible blow, this class, which was ruling just shortly before, is struck to the ground and endures every humiliation from the side of the ruthless victor in trembling cowardice.

Opposite it stands, as a second class, the broad mass of the manual-working population. It is united in more or less radical-Marxist movements, determined to break any intellectual resistance through the power of violence. It does not want to be national, but consciously rejects any promotion of national interests just as it, conversely, aids and abets every foreign oppression. It is numerically the stronger, but above all, it comprises those elements of the nation without whom a national resurrection is unthinkable and impossible.

For one had to be clear about this even back in the year 1918: Every resurgence of the German people leads only through the regaining of external power. The prerequisites for this, however, are not—as our bourgeois "statesmen" are always babbling about—weapons, but rather the forces of the will. The German people once possessed more than enough weapons. They were unable to secure freedom because the energies of the national instinct for self-preservation, the will for self-preservation, were lacking. The best weapon is dead, worthless material as long as the spirit is missing that is ready, willing, and determined to wield it. Germany became defenseless, not because weapons were lacking, but because the will was lacking to preserve the weapon for the preservation of the folk.

When today especially our left-wing politicians strive to point to the lack of weapons as the inevitable cause of their spineless, yielding, but in truth treacherous foreign policy, one must answer them with only one thing: No, the opposite is true. Through your anti-national, criminal policy of abandoning national interests, you once surrendered the weapons. Now you try to present the lack of weapons as the justifying cause of your miserable wretchedness. This is, like everything in your actions, LIE and forgery.

However, this reproach applies just as much to the politicians of the right. For thanks to their miserable cowardice, the Jewish rabble that came to power in 1918 was able to steal the nation's weapons. These people, therefore, also have no reason and no right to cite the current lack of weapons as a compulsion for their clever caution (read "cowardice"); rather, the defenselessness is the consequence of their cowardice.

Thus, the question of regaining German power is not: How do we manufacture weapons?, but rather: How do we produce the spirit that enables a people to bear weapons? When this spirit dominates a people, the will finds a thousand ways, each of which ends with a weapon! But give a coward ten pistols, and he will still be unable to fire a single shot during an attack. For him, they are thus more worthless than a mere knotted stick is for a brave man.

The question of recovering the political power of our people is, for this reason alone, primarily a question of the recovery of our national instinct for self-preservation, because experience shows that any preparatory foreign policy, as well as any evaluation of a state in itself, is guided less by the available weapons than by the recognized or at least suspected moral capacity for resistance of a nation. The suitability of a people for alliance is determined far less by existing quantities of dead weapons than by the visible presence of a flaming national will for self-preservation and heroic courage in the face of death. For an alliance is not concluded with weapons, but with human beings. Thus, the English people will have to be considered the most valuable ally in the world as long as its leadership and the spirit of the broad masses allow one to expect that brutality and tenacity which are determined to fight out a struggle once begun, regardless of time and sacrifice, with all means until the victorious end; whereby the military armament existing at the moment does not need to stand in any proportion to that of other states.

If one understands, however, that the resurrection of the German nation represents a question of recovering our political will for self-preservation, then it is also clear that this is not satisfied by winning over elements that are already national, at least in their intentions, but only through the nationalization of the consciously anti-national mass.

A young movement that sets as its goal the re-establishment of a German state with its own sovereignty will therefore have to gear its struggle entirely toward winning over the broad masses. However miserable our so-called "national" generally is...

Bourgeoisie" is, however inadequate its national sentiment may appear, it is certain that from this side a serious resistance against a powerful national domestic and foreign policy is not to be expected in the future. Even if, for the well-known narrow-minded and short-sighted reasons, the German bourgeoisie were to remain in passive resistance in the hour of a coming liberation—as they once did toward a Bismarck—an active resistance is never to be feared from them, given their recognized proverbial cowardice.

The situation is different with the mass of our internationally minded fellow countrymen. They are not only more inclined toward the idea of violence in their primitive naturalness, but their Jewish leadership is more brutal and ruthless. They will crush any German uprising just as they once broke the backbone of the German army. Above all, however: in this parliamentarily governed state, by virtue of their numerical majority, they will not only prevent any national foreign policy but will also exclude any higher estimation of German strength and thus any capability for alliance. For we are not only aware ourselves of the element of weakness that lies in our 15 million Marxists, Democrats, Pacifists, and Center Party supporters, but it is recognized even more by foreign countries, which measure the value of a possible alliance with us by the weight of this burden. One does not ally oneself with a state whose active part of the population is at least passively opposed to any determined foreign policy.

Added to this is the fact that the leadership of these parties of national treason must and will be hostile to any uprising out of mere self-preservation instinct. It is historically simply unthinkable that the German people could once again occupy its former position without settling accounts with those who were the cause and occasion of the unprecedented collapse that afflicted our state. For before the

In the judgment seat of posterity, November 1918 will be evaluated not as high treason, but as treason against the country.

Thus, every recovery of German independence toward the outside world is primarily bound to the recovery of the inner volitional unity of our people.

However, even from a purely technical standpoint, the idea of a German liberation toward the outside appears nonsensical as long as the broad masses are not also prepared to enter into the service of this idea of freedom. Seen purely from a military perspective, it will be clear to any officer upon some reflection that a struggle toward the outside cannot be conducted with student battalions, but that for this, one needs the fists of a people in addition to its brains. One must also keep in mind that a national defense based only on the circles of the so-called intelligentsia would be a true exploitation of irreplaceable assets. The young German intelligentsia, who found death in the volunteer regiments in the autumn of 1914 on the Flemish plains, was bitterly missed later. They were the best asset the nation possessed, and their loss was no longer replaceable in the course of the war. But not only is the struggle itself unfeasible if the storming battalions do not see the masses of workers in their ranks, but also the preparation of a technical nature is unfeasible without the inner volitional unity of our national body. Especially our people, who must live on disarmed under the thousand eyes of the Treaty of Versailles, can only make any technical preparations for the achievement of freedom and human independence if the army of internal spies is decimated to those whose innate lack of character allows them to betray anything and everything for the notorious thirty pieces of silver. But these can be dealt with. On the other hand, the millions who oppose the national uprising out of political conviction appear insurmountable—insurmountable as long as not the cause of their opposition, the international Marxist worldview, is fought and torn out of their hearts and minds.

Regardless, therefore, of the point of view from which one examines the possibility of regaining our state and national independence, whether from that of foreign policy preparation, technical armament, or the struggle itself, the prerequisite for everything remains the prior winning over of the broad mass of our people for the idea of our national independence.

Without the recovery of external freedom, however, every internal reform means, even in the best case, only an increase in our productivity as a colony. The surpluses of every so-called economic recovery benefit our international controllers, and every social improvement increases, in the best case, the work performance for them. Cultural progress will not be granted to the German nation at all; it is too closely tied to the political independence and dignity of a people.

* * *

If, therefore, the favorable solution for the German future is tied to the national winning over of the broad mass of our people, then this must also be the highest and most powerful task of a movement whose activity should not exhaust itself in the satisfaction of the moment, but which has to examine all its actions and omissions only by the foreseeable consequences in the future.

Thus, as early as 1919, we were clear that the new movement must first carry out the nationalization of the masses as its supreme goal.

From this, a series of requirements emerged in tactical terms.

1. In order to win the mass for the national uprising, no social sacrifice is too heavy.

Whatever our employees today for eco-

economic concessions are made, they stand in no proportion to the gain of the entire nation if they help to restore the broad strata of the people to their nationality. Only short-sighted narrow-mindedness, such as is unfortunately often found in our entrepreneurial circles, can fail to recognize that in the long run there can be no economic upswing for them, and thus no more economic benefit, if the inner national solidarity of our nation is not restored.

If the German trade unions during the war had protected the interests of the working class in the most ruthless manner, if even during the war they had a thousand times extorted the granting of the demands of the workers they represented from the then dividend-hungry entrepreneurship through strikes, but if they had confessed just as fanatically to their Germanness in matters of national defense, and had given to the Fatherland with equal ruthlessness what belongs to the Fatherland, then the war would not have been lost. How ridiculous, however, would all and even the greatest economic concessions have been compared to the immense significance of the won war!

Thus, a movement that intends to give the German worker back to the German people must realize that economic sacrifices play no role at all in this question, as long as the preservation and independence of the national economy are not threatened by them.

2. The national education of the broad mass can only take place via the detour of a social uplift, since exclusively through it are those general economic prerequisites created which allow the individual to also participate in the cultural goods of the nation.

3. The nationalization of the broad mass can never take place through half-measures, through a weak emphasis on a so-called standpoint of objectivity, but through a ruthless and fanatically one-sided orientation toward the...

goal to be striven for once and for all. This means, therefore, that one cannot make a people "national" in the sense of our present-day bourgeoisie, that is, with so and so many restrictions, but only nationalistic with all the vehemence that is inherent in the extreme. Poison is only broken by an antidote, and only the shallowness of a bourgeois mind can regard the middle line as the way to the kingdom of heaven.

The broad mass of a people consists neither of professors nor of diplomats. The little abstract knowledge they possess directs their sentiments more into the world of feeling. There rests their either positive or negative attitude. They are only susceptible to an expression of force in one of these two directions and never to a half-measure hovering between the two. Their emotional attitude, however, simultaneously conditions their extraordinary stability. Faith is harder to shake than knowledge, love is less subject to change than respect, hatred is more lasting than aversion, and the driving force for the mightiest upheavals on this earth has at all times lain less in a scientific knowledge dominating the masses than in a fanaticism inspiring them and sometimes in a hysteria driving them forward.

Whoever wants to win over the broad masses must know the key that opens the gate to their heart. It is not called objectivity, which means weakness, but will and strength.

4. The winning of the soul of the people can only succeed if, alongside the conduct of the positive struggle for one's own goals, the opponent of these goals is destroyed.

The people at all times see in a ruthless attack on an adversary the proof of their own right, and they perceive the renunciation of the destruction of the other as uncertainty regarding their own right, if not as a sign of their own injustice.

The broad mass is only a piece of nature, and their feeling does not understand the mutual handshake of people who claim to want opposites. What it desires is the victory of the stronger and the destruction of the weak or their unconditional subjection.

The nationalization of our masses will only succeed if, alongside all the positive struggle for the soul of our people, their international poisoners are exterminated.

5. All great questions of the time are questions of the moment and represent only the consequences of certain causes. However, among them all, only one possesses causal significance: the question of the racial preservation of the nation. In the blood alone lies the basis for both the strength and the weakness of man. Peoples who do not recognize and respect the importance of their racial foundation resemble people who would like to teach pugs the characteristics of greyhounds, without understanding that the speed of the greyhound as well as the docility of the poodle are not learned qualities, but qualities inherent in the race. Peoples who renounce the preservation of their racial purity thereby also renounce the unity of their soul in all its manifestations. The fragmentation of their being is the natural and necessary consequence of the fragmentation of their blood, and the change in their spiritual and creative power is only the effect of the change in their racial foundations.

Whoever wants to free the German people from their manifestations and vices of today, which were originally alien to their nature, will first have to deliver them from the foreign pathogen of these manifestations and vices.

Without the clearest recognition of the racial problem and thus the Jewish question, a resurgence of the German nation will no longer occur.

The racial question provides the key not only to world history but also to human culture in general.

6. The integration of the broad masses of our people, who today stand in the international camp, into a national community of the people does not mean a renunciation of the representation of legitimate class interests. Diverging class and professional interests are not synonymous

with class division, but are naturally occurring phenomena of our economic life. Professional grouping is in no way opposed to a true national community, for the latter consists in the unity of the folkdom in all those questions that affect this folkdom in itself.

The integration of a social class that has become a "caste" into the national community, or even just into the state, does not occur through the descent of higher classes, but through the elevation of the lower ones. The carrier of this process can never again be the higher class, but rather the lower one fighting for its equality. Today's bourgeoisie was not integrated into the state through measures taken by the nobility, but through its own energy under its own leadership.

The German worker is not lifted into the framework of the German national community via the detour of weak scenes of fraternization, but through the conscious raising of his social and cultural position, until the most serious differences may be considered bridged. A movement that sets this development as its goal will have to draw its followers primarily from the labor camp. It may only fall back on the intelligentsia to the extent that the latter has already completely grasped the goal to be strived for. This process of transformation and approximation will not be completed in ten or twenty years, but, as experience shows, encompasses many generations.

The serious obstacle to the approximation of today's worker to the national community lies not in his class-based representation of interests, but in his international leadership and attitude, which is hostile to the people and the fatherland. The same trade unions, if led with fanatical nationalism in political and völkisch matters, would make millions of workers into the most valuable members of their folkdom, regardless of the individual struggles taking place in purely economic matters.

A movement that honestly intends to restore the German worker to his people and rescue him from the international delusion must take the strongest possible stand against a view, prevalent especially in employer circles, which understands the national community as the defenseless economic surrender of the employee to the employer, and which seeks to see an attack on the national community in every attempt to safeguard even the most justified economic interests of the employee's existence. Representing this view constitutes the representation of a conscious lie; for the national community imposes its obligations not only on one side, but also on the others.

Just as surely as a worker sins against the spirit of a true national community when he, without regard for the common good and the continued existence of a national economy, and relying on his power, makes extortionate demands, so too does an employer break this community when he misuses the national labor force through an inhuman and exploitative manner of management and extorts millions from their sweat. He then has no right to call himself national, no right to speak of a national community, but is instead an egoistic scoundrel who, by introducing social unrest, provokes later struggles that must, one way or another, result in damage to the nation.

The reservoir from which the young movement is to draw its followers will therefore primarily be the mass of our employees. It is a matter of rescuing them from the international delusion, freeing them from their social distress, raising them out of their cultural misery, and leading them into the national community as a unified, valuable factor that feels national and desires to be national.

If there are people within the circles of the national intelligentsia with the warmest hearts for their people and its future, filled with the deepest recognition of the significance of the struggle for the soul of this mass, they are in the...

ranks of this movement as a valuable spiritual backbone. However, winning over the bourgeois "voting cattle" must never be the goal of this movement. In such a case, it would burden itself with a mass which, by its very nature, would cause the power of attraction toward the broad strata to wither away. For despite the theoretical beauty of the idea of bringing together the broadest masses from below and above within the framework of the movement, it is countered by the fact that while one may be able to create moods or even spread insight through psychological influence on bourgeois masses in general demonstrations, one cannot eliminate character traits—or rather, vices—whose development and emergence spanned centuries. The difference regarding the mutual cultural level and the mutual position on questions of economic interests is currently still so great that, as soon as the intoxication of the demonstrations has passed, it would immediately appear as a hindrance.

Finally, however, the goal is not to undertake a restructuring within the camp that is national in itself, but rather to win over the anti-national camp.

And this point of view is ultimately decisive for the tactical attitude of the entire movement.

7. This one-sided, but therefore clear, stance must also be expressed in the propaganda of the movement and is, on the other hand, required again by propagandistic reasons.

If propaganda for the movement is to be effective, it must turn to one side alone, since otherwise, given the difference in the intellectual background of the two camps in question, it would either not be understood by one side or rejected by the other as self-evident and therefore uninteresting.

Even the mode of expression and the tone in detail cannot be equally effective for two such extreme strata. If propaganda renounces the primal vigor of the mode of expression, it does not find its way to the feelings of the broad masses. If, on the other hand, it uses in word and gesture the coarseness of the feelings of the masses and their expressions, it is rejected by the so-called intelligentsia as crude and vulgar. Among a hundred so-called speakers, there are hardly ten who would be able to speak with equal effectiveness today before an audience of street sweepers, locksmiths, sewer cleaners, etc., and tomorrow deliver a lecture with necessarily the same intellectual content before an auditorium of university professors and students. But among a thousand speakers, there is perhaps only one who manages to speak before locksmiths and university professors at the same time in a form that not only corresponds to the comprehension of both parts but also influences both parts with equal effectiveness or even carries them away in a roaring storm of applause. One must always keep in mind, however, that even the most beautiful thought of a sublime theory can, in most cases, find its dissemination only through small and smallest minds. What matters is not what the brilliant creator of an idea has in mind, but the form and the success with which the proclaimers of this idea convey it to the broad masses.

The strong advertising power of Social Democracy, indeed of the entire Marxist movement in general, rested to a large extent on the unity and thus the one-sidedness of the audience to which it addressed itself. The more seemingly limited, even narrow-minded, its lines of thought were, the more easily they were absorbed and processed by a mass whose intellectual level corresponded to that of what was presented.

This, however, also resulted in a simple and clear line for this new movement:

Propaganda must be applied in content and form to the broad masses, and its correctness is to be measured exclusively by its effective success.

In a public meeting of the broad strata, one speaks it is not the speaker who is spiritually closest to the present intelligentsia who is best, but rather the one who conquers the heart of the masses.

An intellectual present in such a meeting, who, despite the obvious effect of the speaker on the lower classes to be won over, criticizes the speech regarding its intellectual level, proves the complete incapacity of his thinking and the worthlessness of his person for the young movement. For the movement, only that intellectual is of interest who has already grasped the task and goal of the movement so thoroughly that he has learned to judge the activity of even the propaganda exclusively by its success and not by the impressions it leaves on himself. For propaganda is not intended to serve the entertainment of people who are already nationalistic in spirit, but rather to win over the enemies of our folkdom, provided they are of our blood.

In general, those lines of thought which I briefly summarized under war propaganda should now become decisive and authoritative for the young movement regarding the nature and execution of its own enlightenment work.

That it was correct has been proven by its success.

8. The goal of a political reform movement will never be achieved through enlightenment work or through influencing the ruling powers, but only through the attainment of political power. Every world-shaking idea has not only the right but the duty to secure those means which make the execution of its lines of thought possible. Success is the only earthly judge of the right or wrong of such an undertaking, whereby success is not to be understood, as in the year 1918, as the attainment of power in itself, but rather its beneficial effect for a folkdom. Thus, a coup d'état is not to be regarded as successful when, as thoughtless public prosecutors in Germany today believe, the revolutionaries succeeded in taking possession of state power, but only when in the con-

realization of the intentions and goals of the nation underlying such a revolutionary act, more salvation grows than under the past regime. Something that cannot well be claimed of the German Revolution, as the bandit stroke of autumn 1918 describes itself.

But if the attainment of political power forms the prerequisite for the practical implementation of reformatory intentions, then a movement with reformatory intentions must, from the first day of its existence, feel itself to be a movement of the masses and not a literary tea club or a philistine bowling society.

9. The young movement is, by its nature and its internal organization, anti-parliamentarian; i.e., it rejects in general, as well as in its own internal structure, a principle of majority rule in which the leader is degraded to a mere executor of the will and opinion of others. The movement represents, in the smallest as in the largest matters, the principle of absolute leadership authority, paired with the highest responsibility.

The practical consequences of this principle in the movement are as follows:

The first chairman of a local group is appointed by the next higher leader; he is the responsible head of the local group. All committees are subordinate to him and not he, conversely, to a committee. There are no voting committees, but only working committees. The responsible leader, the first chairman, divides the work. The same principle applies to the next higher organization, the district, the county, or the region (Gau). The leader is always appointed from above and simultaneously invested with unlimited power and authority. Only the leader of the entire party is elected at the general membership meeting for reasons of association law. He is, however, the exclusive leader of the movement. All committees are subordinate to him and not he to the committees. He decides and thus also bears the responsibility upon his shoulders. It is up to the followers of the movement is free to bring him to account before the forum of a new election, to divest him of his office, insofar as he has violated the principles of the movement or has served its interests poorly. In his place then steps the more capable, new man, yet with the same authority and with the same responsibility.

It is one of the highest tasks of the movement to make this principle the determining one not only within its own ranks, but also for the entire state.

Whoever wishes to be a leader bears, along with the highest unrestricted authority, also the ultimate and heaviest responsibility.

Whoever is not capable of this or is too cowardly to endure the consequences of his actions is not fit to be a leader. Only the hero is called to it.

The progress and culture of humanity are not a product of the majority, but rest exclusively on the genius and the energy of the personality.

To cultivate these and to reinstate them into their rights is one of the preconditions for regaining the greatness and power of our nationhood.

With this, however, the movement is anti-parliamentary, and even its participation in a parliamentary institution can only have the meaning of an activity for its destruction, for the removal of an institution in which we must see one of the gravest symptoms of the decay of humanity.

10. The movement decisively rejects any taking of a position on questions that either lie outside the framework of its political work or are irrelevant to it as being of no fundamental importance. Its task is not that of a religious reformation, but that of a political reorganization of our people. It sees in both religious denominations equally valuable supports for the survival of our people and therefore fights those parties that [undermine] this foundation of a moral-religious

and the moral consolidation of our national body into an instrument for their party interests.

The movement finally sees its task not in the restoration of a specific form of state and in the struggle against another, but in the creation of those fundamental foundations without which neither republic nor monarchy can exist in the long run. Its mission lies not in the founding of a monarchy or the consolidation of a republic, but in the creation of a Germanic state.

The question of the external configuration of this state, that is, its crowning, is not of fundamental importance, but is only conditioned by questions of practical expediency.

In a people that has first understood the great problems and tasks of its existence, the questions of external formalities will no longer lead to internal struggles.

11. The question of the internal organization of the movement is one of expediency and not of principle.

The best organization is not the one that inserts the largest, but the one that inserts the smallest intermediary apparatus between the leadership of a movement and the individual followers. For the task of organization is the communication of a certain idea — which initially always springs from the head of an individual — to a multitude of people, as well as the monitoring of its implementation into reality.

Organization is thus in everything and for everyone only a necessary evil. It is at best a means to an end, at worst an end in itself.

Since the world produces more mechanical natures than ideal ones, the forms of organization usually tend to form more easily than ideas themselves.

The course of every idea striving for realization, especially one of a reformatory character, is in broad strokes as follows:

Some brilliant thought arises in the brain of a

A person who feels called to convey his knowledge to the rest of humanity. He preaches his view and gradually wins a certain circle of followers. This process of direct and personal transmission of a person's ideas to the rest of the world is the most ideal and natural. With a steady increase in followers of the new teaching, it gradually becomes impossible for the bearer of the idea to continue to influence, lead, and guide the countless followers directly and personally. To the same extent that direct and shortest communication is eliminated as a result of the growth of the community, the necessity for a connecting structure arises: the ideal state is thereby ended, and in its place comes the necessary evil of organization. Small subgroups are formed, which in the political movement, for example, represent the local groups as the germ cells of the later organization.

However, this subdivision must only take place—if the unity of the teaching is not to be lost—when the authority of the spiritual founder and the school he has trained can be considered absolutely recognized. The geopolitical importance of a central focal point of a movement cannot be overestimated. Only the existence of such a place, surrounded by the magical charm of a Mecca or Rome, can in the long run give a movement the strength that is rooted in internal unity and the recognition of a leadership representing this unity.

Thus, in the formation of the first organizational germ cells, the concern must never be lost from sight not only to maintain the importance of the original starting point of the idea but to increase it to a predominant one. This increase in the ideal, moral, and actual oversized nature of the starting and leading point of the movement must take place to the same extent that the now countless lowest germ cells of the move-

...tion require new mergers in organizational forms.

For just as the increasing number of individual supporters and the impossibility of further direct communication with them leads to the formation of the lowest-level groupings, so the eventual countless multiplication of these lowest organizational forms forces, in turn, higher-level mergers, which politically might be addressed as Gau (district) or regional associations.

As easy as it may still be to maintain the authority of the original central office toward the lowest local groups, it will be equally difficult to preserve this position toward the higher organizational forms now being formed. This, however, is the prerequisite for the unified existence of a movement and thus for the implementation of an idea.

When finally these larger intermediate structures are also merged into newer organizational forms, the difficulty further increases in ensuring, even toward them, the unconditionally leading character of the original place of founding, its school, etc.

Therefore, the mechanical forms of an organization may only be expanded to the same extent that the spiritual, ideal authority of a central office appears unconditionally preserved. In the case of political entities, this guarantee can often appear to be given only through practical power.

From this, the following guidelines resulted for the internal structure of the movement:

a) Concentration of the entire work initially on a single location: Munich. Training a community of unconditionally reliable supporters and developing a school for the later dissemination of the idea. Gaining the necessary authority for later through the greatest possible visible successes at this one location.

In order to make the movement and its leaders known, it was necessary to [strengthen] the belief in the invincibility of the Marxist doctrine in one place for all to see, not only to shake it, but to prove the possibility of an opposing movement.

b) Formation of local groups only when the authority of the central leadership in Munich can be regarded as unconditionally recognized.

c) The formation of district, regional, or state associations likewise occurs not only according to need itself, but after achieving the security of an unconditional recognition of the headquarters.

Furthermore, the formation of organizational forms is dependent on the existing individuals who come into consideration as leaders.

There are two ways to do this:

a) The movement has the necessary financial means for the recruitment and training of capable minds for later leadership. It then deploys the material gained in this way systematically according to the viewpoints of tactical and other expediencies.

This way is the easier and faster one; however, it requires great financial resources, as this leadership material is only able to work for the movement if they are salaried.

b) Due to a lack of funds, the movement is not in a position to appoint official leaders, but is initially dependent on those working in an honorary capacity.

This way is the slower and more difficult one.

The leadership of the movement must, under certain circumstances, leave large areas fallow, unless a head emerges from among the followers, capable and willing to place himself at the disposal of the leadership and to organize and lead the movement in the area concerned.

It may happen that in large areas no one is found, while in other places there are again two or even three who are approximately equally capable. The difficulty inherent in such a development is great and can only be overcome after years.

But the prerequisite for the...

formation of an organizational form is the head capable of leading it.

Just as an army in all its organizational forms is worthless without officers, so a political organization is worthless without the corresponding leader.

For the movement, the omission of the formation of a local group is better than the failure of its organization if a leading and driving leadership personality is lacking.

Leadership itself requires not only will but also ability, whereby, however, greater importance must be attached to will and energy than to genius in itself, and the most valuable is a combination of ability, determination, and persistence.

12. The future of a movement is conditioned by the fanaticism, indeed the intolerance, with which its followers represent it as the only correct one and assert it against other formations of a similar kind.

It is the greatest mistake to believe that the strength of a movement increases through union with another of a similar nature. Every enlargement in such a way initially means, to be sure, an increase in external scope and thus, in the eyes of superficial observers, also in power; in truth, however, it only takes over the seeds of an internal weakening that will become effective later.

For whatever one may say about the similarity of two movements, in reality it is never present. For in the other case, there would practically not be two, but only one movement. And no matter where the differences lie—even if they were only based on the different abilities of the leadership—they are there. However, the natural law of all development does not correspond to the coupling of two entities that are precisely not equal, but rather the victory of the stronger and the higher breeding of the power and strength of the victor, which is made possible only through the struggle conditioned thereby.

Through the union of two approximately equal...

of political party structures may yield momentary advantages, in the long run, however, every success gained in such a manner is the cause of internal weaknesses that appear later.

The greatness of a movement is guaranteed exclusively by the unrestricted development of its inner strength and by its continuous increase until the final victory over all competitors.

Indeed, one can say that its strength, and thus its very right to exist, is only on the increase as long as it recognizes the principle of struggle as the prerequisite for its becoming, and that it has passed the peak of its strength at the very moment when complete victory leans to its side.

It is therefore only beneficial for a movement to strive for this victory in a form that does not lead to momentary success in terms of time, but which, through a long duration of struggle brought about by absolute intolerance, also grants a long period of growth.

Movements that owe their increase only to the so-called merger of similar structures, and thus their strength to compromises, resemble greenhouse plants. They shoot upward, but they lack the strength to defy centuries and to withstand heavy storms.

The greatness of every mighty organization as the embodiment of an idea in this world lies in the religious fanaticism with which it asserts itself, intolerant of everything else, fanatically convinced of its own right. If an idea is correct in itself and, armed in such a manner, takes up the struggle on this earth, it is invincible, and every persecution will only lead to its inner strength.

The greatness of Christianity did not lie in attempted negotiations for compromise with perhaps similarly minded philosophical opinions of antiquity, but in the inexorable, fanatical proclamation and representation of its own doctrine.

The apparent head start that movements gain through...

unions achieve is amply compensated for by the steady increase in the strength of a doctrine that remains independent, championing itself, and its organization.

13. The movement must, in principle, educate its members in such a way that they do not see in the struggle something casually imposed, but rather the very thing they themselves have striven for. They must therefore not fear the enmity of their opponents, but rather feel it as a prerequisite for their own right to exist. They must not shy away from the hatred of the enemies of our folkdom and our worldview and its expressions, but rather long for it. Among the expressions of this hatred, however, are also lies and slander.

Whoever is not attacked in the Jewish newspapers, and thus slandered and vilified, is not a decent German and no true National Socialist. The best gauge for the value of his character, the sincerity of his conviction, and the strength of his will is the enmity shown to him by the mortal enemy of our people.

The followers of the movement and, in a broader sense, the entire people must be pointed out again and again that the Jew always lies in his newspapers, and that even a single truth is only intended to cover a larger forgery and is thus itself a deliberate untruth. The Jew is the great master of lying, and lies and deceit are his weapons in the struggle.

Every Jewish slander and every Jewish lie is a scar of honor on the body of our fighters.

Whomever they vilify the most stands closest to us, and whomever they hate most mortally is our best friend.

Whoever picks up the Jewish newspaper in the morning without seeing himself slandered in it has not utilized the past day usefully; for if it were so, he would be persecuted, vilified, slandered, insulted, and defiled by the Jew. And only he who most effectively opposes this mortal enemy of our folkdom and of all Aryan humanity and culture...

confronts them, may expect to see the slanders against this race, and thus the struggle of this people, directed against himself as well.

When these principles become the flesh and blood of our followers, the movement will become unshakable and invincible.

14. The movement must promote respect for the individual by all means; it must never forget that the value of everything human lies in personal worth, that every idea and every achievement is the result of a person's creative power, and that admiration for greatness not only represents a tribute of gratitude to it but also weaves a unifying bond around those who are grateful.

The individual is irreplaceable; this is especially true when they embody not the mechanical, but the cultural-creative element. Just as a famous master cannot be replaced and another cannot undertake the completion of a painting left half-finished, so too the great poet and thinker, the great statesman, and the great general are irreplaceable. For their activity always lies in the field of art; it is not mechanically instilled through upbringing, but is innate through divine grace.

The greatest upheavals and achievements of this earth, its greatest cultural accomplishments, the immortal deeds in the field of statesmanship, etc., are forever inseparably linked with a name and are represented by it. Renouncing the homage to a great spirit means the loss of an immense power that flows from the names of all great men and women.

The Jew knows this best. Precisely he, whose greats are only great in the destruction of humanity and its culture, ensures their idolatrous admiration. It is only the peoples' veneration for their own spirits that he attempts to portray as unworthy, labeling it as a "cult of personality."

As soon as a people becomes so cowardly as to succumb to this Jewish arrogance and impudence, it renounces the enormous strength it possesses; for this does not rest on respect for the masses, but on the veneration of genius and on the elevation and edification derived from it.

When human hearts break and human souls despair, then from the twilight of the past, the great conquerors of distress and worry, of shame and misery, of spiritual lack of freedom and physical compulsion, look down upon them and reach out their eternal hands to the despondent mortals!

Woe to the people that is ashamed to grasp them!

* * *

In the early days of the formation of our movement, we suffered from nothing so much as from the insignificance and the obscurity of our names. The hardest thing in this first period, when often only six, seven, and eight heads gathered to listen to the words of a speaker, was to awaken and maintain faith in the mighty future of the movement in this smallest of circles.

Consider that six or seven men, all nameless, poor devils, joined together with the intention of forming a movement that should one day succeed in what had hitherto failed the mighty, large mass parties: the re-establishment of a German Reich of increased power and glory. Had we been attacked then, yes, had we even been laughed at, we would have been happy in both cases. For the depressing thing lay only in the complete disregard we found then, and under which I suffered most at that time.

When I entered the circle of those few men, there could be no talk of either a party or a movement. I have already described my impressions on the occasion of my first meeting with this small entity—

changed. In the weeks that followed, I then had the time and opportunity to study the initially impossible phenomenon of this so-called party. The picture was, God knows, a distressingly depressing one. There was nothing, absolutely nothing at all, present. The name of a party, whose committee practically represented the entire membership, was one way or another exactly what it sought to fight: a parliament in miniature. Here, too, voting prevailed, and while the large parliaments at least scream their throats hoarse for months over major problems, in this small circle, an endless dialogue would break out just over the answering of a fortunately received letter!

The public, of course, knew absolutely nothing about all this. Not a soul in Munich knew the party even by name, except for its few followers and their few acquaintances.

Every Wednesday, a so-called committee meeting took place in a Munich café, and once a week, a discussion evening. Since the entire membership of the "movement" was initially represented on the committee, the persons were, of course, always the same. The task now had to be to finally break open the small circle, to win new followers, but above all to make the name of the movement known at any price.

We employed the following technique for this:

Every month, later every fortnight, we tried to hold a "meeting." The invitations for this were written on a typewriter or partly by hand on slips of paper and were distributed or delivered by ourselves the first few times. Everyone turned to their circle of acquaintances to persuade one or another to attend one of these events.

The success was miserable.

I still remember how I myself had once delivered about eighty of these slips in that early period, and how we then waited in the evening for the masses of people who were supposed to come.

With a one-hour delay, the "Chairman" finally had to open the "meeting." We were again seven men, the old Seven.

We proceeded to have the invitation slips typed and duplicated on a machine in a Munich stationery shop. The success at the next meeting consisted of a few more listeners. Thus the number rose slowly from eleven to thirteen, finally to seventeen, to twenty-three, to twenty-four listeners.

Through very small collections of money within the circle of us poor devils, the means were raised to finally be able to announce a meeting through an advertisement in the then-independent "Munich Observer" in Munich. The success this time was indeed astonishing. We had scheduled the meeting in the Munich Hofbräuhauskeller (not to be confused with the Munich Hofbräuhaus Festival Hall), a small room with a capacity of barely one hundred and thirty people. To me, the room appeared like a large hall, and each of us feared whether it would be possible to fill this "mighty" building with people on that particular evening.

By seven o'clock, one hundred and eleven people were present, and the meeting was opened.

A Munich professor gave the main lecture, and I was to speak publicly for the first time as the second speaker.

To the then first chairman of the party, Mr. Harrer, the matter appeared to be a great risk. The otherwise certainly honest gentleman simply held the conviction that I might be capable of various things, but certainly not of speaking. He could not be dissuaded from this opinion in the time that followed.

The matter turned out differently. In this first meeting to be considered public, I had been granted twenty minutes of speaking time.

I spoke for thirty minutes, and what I had previously simply felt inwardly without knowing it in any way was now proven by reality: I could speak! After thirty minutes the people in the small room were electrified, and the enthusiasm first expressed itself in the fact that my appeal to the self-sacrifice of those present led to a donation of three hundred marks. With that, however, a great worry was taken from us. The financial restriction was indeed so great at this time that we did not even have the possibility of having guiding principles printed for the movement or even of issuing leaflets. Now the foundation was laid for a small fund, from which at least the most urgent and necessary expenses could be met.

But the success of this first larger meeting was significant in another respect as well.

I had begun at that time to bring a number of fresh young forces to the committee. During my many years of military service, I had become acquainted with a large number of loyal comrades who now slowly began to enter the movement based on my persuasion. They were all energetic young people, accustomed to discipline and raised from their time of service in the principle: Nothing is impossible, and everything works if one wants it to.

How necessary such an influx of blood was, I could recognize myself after only a few weeks of cooperation. The then first chairman of the party, Mr. Harrer, was actually a journalist and as such certainly comprehensively educated. However, he had an extraordinarily heavy burden for a party leader: he was no orator for the masses. As painfully conscientious and precise as his work was in itself, it nevertheless lacked—perhaps precisely as a result of the lack of great rhetorical talent—the greater momentum. Mr. Drexler, then chairman of the Munich local group, was a simple worker, likewise of little significance as a speaker, and moreover, he was not a soldier. He had not served in the army, nor was he a soldier during the war, so that he, who by his whole nature was in himself weak and uncertain, lacked the only school that could manage to turn uncertain and...

to make men out of weak natures. Thus, both men were not cut from the same cloth that would have enabled them not only to carry the fanatical belief in the victory of a movement in their hearts, but also to remove, with unshakable willpower and, if necessary, with the most brutal ruthlessness, the obstacles that might stand in the way of the rise of the new idea. Only beings in whom mind and body had adopted those military virtues were suited for this, which can perhaps best be described as follows: Swift as greyhounds, tough as leather, and hard as Krupp steel.

I was still a soldier myself at that time. My exterior and interior had been polished for nearly six years, so that I must have initially been perceived as a stranger in this circle. I, too, had unlearned the words: "That is not possible," or "that will not work"; "one must not dare that," "that is still too dangerous," etc.

For the matter was, of course, dangerous. In the year 1920, in many parts of Germany, a national meeting that dared to address its appeal to the broad masses and publicly invite them to attend was simply impossible. Participants in such a meeting were beaten apart with bloody heads and chased away. To be sure, not much was required for such a feat: the largest so-called bourgeois mass meetings used to scatter and run away from a dozen Communists like hares before a dog. But as little as the Reds took notice of such a bourgeois "chatter club," whose inner harmlessness and thus lack of danger to themselves they knew better than its members did, they were just as determined to finish off a movement by all means that seemed dangerous to them—the most effective tool in such cases, however, has at all times been terror and violence.

But most hateful to the Marxist deceivers of the people had to be a movement whose declared goal was the winning over of those masses who had hitherto been in the ex-ultimate service of the international Marxist Jewish and stock exchange parties. Even the title "German Workers' Party" had a provocative effect. Thus, one could easily imagine that at the first suitable opportunity, the confrontation with the then still victory-drunk Marxist instigators would begin.

In the small circle of the movement at that time, there was also a certain fear of such a struggle. They wanted to appear in public as little as possible, for fear of being defeated. In their minds, they already saw the first large meeting broken up and the movement perhaps finished forever. I had a difficult time with my view that one should not avoid this struggle, but rather confront it and therefore acquire the very armor that alone provides protection against violence. Terror is not broken by spirit, but by terror. The success of the first meeting strengthened my position in this regard. People gained courage for a second one, organized on a somewhat larger scale.

Around October 1919, the second larger meeting took place in the Eberlbräukeller. Topic: Brest-Litovsk and Versailles. Four gentlemen appeared as speakers. I myself spoke for nearly an hour, and the success was greater than at the first rally. The number of visitors had risen to over one hundred and thirty. An attempt at disruption was immediately nipped in the bud by my comrades. The troublemakers flew down the stairs with bruised heads.

Fourteen days later, another meeting took place in the same hall. The number of visitors had risen to over one hundred and seventy—a good occupancy of the room. I had spoken again, and again the success was greater than at the previous meeting.

I pushed for a larger hall. Finally, we found one at the other end of the city, in the "Deutsches Reich" on Dachauer Straße. The first meeting in the new space was less well attended than the previous—

gone: barely one hundred and forty people. In the committee, hope began to sink again, and the eternal doubters believed they had to see the cause of the poor attendance in the too frequent repetition of our "rallies." There were heated arguments in which I maintained the standpoint that a city of seven hundred thousand inhabitants should be able to withstand not just one meeting every fortnight, but ten meetings every week; that one must not let oneself be led astray by setbacks; that the path taken was the right one, and that sooner or later, with consistent perseverance, success must come. In general, this entire period of the winter of 1919/20 was a single struggle to strengthen confidence in the victorious power of the young movement and to increase it to that fanaticism which, as faith, is then able to move mountains.

The next meeting in the same hall already proved me right again. The number of visitors had risen to over two hundred; the external as well as the financial success was brilliant.

I pushed for the immediate scheduling of another event. It took place barely fourteen days later, and the audience rose to over two hundred and seventy heads.

Fourteen days later, we called together the supporters and friends of the young movement for the seventh time, and the same room could only accommodate the people with difficulty; there were over four hundred.

During this time, the internal shaping of the young movement took place. In the small circle, there were sometimes more or less heated arguments. From various sides—as today, so even then—the designation of the young movement as a "party" was criticized. I have always seen in such a view only proof of the practical inability and intellectual smallness of the person concerned. It was and is always the people who are unable to distinguish the external from the internal and who [judge] the value of a movement according to the most turgid-sounding designations

...try to estimate, whereby to all misfortune the vocabulary of our ancestors must serve the most.

It was difficult at that time to make people understand that every movement, as long as it has not achieved the victory of its ideas and thus its goal, is a party, even if it gives itself a thousand other names.

If any person wants to bring a bold thought, the realization of which appears useful in the interest of his fellow men, to practical implementation, he will first have to seek followers who are ready to stand up for his intentions. And even if this intention consisted only in destroying the currently existing party system, to end the fragmentation, then the representatives of this view and heralds of this decision are themselves a party, until the goal is won. It is hair-splitting and shadow-boxing when some old-fashioned völkisch theorist, whose practical successes stand in inverse proportion to his wisdom, imagines that he can change the character that every young movement possesses as a party by changing its designation.

On the contrary.

If anything is un-völkisch, then it is this tossing around of particularly Old Germanic expressions that neither fit into the present day nor represent anything specific, but can easily lead to seeing the significance of a movement in its external vocabulary. This is a true nuisance, which one can observe countless times today.

In general, I already had to warn then and also in the following time repeatedly against those German-völkisch wandering scholars whose positive achievement is always equal to zero, but whose conceit can hardly be surpassed. The young movement had to and must guard itself against an influx of people whose only recommendation usually lies in their declaration that they have already fought for the same idea for thirty or even forty years. But whoever for forty years for a so-called...

named idea occurs, without being able to bring about even the slightest success themselves, indeed without having prevented the victory of the opposite, has provided the proof of truth for their own incapacity in forty years of activity. The danger lies above all in the fact that such natures do not want to fit into the movement as members, but babble about leadership circles in which they, solely on the basis of their ancient activity, are able to see a suitable place for further activity. Woe, however, if a young movement is handed over to such people! Just as a businessman who consistently destroyed a large business in forty years of activity is of no use as the founder of a new one, so a völkisch Methuselah, who in that same time botched a great idea and brought it to calcification, is just as ill-suited for the leadership of a new, young movement!

Furthermore, all these people come into the new movement only to a fraction to serve it and to be of use to the idea of the new doctrine, but in most cases to make mankind unhappy once again with their own ideas under its protection or through the possibilities it offers. But what kind of ideas those are is difficult to reproduce.

It is characteristic of these natures that they rave about ancient Germanic heroism, about the dim distant past, stone axes, spear and shield, but in reality are the greatest cowards that can be imagined. For the same people who wave about in the air with Old German, carefully imitated tin swords, a prepared bearskin with bull horns over their bearded heads, always preach for the present only the struggle with spiritual weapons and flee most hastily from every communist rubber truncheon. Posterity will one day have little cause to glorify the heroic existence of these bushy-beards in a new epic.

I have come to know these people too well not to feel the deepest disgust at their wretched play-acting. To the broad masses, however, they appear ridiculous, and the Jew has every reason to spare these võlkisch comedians, even to prefer them to the real advocates of a coming German state. At the same time, these people are boundlessly conceited; they want, despite all evidence of their complete incompetence, to understand everything better and become a true plague for the straightforward and honest fighters, to whom heroism appears worthy of veneration not only in the past, but who also strive to provide the same image for posterity through their own actions.

Furthermore, it is often difficult to distinguish who among these people acts out of inner stupidity or incompetence, or who only pretends to do so for certain reasons. Especially with the so-called religious reformers on an Old Germanic basis, I always have the feeling that they are sent by those powers who do not wish for the resurgence of our people. For their entire activity leads the people away from the common struggle against the common enemy, the Jew, in order to let them consume their strength instead in internal religious disputes that are as nonsensical as they are calamitous. Precisely for these reasons, however, the establishment of a strong central authority in the sense of the absolute authority of the leadership in the movement is necessary. Only through this alone can the trade of such pernicious elements be stopped. However, for this reason, the greatest enemies of a unified, strictly led and directed movement are also to be found in the circles of these võlkisch Ahasueruses. They hate in the movement the power that controls their mischief.

It was not for nothing that the young movement once committed itself to a specific program and did not use the word "võlkisch" in doing so. The term võlkisch, due to its conceptual limitlessness, is not a possible basis for a movement and offers no standard for belonging to one. The more indefinable this term is in practice, the more numerous and extensive the interpretations it allows, the more the possibility increases, however, to to appeal to it. The insertion of such an indefinable and multi-interpretable concept into the political struggle leads to the dissolution of any tight-knit fighting community, as the latter cannot tolerate leaving the determination of faith and will to the individual.

It is also shameful to see who all is running around today with the word "völkisch" on their caps, and how many people have their own interpretation of this concept. A well-known professor in Bavaria, a famous fighter with intellectual weapons and rich in equally intellectual "marches" to Berlin, equates the concept of "völkisch" with a monarchist attitude. This learned head has, of course, so far forgotten to explain more closely the identity of our German monarchs of the past with a "völkisch" conception of today. I also fear that the gentleman would find this difficult to achieve. For one can hardly imagine anything more "un-völkisch" than most German monarchical state structures. Were it otherwise, they would never have disappeared, or else their disappearance would offer proof of the incorrectness of the "völkisch" worldview.

Thus, everyone interprets this concept as they happen to understand it. However, as a basis for a political fighting movement, such a diversity of opinions is out of the question.

I will completely ignore the world-alienation and especially the ignorance of the soul of the people shown by these "völkisch" Johns of the twentieth century. It is sufficiently illustrated by the ridicule with which they are treated by the left. They are allowed to chatter and are laughed at.

But whoever in this world does not manage to be hated by his opponents does not seem to me to be worth much as a friend. And so the friendship of these people for our movement was not only worthless, but always only harmful, and it was also the main reason why we first chose the name "Party" — we could hope that through this alone a

— a whole swarm of these võlkisch sleepwalkers would be scared away from us —, and why, secondly, we designated ourselves as the National Socialist German Workers' Party.

The first expression kept the antiquity-enthusiasts off our backs, the word-people and superficial phrase-mongers of the so-called "võlkisch idea"; the second, however, freed us from the entire train of knights with the "spiritual sword," all those miserable wretches who hold the "spiritual weapon" as a protective shield before their actual cowardice.

It goes without saying that in the period that followed, we were most severely attacked especially by these latter ones—not physically, of course, but only with the pen, as is not otherwise to be expected from such a võlkisch goose-quill. For them, indeed, our principle "Whoever opposes us with force, we will defend ourselves with force" had something eerie about it. They accused us most insistently not only of the crude worship of the rubber truncheon, but of a lack of spirit in itself. That in a public meeting a Demosthenes can be brought to silence if only fifty idiots, supported by their mouths and their fists, do not want to let him speak, does not affect such a quack in the slightest. His innate cowardice never lets him fall into such danger. For he does not work "noisily" and "obtrusively," but in "silence."

Even today, I cannot warn our young movement enough against falling into the net of these so-called "silent workers." They are not only cowards, but also always incompetents and do-nothings. A person who knows a thing, knows a given danger, sees the possibility of a remedy with his own eyes, has the damned duty and obligation not to work in "silence," but to stand up publicly against the evil and for its cure. If he does not do that, then he is a duty-forgetting, wretched weakling who fails either out of cowardice or out of laziness and inability. The majority of these "silent workers," however, usually only act as if God knows what they know. They are all capable of nothing, but try to cheat the whole world with their tricks; they are lazy, but with their claimed "silent" work, they create the impression of an activity that is as enormous as it is industrious; in short, they are swindlers, political shady characters to whom the honest work of others is hateful. As soon as such a völkisch moth invokes the value of "silence," one can bet a thousand to one that he is not producing in it, but stealing—stealing from the fruits of the labor of others.

Added to this is the arrogance, conceit, and impudence with which this practically idle, light-shunning rabble falls upon the work of others, attempting to criticize from above and thus, in truth, helping the mortal enemies of our people.

Every last agitator who has the courage to stand on a tavern table among his opponents and represent his views manfully and openly achieves more than a thousand of these lying, treacherous sneaks. He will certainly be able to convert one or another and win them for the movement. One will be able to check his performance and determine the effect of his actions by the success. Only the cowardly swindlers, who praise their work in "silence" and thus wrap themselves in the protective cloak of a contemptible anonymity, are good for nothing and may, in the truest sense of the word, be regarded as drones in the resurrection of our people.

* * *

At the beginning of 1920, I pushed for the holding of the first truly large mass meeting. This led to differences of opinion. Some leading party members considered the matter far too premature and thus disastrous in its effect. The red press had begun to concern itself with us, and we were fortunate enough to gradually earn their hatred. We had begun to appear as discussion speakers in other meetings. Of course, every one of us was immediately shouted down. However, a success was nevertheless present. People began to get to know us, and to the same extent that this knowledge deepened, the dislike and rage against us rose. Thus, we could well hope to receive the attendance of our friends from the red camp to the greatest extent at our first great mass meeting.

I, too, was clear about the fact that the probability of a disruption was great. But the struggle simply had to be fought out, if not now, then a few months later. It was entirely up to us to immortalize the movement on the very first day through blind, ruthless commitment to it. Above all, I knew the mentality of the supporters of the red side only too well not to know that resistance to the utmost is most likely not only to make an impression but also to win supporters. One simply had to be determined for this resistance.

The then first chairman of the party, Mr. Harrer, believed he could not agree with my views regarding the chosen point in time and subsequently resigned as an honest, upright man from the leadership of the movement. Mr. Anton Drexler moved up into his place. I myself had reserved the organization of propaganda for myself and now carried it out ruthlessly.

Thus, the date for the holding of this first great public meeting of the still unknown movement was set for **February 24, 1920**.

I personally directed the preparations. They were very short. In general, the entire apparatus was set up to be able to make lightning-fast decisions. Positions were to be taken on daily issues in the form of mass meetings within twenty-four hours. The announcement of these was to take place through posters and leaflets, the tendency of which was determined according to those points of view which I, in my de-

I have already laid down the broad outlines of the treatment of propaganda. Effect on the broad masses, concentration on a few points, constant repetition of the same, self-assured and self-confident phrasing of the text in the forms of an apodictic assertion, greatest persistence in distribution, and patience in awaiting the effect.

Red was fundamentally chosen as the color; it is the most inflammatory and had to provoke and incite our opponents the most, thereby bringing us to their attention and memory one way or another.

In the period that followed, the inner fraternization between Marxism and the Center as a political party also showed itself most clearly in Bavaria in the concern with which the Bavarian People's Party, which ruled here, tried to weaken and later to prevent the effect of our posters on the red masses of workers. If the police found no other means to intervene against it, then finally "traffic considerations" had to serve as an excuse, until finally, for the sake of the inner, silent, red ally and with the promotional assistance of a so-called German National People's Party, these posters—which had returned hundreds of thousands of internationalized, incited, and seduced workers to German folkdom—were completely banned. These posters—attached as an appendix to the first and second editions of this book—can best document the mighty struggle that the young movement fought out during this time. But they will also bear witness to posterity of the will and sincerity of our convictions and the arbitrariness of so-called national authorities in the suppression of a nationalization that was inconvenient to them, and thus the regaining of broad masses of our people.

They will also help to destroy the opinion as if there were a national government in itself in Bavaria, and will document for posterity that the national Bavaria of the years 1919, 1920, 1921, 1922, and 1923 was by no means the result of a national government, but that it only by necessity had to take consideration of a people gradually feeling national.

The governments themselves did everything to suppress this recovery process and make it impossible.

Only two men must be excepted here:

The then Police President Ernst Pöhner and his loyal advisor, Chief Administrator Frick, were the only higher state officials who already then possessed the courage to be Germans first and officials second. In a responsible position, Ernst Pöhner was the only one who did not court the favor of the masses, but felt responsible to his nationality and was ready to stake and sacrifice everything, even, if necessary, his personal existence, for the resurrection of the German people he loved above all else. He was thus always the troublesome thorn in the side of those venal official-creatures to whom not the interest of their people and their necessary liberation, but the command of the employer prescribes the law of action, without regard for the welfare of the national assets entrusted to them.

Above all, however, he belonged to those natures who, in contrast to most guardians of our so-called state authority, do not fear the enmity of the traitors to the people and the country, but long for it as a natural asset of the decent man. The hatred of Jews and Marxists, their entire struggle full of lies and slander, were for him the only happiness amidst the misery of our people.

A man of granite integrity, of ancient simplicity and German straightforwardness, for whom the words "better dead than a slave" were no phrase, but formed the epitome of his entire being.

He and his collaborator Dr. Frick are in my eyes the only ones among men in state positions who possess the right to be considered co-creators of a national Bavaria. —

Before we now proceed to the holding of our first mass-assembly proceeded, not only did the necessary propaganda material have to be made available, but the guiding principles of the program also had to be set down in print.

I shall develop the guidelines that were particularly in our minds during the drafting of the program most thoroughly in the second volume. I only want to state here that it was created not only to give form and content to the young movement, but to make its goals understandable to the broad masses.

From so-called intellectual circles, people have joked and scoffed about it and tried to criticize it. However, the correctness of our view at that time has been proven by the effectiveness of this program.

In these years, I have seen dozens of new movements arise, and they have all disappeared and blown away again without a trace. Only one remained: the National Socialist German Workers' Party. And today I cherish more than ever the conviction that one can fight it, that one may try to paralyze it, that petty party ministers can forbid us from speaking and the word, but they will nevermore prevent the victory of our ideas.

When not even the memory of the names of the entire current conception of the state and its representatives will be known, the foundations of the National Socialist program will be the foundations of a coming state.

The four months of assembly activity before January 1920 had slowly allowed us to save the small means we needed for the printing of our first pamphlet, our first poster, and our program.

If I take this first large mass meeting of the movement as the conclusion of this volume, it is because with it the party burst the narrow framework of a small club and, in its place, for the first time acted decisively upon the powerful factor of our time, public opinion.

I myself had only one single concern at that time: Will the hall be filled, or will we be speaking before a yawning void? I had the rock-solid inner conviction that if the people would come, the day must become a great success for the young movement. Thus, I looked forward to that evening with trepidation.

The opening was scheduled to take place at 7:30 PM. At 7:15 PM, I entered the festival hall of the Hofbräuhaus at the Platzl in Munich, and my heart almost wanted to burst with joy. The enormous room—for it still seemed enormous to me then—was overcrowded with people, head to head, a mass numbering nearly two thousand people. And above all—it was those who had come whom we wanted to address. Well over half of the hall seemed to be occupied by Communists and Independents. Our first large rally had been destined by them to come to a swift end.

But it turned out differently. After the first speaker had finished, I took the floor. A few minutes later, heckling rained down; violent clashes broke out in the hall. A handful of the most loyal war comrades and other supporters fought with the troublemakers and were only gradually able to restore some order. I was able to continue speaking. After half an hour, the applause slowly began to drown out the shouting and roaring.

And now I took up the program and began to explain it for the first time.

From quarter-hour to quarter-hour, the heckling was pushed back more and more by shouts of approval. And when I finally presented the twenty-five theses point by point to the mass and asked them to pass judgment on them themselves, they were then accepted one after another amidst ever-increasing jubilation, unanimously and repeatedly unanimously; and when the last thesis had thus found its way to the heart of the mass, a hall full of people stood before me, united by a new conviction, a new faith, by a new will.

When, after nearly four hours, the room began to empty and the masses, head to head like a slow stream, rolled, pushed, and pressed toward the exit, I knew that the principles of a movement were now wandering out into the German people, which could no longer be forgotten.

A fire was kindled, from whose glow one day the sword must come that shall regain freedom for the Germanic Siegfried and life for the German nation.

And alongside the coming uprising, I felt the goddess of inexorable revenge striding for the act of perjury of November 9, 1918.

So the hall slowly emptied.

The movement took its course.

Volume Two

THE NATIONAL SOCIALIST MOVEMENT

Chapter 1

Worldview and Party

On February 24, 1920, the first great public mass meeting of our young movement took place. In the festival hall of the Munich Hofbräuhaus, the twenty-five theses of the new party's program were presented to a crowd of nearly two thousand people, and every single point was adopted with jubilant approval.

With this, the first guiding principles and directives were issued for a struggle that was intended to sweep away a true clutter of long-established ideas and views and unclear, even harmful, goals. Into the rotten and cowardly bourgeois world, as well as into the triumphal march of the Marxist wave of conquest, a new power phenomenon was to enter, in order to bring the chariot of destiny to a halt at the final hour.

It was a matter of course that the new movement could only hope to obtain the necessary significance and the required strength for this giant struggle if it succeeded from the very first day in awakening in the hearts of its followers the sacred conviction that, with it, a new election slogan was not being imposed on political life, but rather a new worldview of fundamental importance was to be put forward.

One must consider from what miserable points of view so-called "party programs" are normally cobbled together and brushed up or remodeled from time to time. One must take a close look at the driving motives especially of these bourgeois "program commissions" in order to gain the necessary understanding for the...

evaluation of these programmatic monstrosities.

It is always a single concern that drives either the creation of new programs or the modification of existing ones: the concern over the outcome of the next election. As soon as the inkling begins to dawn in the minds of these parliamentary state-artists that the dear people are once again revolting and want to slip out of the harness of the old party wagon, they are accustomed to repainting the shafts. Then come the stargazers and party astrologers, the so-called "experienced" and "seasoned," mostly old parliamentarians, who in their "rich political apprenticeship" are able to remember analogous cases when the strands of the masses' patience finally snapped, and who feel something similar approaching with threatening proximity. So they reach for the old recipes, form a "committee," listen around among the dear people, sniff through the press products, and slowly sniff out what the dear broad masses would like to have, what they loathe, and what they hope for. Every professional group, indeed every class of employee, is studied most precisely and researched in their most secret wishes. Even the "evil slogans" of the dangerous opposition then suddenly tend to be ripe for a review and not infrequently appear, to the greatest astonishment of their original inventors and disseminators, quite harmlessly and as a matter of course in the knowledge base of the old parties.

Thus the committees meet and "revise" the old program and draft a new one (these gentlemen change their convictions as a soldier in the field changes his shirt, namely always when the old one is lice-ridden!), in which everyone is given their due. The farmer receives protection for his agriculture, the industrialist protection for his goods, the consumer protection for his purchases, teachers are given salary increases, officials' pensions are improved, widows and orphans are to be provided for by the state to the fullest extent, transport is promoted, tariffs should be lowered and even taxes, if not entirely, then at least pretty much abolished. Sometimes it happens that a certain class has been forgotten or nothing has been heard of a demand circulating among the people. Then, in the last minute, whatever there is room for is patched in, until one can hope with a good conscience to have calmed the army of normal philistines along with their wives and to see them highly satisfied. Thus, inwardly prepared and trusting in dear God and the unshakable stupidity of the voting citizens, one can begin the struggle for the "new shaping" of the Reich, as they say.

When the election day is over, and the parliamentarians have held their last public meeting for five years, in order to move away from the training of the plebs toward the fulfillment of their higher and more pleasant tasks, the program commission dissolves again, and the struggle for the reshaping of things takes on once more the forms of the struggle for one's dear daily bread: among parliamentarians, however, this is called "diets" (parliamentary allowances).

Every morning, the Honorable Representative of the People proceeds to the High House, and if not quite inside, then at least as far as the foyer, where the attendance lists are laid out. In the taxing service for the people, he enters his name there and receives, as a well-deserved reward, a small compensation for these continuous, grueling efforts.

After four years, or in other critical weeks when the dissolution of the parliamentary bodies begins to draw closer and closer, an uncontrollable urge suddenly creeps over the gentlemen. Just as the grub cannot help but transform into a cockchafer, so these parliamentary caterpillars leave the large collective pupa-house and, gifted with wings, flutter out to the dear people. They speak again to their voters, tell of their own enormous work and the malicious stubbornness of the others, but instead of grateful apsometimes crude, even hateful expressions are thrown at their heads. When this ingratitude of the people increases to a certain degree, only a single remedy can help: the luster of the party must be ironed out again, the program is in need of improvement, the commission comes back to life, and the swindle begins all over again. Given the granite stupidity of our humanity, one should not be surprised at the success. Guided by its press and blinded by the new enticing program, the "bourgeois" as well as the "proletarian" voting cattle return to the common stable and elect their old deceivers.

With this, the man of the people and candidate of the productive classes transforms back into the parliamentary caterpillar and continues to eat himself thick and fat on the branches of state life, only to transform back into the shimmering butterfly after four years.

There is hardly anything more depressing than observing this entire process in sober reality, having to watch this ever-repeating deception. From such a spiritual breeding ground, one certainly does not draw the strength in the bourgeois camp to fight out the struggle with the organized power of Marxism.

The gentlemen never seriously think of it either. Despite all the admitted narrow-mindedness and spiritual inferiority of these parliamentary medicine men of the white race, they themselves cannot seriously imagine fighting against a doctrine by way of a Western democracy, for which democracy, along with everything that goes with it, is at best a means to an end, used to paralyze the opponent and clear the way for one's own actions. For even if a part of Marxism currently attempts to feign an inseparable connection with the principles of democracy in an extremely clever manner, then please let it not be forgotten that in the critical hour these gentlemen would not give a... about a majority decision according to Western-democratic views.

cared a straw! This was in the days when the bourgeois parliamentarians saw the security of the Reich guaranteed in the monumental narrow-mindedness of a superior number, while Marxism, with a gang of street thugs, deserters, party bosses, and Jewish literati, summarily seized power, dealing democracy of this kind a resounding slap in the face. Therefore, it requires the gullible mind of such a parliamentary sorcerer-priest of bourgeois democracy to imagine that now or in the future the brutal determination of the interested parties and carriers of that world-pest could be banished simply by the incantations of a Western parliamentarianism.

Marxism will march with democracy for as long as it succeeds in obtaining, by indirect means, even the support of the national intellectual world which it has destined for extermination. Should it, however, come to the conviction today that from the witches' cauldron of our parliamentary democracy a majority could suddenly be brewed which—even if only on the basis of its majority entitled to legislate—would seriously tackle Marxism, the parliamentary jugglery would be over at once. The banner-bearers of the Red International would then, instead of addressing an appeal to the democratic conscience, issue a inflammatory call to the proletarian masses, and their struggle would be transplanted in one stroke from the musty air of our parliamentary session halls into the factories and onto the streets. Democracy would thus be finished immediately; and what had failed the intellectual agility of those apostles of the people in the parliaments would succeed with the crowbar and sledgehammer of incited proletarian masses just as lightning-fast as in the autumn of 1918: they would teach the bourgeois world strikingly how crazy it is to imagine that one can confront the Jewish world conquest with the means of Western democracy.

As has been said, it takes a faithful soul to bind oneself to rules when facing such a player, for whom these rules only ever exist for bluffing or for his own benefit, and are tossed overboard as soon as they no longer correspond to his advantages.

Since in all parties of a so-called bourgeois orientation the entire political struggle actually consists only of scuffling for individual parliamentary seats, whereby attitudes and principles are thrown overboard like sand ballast according to expediency, their programs are naturally tuned accordingly and—conversely, of course—their strengths are measured accordingly. They lack that great magnetic attraction which the broad masses always follow only under the compelling impression of great, overarching viewpoints, the persuasive power of unconditional faith in them, coupled with the fanatical courage to stand up for them.

In a time, however, in which one side, equipped with all the weapons of a worldview, even if a thousand times criminal, sets out to storm an existing order, the other side can eternally only offer resistance if it clothes itself in the forms of a new, in our case political, faith and exchanges the watchword of a weak and cowardly defense for the battle cry of courageous and brutal attack.

If, therefore, today our movement is given the witty reproach, especially by so-called national bourgeois ministers, such as those of the Bavarian Center Party, that it is working toward an "upheaval," one can only give such a politicizing pipsqueak one answer: Yes, we are trying to make up for what you, in your criminal stupidity, have neglected. Through the principles of your parliamentary horse-trading, you have helped to lead the nation into the abyss to drag; but we shall, and indeed in the forms of attack, by the establishment of a new worldview and the fanatical, unshakable defense of its principles, build for our people the steps upon which it may one day ascend again into the temple of freedom.

Thus, in the founding period of our movement, our first concern always had to be directed toward preventing the host of fighters for a new, sublime conviction from becoming merely an association for the promotion of parliamentary interests.

The first preventive measure was the creation of a program that purposefully pressed toward a development which, even in its inner greatness, appeared suitable to scare away the small and weak spirits of our contemporary party politicians.

How correct our conception of the necessity of programmatic objectives of the sharpest character was, emerged most clearly from those disastrous defects which finally led to the collapse of Germany.

Out of the recognition of these, a new conception of the state had to form, which itself is again an essential component of a new worldview.

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I have already dealt with the word "völkisch" in the first volume, insofar as I had to establish that this designation appears conceptually too poorly defined to permit the formation of a closed combat community. All sorts of things, which in all essential aspects of their views are poles apart, currently drift about under the cover-word "völkisch." Before I therefore now proceed to the tasks and goals of the National Socialist German Workers' Party, I would like to provide a clarification of the concept "völkisch" as well as its relationship to the party movement.

The term "võlkisch" appears as poorly defined, as multi-interpretable, and as unlimited in practical application as, for instance, the word "religious." It is difficult to imagine something entirely precise under this designation, either in the sense of intellectual comprehension or in practical effect. The designation "religious" only becomes tangibly conceivable at the moment when it connects with a clearly defined form of its manifestation. It is a very beautiful, but usually also cheap explanation, when one describes the essence of a person as "deeply inward religious." There will perhaps also be a few who feel satisfied by such a very general designation, yes, to whom it is even able to convey a certain, more or less sharp image of that state of soul. But since the great mass consists neither of philosophers nor of saints, such a very general religious idea will usually only mean the release of the individual's thinking and acting, without, however, leading to that effectiveness which grows out of the religious inner longing at the moment when a clearly defined faith forms from the purely metaphysical, unlimited world of thought. Certainly, this is not the purpose in itself, but only a means to an end; yet it is the absolutely necessary means to be able to reach the end at all. This end, however, is not only an ideal one, but in the final analysis also an eminently practical one. Just as one must generally realize that the highest ideals always correspond to a deepest necessity of life, exactly as the nobility of the most sublime beauty in the final analysis also lies only in the logically most expedient.

By helping to raise man above the level of an animal-like existence, faith in truth contributes to the consolidation and securing of his existence. Take away from today's humanity the religious-faith-based principles supported by their education—which in their practical significance are ethical-moral principles—and...

by eliminating this religious education and without replacing it with something of equal value, and one will face the result in a severe shattering of the foundations of their existence. One may therefore state that not only does man live to serve higher ideals, but that these higher ideals, conversely, also provide the prerequisite for his existence as a human being. Thus the circle closes.

Naturally, even in the general designation "religious" there lie individual fundamental thoughts or convictions, for example, that of the indestructibility of the soul, the eternity of its existence, the existence of a higher being, etc. However, all these thoughts, no matter how convincing they may be for the individual, remain subject to the critical examination of that individual and thus to a fluctuating affirmation or negation, until the emotional inkling or realization assumes the law-like force of apodictic faith. This, above all, is the combat factor that breaches the way for the recognition of fundamental religious views and clears the path.

Without clearly defined faith, religiosity in its vague diversity would not only be worthless for human life but would likely contribute to general disintegration.

The situation with the term "völkisch" is similar to that of the term "religious." It too contains individual fundamental insights. However, although they are of the most eminent importance, they are so poorly defined in their form that they only rise above the value of a more or less recognizable opinion when they are integrated as basic elements into the framework of a political party. For the realization of ideological ideals and the demands derived from them occurs just as little through pure feeling or the inner will of humans in themselves as, for instance, the achievement of

Freedom through the general longing for it. No, only when the ideal urge for independence receives the combative organization in the forms of military means of power can the pressing wish of a people be translated into glorious reality.

Every worldview, however a thousand times correct and of the highest benefit to humanity it may be, will remain without significance for the practical shaping of a people's life as long as its principles have not become the banner of a fighting movement, which in turn will remain a party as long as its activity has not been completed in the victory of its ideas and its party dogmas form the new state principles of a people's community.

But if a spiritual conception of a general nature is to serve as the foundation for a coming development, then the first prerequisite is the creation of absolute clarity about the essence, nature, and scope of this conception, since only on such a basis can a movement be formed which is able to develop the necessary strength for the struggle in the internal homogeneity of its convictions. From general conceptions, a political program must be coined; from a general worldview, a specific political faith. This, since its goal is to be a practically achievable one, will not only have to serve the idea in itself, but will also have to take into account the means of struggle that are available and must find use for the achievement of the victory of this idea. To an abstractly correct spiritual conception, which the program-maker has to proclaim, must be joined the practical insight of the politician. Thus, an eternal ideal as the guiding star of humanity must unfortunately resign itself to taking into account the weaknesses of this humanity, in order not to to fail from the outset due to general human inadequacy. The seeker of truth must be joined by the connoisseur of the psychology of the masses, in order to extract from the realm of the eternally true and ideal that which is humanly possible for small mortals and to let it take shape.

This transformation of a general ideological ideal conception of the highest truthfulness into a precisely defined, tightly organized, mentally and willfully unified political community of faith and struggle is the most significant achievement, since the possibility of a victory for the idea depends solely on its successful solution. Here, from the army of often millions of people who individually sense these truths more or less clearly and definitely, and perhaps partly understand them, one must step forward to form granite principles with apodictic force from the wavering world of ideas of the broad masses and to take up the struggle for their sole correctness until, from the play of waves of a free world of thought, an iron rock of unified connection in faith and will arises.

The general right to such an action is grounded in its necessity, the personal right in success.

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If we attempt to peel out the meaningful innermost core from the word "völkisch," we arrive at the following determination:

Our current common political worldview is generally based on the idea that the state should indeed be credited with creative, culture-forming power, but that it has nothing to do with racial prerequisites, but is rather a product of economic necessities, or at best the natural result of political power drives. This basic view, in its logical and consistent further development, leads not only to of a failure to recognize primal racial forces, but also to an undervaluation of the person. For the denial of the difference between individual races with regard to their general culture-building powers must inevitably transfer this greatest error to the assessment of the individual person as well. The assumption of the similarity of races then becomes the basis for a similar way of looking at peoples and, furthermore, at individual human beings. Therefore, international Marxism itself is only the transfer, carried out by the Jew Karl Marx, of a world-view attitude and conception that had actually existed for a long time into the form of a specific political profession of faith. Without the foundation of such a generally already existing poisoning, the astounding political success of this doctrine would never have been possible. Karl Marx was really only the one among millions who, in the swamp of a slowly decaying world, recognized with the sure eye of a prophet the most essential toxins, singled them out, in order to bring them, like a black magician, into a concentrated solution for the faster destruction of the independent existence of free nations on this earth. All of this, however, in the service of his race.

Thus, the Marxist doctrine is the brief spiritual extract of the world-view generally valid today. For this reason alone, any struggle of our so-called bourgeois world against it is impossible, even ridiculous, since this bourgeois world is also essentially permeated by all these toxins and pays homage to a world-view that generally differs from the Marxist one only by degrees and persons. The bourgeois world is Marxist, but believes in the possibility of the rule of certain groups of people (bourgeoisie), while Marxism itself systematically strives to transfer the world into the hands of Jewry.

In contrast, the völkisch world-view recognizes the importance of humanity in its primal racial elements.

In principle, it sees in the state only a means to an end and regards its purpose as the preservation of the racial existence of mankind. It therefore by no means believes in an equality of races, but with their difference it also recognizes their higher or lesser value and feels obligated, through this knowledge, in accordance with the eternal Will that rules this universe, to promote the victory of the better and stronger, and to demand the subordination of the worse and weaker. It thus pays homage in principle to the aristocratic fundamental idea of Nature and believes in the validity of this law down to the last individual being. It sees not only the different value of the races, but also the different value of individual human beings. From the mass, the significance of the person emerges for it; however, it thereby acts organizationally against disorganizing Marxism. It believes in the necessity of an idealization of humanity, as it again sees only in this the prerequisite for the existence of mankind. But it cannot grant the right to exist even to an ethical idea if this idea represents a danger to the racial life of the bearers of a higher ethics; for in a bastardized and negrified world, all concepts of the humanly beautiful and sublime, as well as all ideas of an idealized future for our humanity, would be lost forever.

Human culture and civilization on this continent are inseparably bound to the presence of the Aryan. His extinction or demise will again lower the dark veils of a cultureless age upon this globe.

The undermining of the existence of human culture through the destruction of its bearer, however, appears in the eyes of a völkisch worldview as the most damnable crime. Anyone who dares to lay a hand on the highest image of the Lord sins against the gracious Creator of this miracle and assists in the expulsion from Paradise.

Thus, the folkish worldview corresponds to the innermost will of Nature, as it restores that free play of forces which must lead to a continuous mutual higher breeding, until finally the best humanity, through the acquired possession of this earth, is given a free path for activity in fields that will lie partly above and partly outside of it.

We all sense that in the distant future problems may approach mankind, for the overcoming of which only a highest race as a master people, supported by the means and possibilities of an entire globe, will be called upon.

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It goes without saying that such a general statement of the meaningful content of a folkish worldview can lead to a thousandfold interpretation. In fact, we find hardly one of our younger political foundations that does not somehow invoke this world outlook. However, it proves its difference in its views from the many others precisely through its own existence. Thus, the Marxist worldview, led by a unified top organization, is opposed by a mixture of views that, even in terms of ideas, is not very impressive compared to the closed enemy front. Victories are not won with such weak weapons! Only when the international worldview—led politically by organized Marxism—is opposed by an equally uniformly organized and led folkish one, will success, with equal fighting energy, fall to the side of eternal truth.

The organizational grasp of a worldview can, however, eternally only take place on the basis of a specific formulation of the same, and what dogmas represent for faith, are for the forming political party the party principles.

Thus, an instrument must be created for the völkisch world-view that grants it the possibility of a combat-like representation, similar to how the Marxist party organization clears the way for internationalism.

This goal is pursued by the National Socialist German Workers' Party.

That such a party-based definition of the völkisch concept is the prerequisite for the victory of the völkisch world-view is most sharply proven by a fact that is admitted, at least indirectly, even by the opponents of such a party-based commitment. Precisely those who never tire of emphasizing that the völkisch world-view is by no means the "hereditary lease" of an individual, but slumbers or "lives" in the hearts of God knows how many millions, document thereby that the fact of the general presence of such ideas was not able to prevent in the slightest the victory of the hostile world-view, which is indeed classically represented in terms of party politics. Were it otherwise, the German people would have already achieved a gigantic victory today and would not be standing on the edge of an abyss. What gave the international world-view success was its representation by a political party organized like a storm detachment; what caused the opposite world-view to succumb was the previous lack of a uniformly formed representation of the same. Not in an unlimited release of the interpretation of a general view, but only in the limited and thus concentrated form of a political organization can a world-view fight and triumph.

Therefore, I saw my own task especially in extracting from the extensive and unshaped material of a general worldview to carve out those core ideas and to recast them into more or less dogmatic forms which, in their clear limitation, are suited to uniformly unite those people who pledge themselves to them. In other words: The National Socialist German Workers' Party takes from the basic line of thought of a general folkish worldview the essential fundamental features, forms from them—taking into account the practical reality, the time, and the available human material as well as its weaknesses—a political confession of faith, which now for its part, in the tight organizational grasp of large masses of people thus made possible, creates the prerequisite for the victorious fighting through of this worldview itself.

Chapter 2

The State

Already in the years 1920/21, our young movement was repeatedly reproached by circles of today's obsolete bourgeois world, claiming that our position toward the current state was a negative one, from which the party-political highway robbery of all directions derived the justification to take up the struggle of suppression against the young, inconvenient herald of a new worldview with all available means. In doing so, they have admittedly intentionally forgotten that today's bourgeois world itself is no longer able to imagine anything uniform under the term "State," and that a uniform definition for it does not exist and cannot exist. After all, the explainers at our state universities often happen to be teachers of constitutional law, whose highest task must be to find explanations and interpretations for the respective more or less fortunate existence of their bread-providing source of nourishment. The more impossible a state is constituted, the more opaque, artificial, and incomprehensible are the definitions regarding its purpose of existence. What, for example, should an Imperial-Royal university professor write about the meaning and purpose of the state in a country whose state existence embodied perhaps the greatest monstrosity of all time? A difficult task, when one considers that for today's teacher in matters of constitutional law, there is less an obligation to the truth than rather a commitment to a specific purpose. The purpose, however, is: preservation at any price of the particular monster in question of human mechanism, now called the State. One should not be surprised, then, if in the discussion of this problem, real perspectives are avoided as much as possible, in order to instead burrow into a mixture of "ethical," "social," "moral," and other ideal values, tasks, and goals.

In general, one can distinguish three conceptions:

a) The group of those who see in the State simply a more or less voluntary association of people under a governmental authority.

This group is the most numerous. In its ranks are found especially the worshipers of our current principle of legitimacy, in whose eyes the will of the people plays no role at all in this entire matter. For them, a sacred inviolability is established in the mere fact of the existence of a State. To protect this madness of human brains, one needs a downright dog-like veneration of the so-called State authority. In the heads of such people, a means is turned into the ultimate end in the blink of an eye. The State is no longer there to serve the people, but the people are there to worship a State authority that encompasses even the last, somehow official, spirit. So that the state of this quiet, ecstatic veneration does not transform into one of unrest, the State authority, for its part, is only there to maintain peace and order. It, too, is now neither an end nor a means. The State authority must provide for peace and order, and peace and order, conversely, must enable the existence of the State authority. Within these two poles, all of life must revolve.

In Bavaria, such a conception is primarily represented by the State artists of the Bavarian Center, called the "Bavarian People's Party"; in Austria it was the black-and-yellow legitimists; in the Reich itself, unfortunately, it is often so-called conservative elements whose conception of the State moves along these lines.

b) The second group of people is already somewhat smaller in number, as it must include those who attach at least some conditions to the existence of a State. They desire not only uniform administration but also, if possible, a common language—even if only from general administrative-technical points of view. State authority is no longer the sole and exclusive purpose of the State; rather, the promotion of the welfare of the subjects is added. Ideas of "freedom," and usually of a misunderstood kind, creep into the State conception of these circles. The form of government no longer appears inviolable by the mere fact of its existence but is tested for its expediency. The sanctity of age does not protect it from the criticism of the present. Furthermore, it is a view that expects the State above all to provide a favorable shaping of the economic life of the individual, and which therefore judges from practical points of view and according to general economic profitability considerations. We find the main representatives of these views in the circles of our normal German bourgeoisie, especially in those of our liberal democracy.

c) The third group is numerically the weakest. It already sees in the State a means for the realization of usually very unclearly imagined power-political tendencies of a linguistically distinct and united national body. The desire for a uniform state language is expressed not only in the hope of creating a solid foundation for this State for the increase of external power, but no less in the—incidentally, fundamentally false—opinion that a nationalization can be carried out in a certain direction through this.

It has been a true misery over the last hundred years to have to see how, in these circles, sometimes in the best of faith, the word "Germanize" was played with. I myself still remember how, in my youth, this very term led to quite incredibly false conceptions. Even in Pan-German circles, one could hear the opinion at that time that Austrian Germanhood, with the promoting assistance of the government, could very well succeed in a Germanization of Austrian Slavdom, whereby one did not realize in the slightest that Germanization can only be carried out on the soil and never on people. For what was generally understood by this word was only the forced external adoption of the German language. It is, however, a hardly graspable error in thinking to believe that, let us say, a Negro or a Chinese becomes a German because he learns German and is prepared to speak the German language in the future and perhaps give his vote to a German political party. That every such Germanization is in reality a de-Germanization was never clear to our bourgeois national world. For if today, through the imposition of a general language, differences between various peoples that were previously visibly striking are bridged and finally blurred, this signifies the beginning of a bastardization and thus, in our case, not a Germanization but a destruction of the Germanic element. It happens only too often in history that the external means of power of a conquering people succeed in forcing their language upon the oppressed, but that after a thousand years their language is spoken by another people and the victors thereby become the actually vanquished.

Since nationhood, or better, race, does not lie in language but in the blood, one would only be permitted to speak of a Germanization if it were possible to transform the blood of the defeated through such a process. That, however, is impossible. Unless it occonsequence of a mixing of blood, a change occurs, which, however, signifies the lowering of the level of the higher race. The final result of such a process would therefore be the destruction of precisely those qualities which had once enabled the conquering people to achieve victory. Especially the cultural forces would disappear in a mating with an inferior race, even if the resulting mixed product spoke the language of the formerly higher race a thousand times over. For a certain time, a certain struggle of the different spirits will still take place, and it may be that the increasingly sinking people, as if in a final surge, brings surprising cultural values to light. Yet these are only the individual elements belonging to the higher race or also bastards in whom, in the first crossbreeding, the better blood still predominates and attempts to fight its way through; but never the final products of the mixture. In these, a culturally regressive movement will always manifest itself.

Today it must be considered a stroke of luck that a Germanization in the sense of Joseph II in Austria did not take place. Its success would likely have been the preservation of the Austrian state, but also a lowering of the racial level of the German nation brought about by linguistic community. In the course of the centuries, a certain herd instinct would probably have crystallized, but the herd itself would have become inferior. A state-people might perhaps have been born, but a cultural-people would have been lost.

For the German nation, it was better that this mixing process did not occur, even if not as a result of noble insight, but through the short-sighted narrow-mindedness of the Habsburgs. Had it turned out otherwise, the German people could hardly be addressed as a cultural factor today.

But not only in Austria, but also in Germany itself, the so-called national circles were and are moved by similarly false lines of thought. The Polish policy demanded by so many in the sense of a Germanization of the East was, unfortunately, almost always based on the same fallacy. Here, too, it was believed that a Germanization of the Polish element could be brought about by a purely linguistic Germanization of the same. Here, too, the result would have been a disastrous one: a people of foreign race expressing their foreign thoughts in the German language, compromising the height and dignity of our own nationhood through their own inferiority.

How appalling is the damage already being done indirectly to our Germandom today by the fact that, due to the ignorance of many Americans, German-mumbling Jewry is credited to our German account upon stepping onto American soil! Yet it would occur to no one to see proof of German ancestry and national belonging in the purely external fact that this lousy migration of peoples from the East mostly speaks German.

What was beneficially Germanized in history was the soil that our ancestors acquired with the sword and settled with German farmers. Insofar as they introduced foreign blood into our national body in the process, they contributed to that unfortunate fragmentation of our inner being, which manifests itself in—unfortunately often still praised—German over-individualism.

In this third group as well, the state is still considered in a certain sense as an end in itself, and thus the preservation of the state as the highest task of human existence.

In summary, it can be stated: All these views do not have their deepest roots in the recognition that the culture- and value-creating forces rest essentially on racial elements, and that the state must therefore meaningfully regard as its highest task the preservation and intensification of the race, this fundamental condition of all human cultural development.

The ultimate conclusion of those false conceptions and views regarding the nature and purpose of a state could then be drawn by the Jew Marx: by detaching the concept of the state from racial obligations, the bourgeois world, without being able to arrive at any other equally recognized formulation, paved the way for a doctrine that negates the state in itself.

In this field alone, the struggle of the bourgeois world against the Marxist International must therefore fail completely. It has long since sacrificed the very foundations that would be absolutely necessary to support its own world of ideas. Its cunning opponent has recognized the weaknesses of its own structure and is now storming against it with the weapons provided by them themselves, albeit unintentionally.

It is therefore the first obligation for a new movement based on the soil of a folkish (vőlkisch) worldview to ensure that the conception of the nature and purpose of existence of the state receives a uniform and clear form.

The fundamental realization is then that the state represents not an end, but a means. It is indeed the prerequisite for the formation of a higher human culture, but not the cause of it. This lies rather exclusively in the existence of a race capable of culture. There could be hundreds of exemplary states on earth, yet in the event of the extinction of the Aryan culture-bearer, no culture would exist that would correspond to the spiritual level of the highest peoples of today. One can go even further and say that the fact of human state formation would not in the least exclude the possibility of the destruction of the human race, provided that superior spiritual ability and elasticity were lost due to the absence of the racial bearer of the same.

If, for example, the surface of the earth were to be disturbed today by some tectonic event and a new Himalaya were to rise from the floods of the ocean, the culture of mankind would be destroyed in a single cruel catastrophe. No state would continue to exist, the bonds of all order dissolved, the documents of a thousand-year development shattered, a single great field of corpses flooded with water and mud. But even if only a few people of a certain race capable of culture had survived this chaos of horror, the earth, after it had calmed down, would again receive testimonies of human, creative power, even if after a thousand-year duration. Only the destruction of the last race capable of culture and its individual carriers would finally desolate the earth. Conversely, we see even from examples of the present that state formations in their tribal beginnings, in the absence of genius in their racial carriers, are unable to preserve them from downfall. Just as great animal species of prehistoric times had to give way to others and perished completely, so must man also give way if he lacks a certain spiritual strength that alone allows him to find the necessary weapons for his self-preservation.

Not the State in itself creates a certain cultural level, but it can only preserve the race which conditions it. In the other case, the state as such may continue to exist uniformly for centuries, while as a result of a racial mixing not prevented by it, the cultural capacity and the resulting general life-image of a people have long since undergone profound changes. The present-day state, for example, as a formal mechanism, may very well pretend to exist for such and such a long time, but the racial poisoning of our national body creates a cultural decline that is already appearing in a frightening manner.

Thus the prerequisite for the existence of a higher humanity is not the state, but rather the folkdom which is capable of this.

This ability will fundamentally always be present and must only be awakened to practical effect through certain external conditions. Culturally and creatively gifted nations, or rather races, carry these utilities latently within themselves, even if at the moment unfavorable external circumstances do not permit a realization of these predispositions. Therefore, it is also an incredible piece of mischief to present the Germanic peoples of pre-Christian times as "cultureless," as barbarians. They never were. Only the harshness of their Nordic homeland forced them into conditions that hindered a development of their creative powers. Had they come into the more favorable regions of the south, without any ancient world, and had they received the first technical aids in the material of lower peoples, the culture-forming ability slumbering within them would have blossomed into the most brilliant flower, just as was the case, for example, with the Hellenes. Yet this culture-creating primal force itself does not spring solely from their Nordic climate. The Lapp, brought to the south, would act as little in a culture-forming way as, say, the Eskimo. No, this magnificent, creatively shaping ability is precisely bestowed upon the Aryan, whether he still carries it slumbering within him or gives it to awakening life, depending on whether favorable circumstances permit this or an inhospitable nature prevents it.

From this results the following realization:

The State is a means to an end. Its end lies in the preservation and promotion of a community of physically and spiritually similar living beings. This preservation itself comprises, first of all, the racial existence and thereby permits the free development of all the forces slumbering in this race. Of these, a part will always be primarily the serve the preservation of physical life and only the other the promotion of a spiritual further development. In fact, however, one always creates the prerequisite for the other.

States that do not serve this purpose are mis-phenomena, even monstrosities. The fact of their existence changes this as little as, for example, the success of a community of filibusters is able to justify robbery.

We National Socialists, as champions of a new worldview, must never stand on that famous "ground of facts"—which are, moreover, false. In that case, we would no longer be the champions of a new great idea, but the coolies of today's lie. We have to distinguish most sharply between the State as a vessel and the race as the content. This vessel has meaning only if it is able to preserve and protect the content; otherwise, it is worthless.

Thus, the highest purpose of the folkish State is the concern for the preservation of those original racial elements which, as culture-bestowing, create the beauty and dignity of a higher humanity. We, as Aryans, are therefore only able to imagine the living organism of a peoplehood under a State which not only secures the preservation of this peoplehood, but also leads it to the highest freedom through the further development of its spiritual and ideal abilities.

What people try to force upon us today as a State, however, is mostly only the product of the deepest human error with unspeakable suffering as a consequence.

We National Socialists know that with this conception we stand as revolutionaries in the present day and also be branded as such. Our thinking and acting should by no means be determined by the applause or rejection of our time, but by the binding obligation to a truth that we have recognized. Then we can be convinced that the higher insight of posterity will not only understand our current actions but will also confirm and ennoble them as correct.

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From this, for us National Socialists, the standard for evaluating a state also emerges. This value will be a relative one, from the viewpoint of the individual ethnic community; an absolute one from that of humanity itself. This means, in other words:

> *The quality of a state cannot be evaluated according to the cultural level or the power significance of this state within the framework of the rest of the world, but exclusively only according to the degree of the quality of this institution for the respective ethnic community in question.*

A state can be described as exemplary if it not only corresponds to the living conditions of an ethnic community to be represented by it, but practically keeps this ethnic community alive precisely through its own existence—regardless of what general cultural significance this state entity has within the framework of the rest of the world. For the task of the state is precisely not to create abilities, but only to clear the way for existing forces. *Conversely, therefore, a state can be described as bad if, despite all cultural height, it dooms the bearer of this culture in its racial composition to destruction.* For it thereby practically destroys the prerequisite for the continued existence of this culture, which it did not create, but—

rather, which is the fruit of a culturally creative folkdom secured through a living state integration. The state does not represent a content, but rather a form. Therefore, the respective cultural level of a people does not provide the measure for the quality of the state in which it lives. It is very understandable that a culturally highly gifted people presents a higher-value image than a Negro tribe; nevertheless, the state organism of the former, viewed according to its fulfillment of purpose, can be worse than that of the Negro. Although the best state and the best form of state are not in a position to extract abilities from a people that are simply missing and were never present, a bad state is certainly in a position to cause originally existing abilities to die out in the subsequent period through a permitted or even promoted destruction of the racial culture-bearer.

Consequently, the judgment on the quality of a state can primarily only be determined by the relative benefit it possesses for a specific folkdom, and by no means by the significance that accrues to it in itself in the world.

This relative judgment can be passed quickly and well; the judgment on the absolute value only with great difficulty, since this absolute judgment is actually no longer determined merely by the state, but rather by the quality and height of the respective folkdom.

Therefore, when one speaks of a higher mission of the state, one must never forget that the higher mission lies essentially in the folkdom, for which the state, through the organic strength of its existence, only has to enable free development.

If we therefore ask the question of how the state should be constituted that we Germans need, then we must first gain clarity about what kind of people it is to encompass and what purpose it is to serve.

Our German folkdom unfortunately no longer rests on a uniform racial core. The process of fusion of the various original components is also not yet so far advanced that one could speak of a newly formed race resulting from it. On the contrary: the blood poisonings that struck our national body, especially since the Thirty Years' War, led not only to a decomposition of our blood, but also to a decomposition of our soul. The open borders of our fatherland, the leaning against non-Germanic foreign bodies along these border areas, but above all the strong continuous influx of foreign blood into the interior of the Reich itself, leave no time for an absolute fusion due to its constant renewal. No new race is being "cooked out" anymore; instead, the racial components remain side by side, with the result that, especially in critical moments when a herd usually gathers, the German people scatter in all directions. Not only geographically are the racial basic elements situated differently, but also individually, within the same area. Next to Nordic people are Easterners, next to Easterners are Dinarics, next to both are Westerners, and in between are mixtures. This is, on the one hand, a great disadvantage: the German people lack that secure herd instinct which is grounded in the unity of blood and which preserves nations from downfall, especially in dangerous moments, insofar as among such peoples all minor internal differences then usually disappear immediately and the closed front of a uniform herd faces the common enemy. In the coexistence of our racial basic elements of the most diverse kinds, which have remained unmixed, lies the reason for what is referred to among us by the word hyper-individualism. In peaceful times it may sometimes perform good service, but taken all in all, it has deprived us of world mastery. If the German people in their historical development had possessed that herd-like unity that benefited other peoples, then the German Reich would today probably be the mistress of the globe. World history would have taken a different course, and no one can decide whether, in this way, that which so many blinded pacifists today hope to beg by whining and whimpering would not have been achieved: a peace, supported not by the palm fronds of tearful pacifist mourning women, but founded by the victorious sword of a master people that puts the world into the service of a higher culture.

The fact of the non-existence of a blood-unified folkdom has brought us unspeakable suffering. It has given residences to many small German potentates, but has deprived the German people of the master's right.

Even today, our people still suffer from this inner fragmentation; however, what brought us misfortune in the past and present can be our blessing for the future. For as harmful as it was on the one hand that a complete mixing of our original racial components did not take place, and thereby the formation of a unified national body was prevented, it was just as fortunate on the other hand that through this, at least a part of our best blood remained pure and escaped racial decline.

Certainly, with a complete blending of our original racial elements, a closed national body would have emerged, but it would have been, as every racial crossbreeding proves, filled with a lower cultural capacity than the highest of the original components originally possessed. This is the blessing of the failure of complete mixing: that even today in our German national body we still possess large stocks of Nordic-Germanic people who have remained unmixed, in whom we may see the most valuable treasure for our future. In the murky time of ignorance of all racial laws, when in complete equalization man appeared simply as man, the clarity about the different value of the individual original—

elements are missing. Today we know that a complete intermixing of the components of our national body might perhaps have granted us external power as a result of the unity thus created, but that the highest goal of mankind would have been unattainable, since the only carrier whom fate has visibly chosen for this perfection would have perished in the general racial mush of the unified people.

But what was prevented without our intervention by a kind fate, we must today, from the standpoint of our now gained knowledge, review and utilize.

Whoever speaks of a mission of the German people on earth must know that it can only consist in the formation of a state which sees its highest task in the preservation and promotion of the remained intact noblest components of our folkdom, indeed of all mankind.

With this, the state receives for the first time a high inner goal. Compared to the ridiculous slogan of securing peace and order for the peaceful enabling of mutual swindling, the task of preserving and promoting a highest humanity granted to this earth by the goodness of the Almighty appears as a truly high mission.

From a dead mechanism, which claims to exist only for its own sake, a living organism is to be formed with the exclusive purpose: to serve a higher idea.

The German Reich shall, as a state, encompass all Germans with the task of not only collecting and preserving the most valuable stocks of racial primal elements from this people, but slowly and surely leading them up to a dominant position.

* * *

Thus, in place of a state that has essentially become rigid, a period of struggle enters. Yet, as always and in everything in this world, the saying will retain its validity here as well: "he who rests – rusts," and further, that victory lies eternally only in the offensive. The greater the goal of the struggle that floats before our eyes, and the lesser the understanding of the broad masses may be for it at the moment, the more immense, according to the experiences of world history, are the successes – and the significance of these successes then, when the goal is correctly grasped and the struggle is carried out with unshakable perseverance.

It may indeed be more reassuring for many of our current official leaders of the state to work for the preservation of a given condition than to have to fight for a coming one. They will find it much easier to see in the state a mechanism that exists simply to keep itself alive, just as their lives in turn "belong to the state" – as they are accustomed to expressing themselves. As if that which has sprung from the folkdom could logically serve anything other than precisely that folkdom, or as if man could work for anything else than precisely for man again. It is, as stated, naturally easier to perceive in state authority only the formal mechanism of an organization than the sovereign embodiment of the instinct for self-preservation of a folkdom on earth. For in the one case, for these weak spirits, the state as well as the state authority is already the end in itself; in the other, however, it is only the mighty weapon in the service of the great eternal struggle for existence, a weapon to which everyone must submit because it is not formally mechanical, but rather the expression of a common will for the preservation of life.

Therefore, in the struggle for our new conception, which corresponds entirely to the original meaning of things, we will find only a few comrades-in-arms from a society that is not only physically, but unfortunately only too often also...

is mentally obsolete. Only exceptions, elderly people with young hearts and fresh minds, will come to us from those strata, never those who see the ultimate meaning of their life's task in the preservation of a given state of affairs.

Opposed to us stands the infinite army less of the malevolently wicked than of the mentally lazy indifferent and even those interested in the preservation of today's condition. Yet precisely in this apparent hopelessness of our mighty struggle lies the greatness of our task and also the basis for the possibility of success. The battle cry, which either scares away the small spirits from the start or soon makes them despair, becomes the signal for the gathering of true fighting natures.

And one must be clear about this: When from a people a certain sum of the highest ener-gy and vitality appears united toward one goal and is thereby finally withdrawn from the inertia of the broad masses, these few percent have risen to be masters of the total number. World history is made by minorities then, when in this minority of number the majority of will and decisiveness is embodied.

What may therefore seem to many today as an aggravating factor is in reality the prerequisite for our victory. Precisely in the greatness and the difficulties of our task lies the probability that only the best fighters will find their way to its struggle. In this selection, however, lies the guarantee for success.

* * *

In general, nature itself tends to make certain corrective decisions regarding the question of the racial purity of earthly living beings. She loves the bastards only little. Especially the first products of such cross-breedings, perhaps in the third, fourth, fifth generation, have to suffer bitterly. Not only is the significance of the originally highest component of the cross-breeding taken from them, but in the lack of blood unity they also lack the unity of will and decisiveness for life in general. In all critical moments in which the racially unified being makes correct, and indeed unified, decisions, the racially torn being will become uncertain or arrive at half-measures. Taken together, this means not only a certain inferiority of the racially torn compared to the racially unified, but in practice also the possibility of a faster downfall. In countless cases in which the race holds its ground, the bastard collapses. In this, the correction of nature is to be seen. But it often goes even further. It restricts the possibility of reproduction. Thereby it prevents the fertility of extensive cross-breedings altogether and thus brings them to extinction.

If, for example, in a certain race an individual subject were to enter into a union with a racially inferior one, the result would first be a lowering of the level itself, but further a weakening of the offspring compared to the environment that remained racially unmixed. In the case of the complete prevention of further blood addition from the side of the highest race, the bastards would, in the case of continuous mutual cross-breeding, either die out as a result of their resistance power wisely diminished by nature, or in the course of many millennia form a new mixture in which the original individual elements are completely mixed through thousandfold cross-breeding, and therefore no longer recognizable. A new folkdom would thus have formed with a certain herd-like resistance, yet significantly diminished in its spiritual-cultural significance compared to the highest race participating in the first cross-breeding. But even in this latter case, in the mutual struggle for existence, the mixed product would succumb as long as a higher-standing, unmixed racial unity still exists as an opponent. All herd-like inner cohesion of this new national body, formed over the course of a thousand years, would nevertheless not suffice—due to the general lowering of the racial level and the resulting reduction in mental elasticity and creative ability—to prevail victoriously in the struggle with an equally unified, yet mentally and culturally superior race.

Thus, the following valid principle can be established:

> Every racial crossbreeding inevitably leads sooner or later to the downfall of the mixed product, as long as the higher-standing part of this crossbreed itself still exists in a pure, somehow racial unity. The danger for the mixed product is only eliminated at the moment of the bastardization of the last higher-standing racially pure individual.

Therein lies a natural, albeit slow, regeneration process, which gradually eliminates racial poisoning as long as a stock of racially pure elements is still present and further bastardization no longer takes place.

Such a process can occur of its own accord in living beings with a strong racial instinct, who were thrown off the path of normal racially pure reproduction only by special circumstances or some particular compulsion. As soon as this state of compulsion is ended, the part that has remained pure will immediately strive again for mating among equals, thereby putting a stop to further mixing. The results of bastardization thus recede into the background of their own accord, unless their numbers had already increased so infinitely that serious resistance from the racially pure survivors was no longer possible.

The human being, who has once become devoid of instinct and his...

Whoever fails to recognize the obligation imposed upon him by necessity, however, generally cannot hope for such correction from Nature's side for as long as he has not replaced his lost instinct with perceptive knowledge; it is then up to this knowledge to perform the necessary work of reparation. Yet the danger is very great that man, once become blind, will tear down the racial barriers more and more, until finally even the last remnant of his best part is lost. Then truly nothing remains but a unified mush, such as floats before the minds of the famous world-improvers of our day as an ideal; but in a short time, it would drive the ideals out of this world. To be sure: a great herd could be formed in this way, a herd animal can be brewed together, but a human being as a bearer of culture and, better still, as a founder and creator of culture, never results from such a mixture. The mission of humanity could thus be regarded as ended.

Whoever does not want the earth to move toward this condition must convert to the view that it is the task above all of the Germanic states, in the first instance, to ensure that a further bastardization is fundamentally halted.

The generation of our notorious weaklings of today will, of course, immediately scream against this and moan and complain about interference with the most sacred human rights. No, there is only one most sacred human right, and this right is at the same time the most sacred obligation, namely: to ensure that the blood is kept pure, in order to give, through the preservation of the best humanity, the possibility of a nobler development of these beings.

A folkish state will thus, in the first instance, raise marriage from the level of a continuous racial disgrace have, in order to give it the consecration of that institution which is called to beget images of the Lord and not monstrosities between man and ape.

The protest against this on so-called humane grounds is particularly ill-suited to a time which, on the one hand, gives every depraved degenerate the possibility of further reproduction, burdening both the products themselves and their contemporaries with unspeakable suffering, while on the other hand, in every drugstore and even from street vendors, the means for preventing births are offered for sale even to the healthiest parents. In this today's state of peace and order, in the eyes of its representatives, this brave bourgeois-national world, the prevention of the ability to procreate in syphilitics, tuberculars, those with hereditary burdens, cripples, and cretins is thus a crime; on the other hand, the practical suppression of the ability to procreate in millions of the very best is not seen as something bad and does not offend the good morals of this hypocritical society, but rather serves short-sighted intellectual laziness. For otherwise, one would at least have to rack one's brains over how to create the conditions for the nutrition and preservation of those beings who, as healthy carriers of our nationality, are one day to serve the same task regarding the coming generation.

How boundlessly unideal and ignoble this whole system is! One no longer strives to breed the best for posterity, but lets things run as they happen to run. That our churches also sin against the image of the Lord, whose significance is emphasized by them most of all, lies entirely in the line of their current activity, which always speaks of the spirit and allows the carrier of the same, the human being, to degenerate into a depraved proletarian. Then, of course, one stares with stupid faces at the meager effect of the Christian faith in one's own country, at the terrible—

actual "godlessness" of this physically botched and therefore naturally also mentally depraved wretched pack, and seeks to compensate itself for this with success among Hottentots and Zulu Kaffirs with the blessing of the Church. While our European peoples, God be praised and thanked, fall into a state of physical and moral leprosy, the pious missionary wanders to Central Africa and establishes Negro missions, until our "higher culture" has turned healthy, albeit primitive and low-standing human children there into a foul bastard brood as well.

It would correspond more to the sense of the noblest in this world if our two Christian churches, instead of bothering the Negroes with missions that they neither desire nor understand, would kindly but in all seriousness teach our European humanity that for unhealthy parents it is a work more pleasing to God to take pity on a healthy poor little orphan child, in order to give it a father and mother, than to bring into the world a sick child who brings only misfortune and suffering to itself and the rest of the world.

What is neglected on all sides in this field today, the völkisch state must make up for. It has to place the race at the center of general life. It has to ensure its preservation of purity. It has to declare the child as the most precious good of a people. It must ensure that only he who is healthy procreates children; that there is only one shame: to bring children into the world despite one's own illness and defects; yet a highest honor: to renounce doing so. Conversely, however, it must be considered reprehensible to withhold healthy children from the nation. The state must appear here as the guardian of a thousand-year future, in the face of which the wish and the selfishness of the individual appear as nothing and have to bow down. It must place the most modern medical resources at the service of this knowledge. It must declare as unfit for procreation anyone who is visibly ill and hereditarily burdened and thus a further burden to others, and practically enforce this. Conversely, it must ensure that the fertility of the healthy woman is not restricted by the financial mismanagement of a state regime that turns the blessing of children into a curse for the parents. It must do away with that lazy, even criminal indifference with which the social prerequisites of a large family are treated today, and must instead feel itself to be the supreme patron of this most precious blessing of a people. Its concern belongs more to the child than to the adult.

Whoever is not physically and mentally healthy and worthy may not perpetuate his suffering in the body of his child. The völkisch state has an immense educational task to perform here. But one day it will also appear as a greater deed than the most victorious wars of our present bourgeois era. It must, through education, teach the individual that it is no disgrace, but only a regrettable misfortune, to be ill and weak, but that it is a crime and therefore at the same time a disgrace to dishonor this misfortune through one's own egoism by burdening it upon innocent beings again; that, in contrast, it is of a nobility high-of the highest disposition and most admirable humanity, when the innocently sick person, renouncing a child of his own, gives his love and tenderness to an unknown poor, young scion of his people, who in his health promises to one day become a powerful member of a powerful community. And the state has to provide the purely spiritual complement to its practical activity in this educational work. It must act in this sense regardless of understanding or lack of understanding, approval or disapproval.

A mere six-hundred-year prevention of the ability and opportunity to procreate on the part of the physically degenerate and the mentally ill would not only free humanity from an immeasurable misfortune, but would contribute to a recovery that today seems hardly conceivable. If the conscious, systematic promotion of the fertility of the healthiest carriers of the nationality is realized in this way, the result will be a race that, at least initially, will have eliminated the seeds of our current physical and thus also mental decay.

For once a people and a state have embarked on this path, then attention will naturally be directed toward increasing precisely the racially most valuable core of the people and precisely its fertility, in order to finally allow the entire nationality to share in the blessing of a highly bred racial stock.

The way to this is, above all, that a state does not leave the settlement of newly acquired lands to chance, but subjects it to special norms. Specially formed racial commissions are to issue the settlement certificate to individuals; this, however, is bound to a specific racial purity to be determined. Thus, all—

gradually peripheral colonies be established, whose inhabitants are exclusively carriers of the highest racial purity and thus the highest racial fitness. They are thus a precious national treasure of the people as a whole; their growth must fill every single fellow countryman with pride and joyful confidence, for in them lies hidden the seed for a final great future development of one's own people, indeed of humanity.

> In the völkisch state, the völkisch worldview must finally succeed in bringing about that nobler era in which men no longer see their concern in the selective breeding of dogs, horses, and cats, but in the elevation of man himself, an era in which one knowingly and silently renounces, while the other joyfully sacrifices and gives.

That this is possible must not be denied in a world in which hundreds of thousands and yet hundreds of thousands of people voluntarily impose celibacy upon themselves, obligated and bound by nothing but a church commandment.

Should the same renunciation not be possible when in its place comes the admonition to finally put a stop to the continuously operating original sin of racial poisoning and to give the Almighty Creator beings such as He Himself created?

Of course, the miserable army of our contemporary philistines will never understand this. They will laugh about it or shrug their crooked shoulders and groan out their eternal excuse: "That would be all well and good in itself, but it simply cannot be done!" With you, it certainly can no longer be done; your world is not suited for it! You know only *one* concern: your personal life, and *one* God: your money! However, we do not turn to you, but turn to the great army of those who are too poor for their personal life to mean the highest happiness in the world, to those who do not see the regent of their existence in

...see gold, but believe in other gods. Above all, we turn to the mighty army of our German youth. They are growing into a great turning point in time, and what the indolence and indifference of their fathers caused, will force them into the struggle themselves. The German youth will one day either be the master builder of a new völkisch state, or they will be the last witnesses to the complete collapse, the end of the bourgeois world.

For if a generation suffers from mistakes that it recognizes, even admits, only to then content itself—as is happening today on the part of our bourgeois world—with the cheap explanation that nothing can be done about it, then such a society is doomed to ruin. The characteristic feature of our bourgeois world, however, is precisely that it is no longer able to deny the infirmities within itself. It must admit that much is rotten and bad, but it no longer finds the resolve to rise up against the evil, to gather the strength of a nation of sixty or seventy million with dogged energy and thus to stem the danger. On the contrary: if it happens elsewhere, then stupid glosses are still made about it, and one attempts, at least from a distance, to prove the theoretical impossibility of the procedure and to declare success as unthinkable. No reason is simple-minded enough not to serve as a support for one's own dwarf-like nature and its spiritual attitude. When, for example, an entire continent finally declares war on alcohol poisoning in order to release a people from the clutches of this devastating vice, our European bourgeois world has nothing for it but a vacant stare and a shaking of the head, a superior sense of the ridiculous—which looks particularly good on this most ridiculous of societies. But if everything is of no use and the sublime, untouchable routine is nevertheless countered somewhere in the world, and even with success, then, as said, at least this must be doubted and disparaged—

be set, whereby one does not even shy away from bringing bourgeois-moral viewpoints into the fray against a struggle that seeks to clear away the greatest immorality.

No, we should all harbor no illusions about this: Our current bourgeoisie has already become worthless for any sublime task of humanity, simply because it is without quality, too bad; and it is too bad, less out of—for all I care—intended wickedness, but rather as a result of incredible indolence and everything that springs from it. Therefore, those political clubs that drift around under the collective term "bourgeois parties" have long since become nothing more than interest groups of certain professional groups and social classes, and their most sublime task is now only the best possible egoistic representation of interests. That such a politicizing "bourgeois" guild is fit for anything rather than for struggle is obvious; especially, however, when the opposing side consists not of cautious "money-grubbers," but of proletarian masses who have been incited to the extreme and are determined to the last.

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If we recognize as the first task of the state, in the service and for the benefit of its people, the preservation, care, and development of the best racial elements, then it is natural that this care must not only extend to the birth of the respective little young fellow citizen and racial comrade, but that it must also educate the young offspring into a valuable member for later further reproduction.

And just as in general the prerequisite for intellectual performance lies in the racial quality of the given human material, so also in particular must education first and foremost keep in view and promote physical health; for taken in the mass, it will a healthy, powerful spirit can only be found in a healthy and powerful body. The fact that geniuses are sometimes physically poorly developed, or even sickly beings, says nothing to the contrary. These are exceptions which—as everywhere—only prove the rule. However, if a people in its mass consists of physical degenerates, a truly great spirit will only very rarely rise from this swamp. In any case, his work will likely no longer be granted great success. The degraded rabble will either not understand him at all, or will be so weakened in will that they are no longer able to follow the flight of such an eagle.

The völkisch state has, in this realization, to adjust its entire educational work primarily not to the pumping in of mere knowledge, but to the breeding of healthy bodies as a foundation for the development of mental abilities. Here again, at the top, the development of character, especially the promotion of will and decisiveness, combined with education in the joy of responsibility, and only last of all, scientific training.

The völkisch state must proceed from the premise that a man who is perhaps scientifically less educated, but physically healthy with a good, firm character, filled with decisiveness and willpower, is more valuable to the national community than a clever weakling. A people of scholars, if they are at the same time physically degenerate, weak-willed, and cowardly pacifists, will not be able to conquer heaven, nor even be able to secure their existence on this earth. In the heavy struggle of fate—

struggle is rarely lost by the one who knows the least, but always by the one who draws the weakest consequences from his knowledge and implements them most miserably into action. Finally, a certain harmony must also exist here. A decayed body is not made in the least more aesthetic by a radiant spirit; indeed, the highest mental cultivation could not be justified at all if its bearers were simultaneously physically degenerate and crippled, weak-willed in character, wavering, and cowardly subjects. What makes the Greek ideal of beauty immortal is the wonderful combination of the most magnificent physical beauty with a radiant spirit and the noblest soul.

If Moltke's saying: "In the long run, only the capable have luck" holds true, it certainly applies to the relationship between body and spirit: The spirit, too, if it is healthy, will as a rule and in the long run only dwell in a healthy body.

Physical training is therefore, in the völkisch state, not a matter for the individual, nor is it an affair that primarily concerns the parents and only interests the general public in the second or third instance; rather, it is a requirement for the self-preservation of the nationality represented and protected by the state. Just as the state, regarding purely scientific education, already intervenes today in the individual's right to self-determination and exercises the right of the community against him by subjecting the child to compulsory schooling without consulting the parents' will or lack thereof, so must the völkisch state one day assert its authority to a much higher degree against the ignorance or lack of understanding of the individual in matters of preserving the nationality. It must organize its educational work so that young bodies are treated appropriately as early as their earliest childhood and receive the necessary hardening for later life. Above all, it must ensure that a generation of stay-at-homes is not bred.

This care and educational work must already begin with the young mother. Just as it became possible, in the course of decades of careful work, to achieve infection-free cleanliness at birth and to limit childbed fever to a few cases, so it must and will be possible, through thorough training of nurses and the mothers themselves, to bring about a treatment already in the first years of the child that serves as an excellent foundation for later development.

The school as such in a võlkisch state must make infinitely more time available for physical strengthening. It is not acceptable to burden young brains with a ballast which, experience shows, they retain only to a fraction, whereby moreover, instead of the essentials, the unnecessary trivialities usually stick, since the young human child is not at all capable of carrying out a sensible sifting of the material drummed into him. If today, even in the curriculum of the middle schools, gymnastics is considered with barely two hours a week and participation in it is even left to the individual as non-obligatory, this is, compared to purely intellectual training, a blatant disproportion. Not a day should pass on which the young person is not physically trained for at least one hour in the morning and one hour in the evening, and indeed in every kind of sport and gymnastics. In this regard, one sport in particular must not be forgotten, which in the eyes of very many "Võlkisch" people is considered crude and unworthy: boxing. It is incredible what false opinions about it are spread in "educated" circles. That the young person learns to fence and then brawls about is considered self-evident and honorable, but that he boxes, that is supposed to be crude! Why? There is no sport which, like this one, promotes the spirit of attack to the same extent, demands lightning-fast decision-making power, and trains the body to steely flexibility. It is no cruder if two young people fight out a difference of opinion with their fists than with a sharpened piece of iron. It is also no less noble if a

...the attacked person defends himself against his attacker with his fist, instead of running away and screaming for a policeman. Above all, however, the young, healthy boy should also learn to endure blows. In the eyes of our contemporary intellectual warriors, this may naturally appear savage. But the völkisch state does not have the task of breeding a colony of peaceful aesthetes and physical degenerates. It does not see its ideal of humanity in the respectable petty bourgeois or the virtuous old maid, but in the defiant embodiment of masculine strength and in women who are capable of bringing men into the world again.

Thus, sport in general is not only there to make the individual strong, agile, and bold, but it should also harden them and teach them to endure hardships.

If our entire intellectual upper class had not once been raised so exclusively in refined lessons of etiquette, but had instead consistently learned boxing, then a German revolution of pimps, deserters, and similar rabble would never have been possible; for what granted this success was not the bold, courageous energy of the revolutionaries, but the cowardly, miserable indecisiveness of those who led the state and were responsible for it. However, our entire intellectual leadership had only been educated "intellectually" and thus had to be defenseless at the moment when, from the opposing side, instead of intellectual weapons, the crowbar went into action. But that was all only possible because, especially our higher education, fundamentally did not produce men, but rather civil servants, engineers, technicians, chemists, lawyers, literati and, so that this intellectuality does not die out, professors.

Our intellectual leadership has always achieved brilliant things, while our volitional leadership mostly remained below all criticism.

Certainly, one will not be able to make a courageous person out of a fundamentally cowardly disposed person through education, but just as certainly, a person who is not discouraged in himself will be hindered in the development of his qualities...

paralyzes him if, through deficiencies in his upbringing, he is from the outset inferior to others in his physical strength and agility. How much the conviction of physical prowess promotes one's own sense of courage, indeed awakens the spirit of attack, can best be measured by the army. Here, too, fundamentally, it was not just heroes who were present, but a broad average. However, the superior training of the German soldier in peacetime instilled in the entire giant organism that suggestive belief in its own superiority to an extent that even our opponents had not considered possible. For what was achieved in the immortal spirit of attack and courage of attack by the forward-sweeping German armies during the entire months of midsummer and autumn 1914 was the result of that tireless education, which in the long, long years of peace extracted the most incredible achievements from often weak bodies, and thus bred that self-confidence which was not lost even in the horror of the greatest battles.

Precisely our German people, who today lie collapsed and abandoned to the kicks of the rest of the world, need that suggestive power that lies in self-confidence. This self-confidence, however, must be instilled in the young fellow countryman from childhood on. His entire education and training must be designed to give him the conviction of being absolutely superior to others. He must regain the belief in the invincibility of his entire nation in his physical strength and agility. For what once led the German army to victory was the sum of the confidence that every individual had in himself and all together had in their leadership. What the

German people will rise up again is the conviction of the possibility of regaining freedom. This conviction, however, can only be the final product of the same sentiment shared by millions of individuals.

Here, too, one should not be under any illusion: the collapse of our people was monstrous, but the effort required to one day end this distress will be equally monstrous. Anyone who believes that our people will gain the strength from our current bourgeois educational work for peace and order to one day shatter the current world order, which means our downfall, and to strike the links of our slavery into the faces of our opponents, is bitterly mistaken. Only through an excess of national willpower, a thirst for freedom, and the highest passion will what we once lacked be compensated for again.

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The clothing of the youth should also be adapted to this purpose. It is a true pity to have to see how our youth is already subjected to a fashion madness that truly helps to reverse the meaning of the old saying: "Clothes make the man," into a ruinous one.

Especially with the youth, clothing must also be placed in the service of education. The boy who runs around in summer with long stovepipe trousers, wrapped up to the neck, already loses in his clothing a means of motivation for his physical training. For ambition and, let us say it calmly, vanity must also be drawn upon. Not vanity for beautiful clothes, which not everyone can buy, but vanity for a beautiful, well-formed body, which everyone can help to build.

This is also expedient for later. The girl should get to know her knight. If physical beauty were not completely pushed into the background today by our flabby fashion trends, the seduction of hundreds of thousands of girls by bow-legged, repulsive Jewish bastards would not be possible at all. This, too, is in the interest of the nation: that the most beautiful bodies find each other and thus help to give the folkdom new beauty.

Today, all this would certainly be most necessary because military education is lacking, and thus the only institution has been eliminated which, in peace, at least partially caught up on what had been neglected by our other education. And there, too, the success was not only to be sought in the training of the individual as such, but in the influence it exerted on the relationship between the two sexes. The young girl preferred the soldier to the non-soldier.

The völkisch state must carry out and monitor physical training not only during the official school years; it must also ensure in the post-school period that, as long as a boy is undergoing physical development, this development turns out to his benefit. It is nonsense to believe that with the end of school time, the state's right to supervise its young citizens suddenly ceases, only to return with military service. This right is a duty and, as such, is always equally present. The current state, which has no interest in healthy people, has only neglected this duty in a criminal manner. It allows today's youth to go to ruin on the streets and in brothels instead of taking them by the reins and continuing their physical education until one day a healthy man and a healthy woman have grown out of them.

In what form the state continues this education may be indifferent today; the essential thing is that it does so and seeks the paths that serve this purpose. The völkisch state will, just like spiritual education, also...

must regard physical training in the post-school period as a state task and must carry it out through state institutions. In this regard, this education can already be, in broad strokes, the preliminary training for later military service. The army should then no longer have to teach the young man the basic concepts of the simplest drill regulations as before; nor will it receive recruits in today's sense; rather, it should merely transform the young person, who is already physically flawlessly pre-trained, into a soldier.

In the völkisch state, therefore, the army should no longer teach the individual how to walk and stand, but it must be regarded as the final and highest school of patriotic education. The young recruit should receive the necessary weapons training in the army, but at the same time, he should also be further shaped for his other later life. At the head of military education, however, must stand what already had to be credited to the old army as its highest merit: In this school, the boy shall be transformed into a man; and in this school, he shall not only learn to obey, but through this, also acquire the prerequisite for later commanding. He shall learn to be silent, not only when he is *rightly* rebuked, but shall also learn, if necessary, to endure *injustice* in silence.

He shall further, strengthened by faith in his own strength, seized by the power of the commonly felt corps spirit, gain the conviction of the invincibility of his peoplehood.

After completion of military service, two documents are to be issued to him: his *citizenship diploma* as a legal document, which henceforth permits him public activity, and his *health certificate* as confirmation of physical health for marriage.

Analogous to the education of the boy, the völkisch state can also guide the education of the girl from the same points of view. There, too, the main emphasis is to be placed above all on physical training, only then on the promotion of the spiritual and finally the intellectual—

values. The goal of female education must unswervingly be the future mother.

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Only in the second instance has the völkisch state to promote the formation of character in every way. Certainly, the essential character traits are fundamentally pre-formed in the individual: the egoistically inclined person is and remains so once and for all, just as the idealist will always be an idealist at the core of his being. However, between the completely distinct characters there stand millions of blurred and unclear-appearing ones. The born criminal will be and remain a criminal; but numerous people, in whom merely a certain inclination toward the criminal exists, can still become valuable members of the national community through correct education; while conversely, through bad education, truly bad elements can grow out of wavering characters.

How often during the war was the complaint made that our people were so little able to keep silent! How difficult it was because of this to keep even important secrets from the knowledge of the enemy! But one should ask the question: What did German education do before the war to train the individual in discretion? Was not, unfortunately, even in school the little informer sometimes preferred over his more discreet companions? Was and is not informing regarded as praiseworthy "openness" and discretion as shameful stubbornness? Has any effort been made at all to present discretion as a manly, valuable virtue? No, for in the eyes of our current school education, these are trifles. But these trifles cost the state untold millions in legal costs, for 90 percent of all defamation and similar lawsuits arose only from a lack of discretion. Irresponsibly made statements are just as recklessly passed—

gossiped about, our national economy is constantly damaged by the reckless disclosure of important manufacturing methods, etc.; indeed, even all quiet preparations for national defense are rendered illusory because the people simply have not learned to remain silent, but instead pass everything on. In war, however, this addiction to chatter can lead to the loss of battles and thus contribute significantly to the unfortunate outcome of the struggle. One should also be convinced here that what was not practiced in youth will not be mastered in old age. It also belongs here that the teacher, for example, should fundamentally not seek to gain knowledge of stupid boyish pranks by breeding foul snitching. Youth has its state for itself; it stands over against the adult in a certain closed solidarity, and this is a matter of course. The bond of the ten-year-old to his companion of the same age is a more natural and greater one than that to the adult. A boy who informs on his comrades commits betrayal and thereby manifests a mindset which, expressed harshly and translated to a large scale, corresponds exactly to that of a traitor to the country. Such a boy can by no means be regarded as a "good, decent" child, but rather as a boy of little valuable character traits. For the teacher, it may be convenient to make use of such vices to increase his authority, but in the youthful heart, the seed of a mindset is thereby planted that can later have disastrous effects. More than once, a small snitch has become a great scoundrel!

This shall be only one example among many. Today, the conscious development of good, noble character traits in school is practically zero. In the future, a completely different weight must be placed upon this. Loyalty, willingness to sacrifice, discretion are virtues that a great people needs, and whose cultivation and training in school is more important than much of what currently fills our curricula. Also, the training away from whining complaints, from self-pitying cry-etc. belongs in this field. If an education forgets to work towards the fact, even in childhood, that suffering and injustice must sometimes be endured in silence, it must not be surprised if later, in a critical hour—e.g., when the man stands at the front—the entire postal service serves solely for the transport of mutual letters of misery and whimpering. If our youth in the elementary schools had been drilled with a little less knowledge and instead more self-control, it would have paid off richly in the years 1915/18.

Thus, the völkisch state, in its educational work, must place the highest value precisely on character training alongside physical training. Numerous moral defects that our current national body carries within itself can be greatly mitigated, if not entirely eliminated, by an education oriented in this way.

Of the highest importance is the training of willpower and determination as well as the cultivation of the joy of responsibility.

If the principle once applied in the army that an order is always better than none, then for the youth this must first mean: An answer is always better than none. The fear of saying something wrong out of anxiety, of giving no answer, must be more shameful than an incorrectly given answer. From this most primitive basis, the youth is to be educated in such a way that they receive the courage for action.

Complaints have often been made that in the times of November and December 1918, absolutely every office failed, that from the monarchs down to the last divisional commander, no one was able to muster the strength for an independent decision anymore. This terrible fact is a "Mene Tekel" of our education, for in this cruel catastrophe, there was expressed only on a gigantically distorted scale what in small ways...

was generally present. It is this lack of will, and not the lack of weapons, that makes us incapable of any serious resistance today. It resides within our entire people, preventing every decision associated with a risk, as if the greatness of a deed did not consist precisely in the venture. Without realizing it, a German general managed to find the classic formula for this miserable lack of will: "I only act when I can count on a fifty-one percent probability of success." In these "fifty-one percent" lies the tragedy of the German collapse: whoever first demands a guarantee of success from fate thereby automatically renounces the significance of a heroic deed. For this lies in the fact that, in the conviction of the deadly danger of a situation, one undertakes the step that might perhaps lead to success. A cancer patient, whose death is otherwise certain, does not first need to calculate fifty-one percent to venture an operation. And even if it promises a cure with only a half percent probability, a courageous man will venture it; otherwise, he should not whimper about his life.

The plague of today's cowardly lack of will and indecision is, however, taken all in all, primarily the result of our fundamentally flawed youth education, whose devastating effect propagates into later life and finds its final departure and its ultimate crowning in the lack of civil courage among leading statesmen.

In the same vein falls the cowardice toward responsibility that is rampant today. Here, too, the error lies already in youth education, then permeates the entire public life and finds its immortal perfection in the institution of parliamentary government.

Even in school, unfortunately, more value is placed on the "repentant" confession and the "contrite abjuration" of the little sinner than on a frank admission. The latter even appears to some of today's educators as as the most visible sign of incorrigible depravity, and so many a boy is incredibly prophesied the gallows because of qualities that would be of inestimable value if they formed the common property of an entire people.

Just as the völkisch state must one day devote the highest attention to the education of the will and the power of decision, so it must instill a joy in responsibility and the courage of conviction into the hearts of the youth from an early age. Only if it recognizes this necessity in its full significance will it finally, after centuries of educational work, obtain as a result a national body that will no longer be subject to those weaknesses which have contributed so fatally to our downfall today.

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Scientific schooling, which today is actually the "be-all and end-all" of all state educational work, can be taken over by the völkisch state with only minor changes. These changes lie in three areas.

First, the youthful brain should generally not be burdened with things that it does not need in ninety-five percent of cases and therefore forgets again. Especially the curriculum of primary and secondary schools represents a hybrid thing today; in many cases of individual subjects, the material to be learned has swollen so much that only a fraction of it remains in the head of the individual and only a fraction of this abundance can find use, while on the other hand, it is still not sufficient for the needs of someone working in a specific field and earning his bread. Take, for example, the normal civil servant who has graduated from a Gymnasium or a fourth secondary school student in his thirty-fifth or fortieth year of life and examine his school knowledge, once laboriously crammed. How little of all that stuff drummed into him at the time is still present! One will, of course, receive the answer: "Yes, the amount of material learned at that time did not just have the purpose of later possession of multifaceted knowledge, but also that of training the mental receptivity, the power of thought, and especially the memory of the brain." This is partially correct. Nevertheless, there is a danger that the youthful brain is flooded with a torrent of impressions which it is able to master in only the rarest of cases, and whose individual elements it understands neither how to sift nor how to evaluate according to their greater or lesser importance; whereby, moreover, usually not the non-essential, but the essential is forgotten and sacrificed. Thus, the main purpose of this extensive learning is lost again; for it cannot consist in making the brain itself capable of learning through an immeasurable accumulation of educational material, but rather in providing later life with that treasure of knowledge which the individual needs and which then, through him, benefits the general public again. This, however, becomes illusory if, as a result of the overabundance of material forced upon him in his youth, the person later either no longer possesses it at all or has long since lost precisely the essential parts of it. It is, for example, not clear why millions of people must learn two or three foreign languages in the course of the years, which they can then only utilize to a fraction and therefore, in the majority of cases, forget completely again; for out of a hundred thousand students who, for example, learn French, hardly two thousand will later have a serious use for this knowledge, while ninety-eight thousand in their entire further course of life will no longer be in a position to use what was once learned in a practical way. They have therefore given up thousands of hours in their youth to a matter that for it is later without value or meaning. Also, the objection that this material belongs to general education is incorrect, as one could only advocate for this if people had the learned material at their disposal throughout their entire lives. Thus, for the sake of two thousand people for whom knowledge of this language is useful, ninety-eight thousand must be tormented in vain and sacrifice valuable time.

Furthermore, in this case, it is a language of which one cannot even say that it signifies a training of sharp logical thinking, as is the case with Latin. Therefore, it would be significantly more expedient if the young student were taught such a language only in its general outlines or, better said, in its internal structure; thus giving him knowledge of the prominent essence of this language, perhaps introducing him to the fundamentals of its grammar and pronunciation, sentence structure, etc., discussed using model examples. This would suffice for general needs and, because it is easier to oversee and remember, would be more valuable than today's cramming of the entire language, which is not really mastered and is later forgotten again. This would also avoid the danger that, from the overwhelming abundance of material, only individual accidental, disconnected scraps remain in the memory, since the young person would only be given the most noteworthy things to learn; thus, the sifting according to value or worthlessness would have already been anticipated.

The general foundation provided by this should be sufficient for most people anyway, also for their later lives, while it gives that other person, who really needs this language later, the possibility to build upon it and, by free choice, to devote themselves most thoroughly to its learning.

In this way, the necessary time is gained in the curriculum for physical strengthening as well as for the increased demands in the previously mentioned fields.

In particular, a change in the previous instruction—

instructional methods in history teaching must be undertaken. There is likely hardly any people that learns more history than the German; yet there is likely hardly any people that applies it worse than ours. If politics is history in the making, then our historical education is judged by the nature of our political activity. Here, too, it will not do to grumble about the miserable results of our political achievements if one is not determined to ensure a better education for politics. The result of our current history instruction is, in ninety-nine out of a hundred cases, a pitiful one. A few dates, birth years, and names usually remain, while a great, clear line is entirely lacking. Everything essential, which is what actually matters, is not taught at all; instead, it is left to the more or less brilliant disposition of the individual to find the inner motives from the flood of data and the sequence of events.

One can resist this bitter observation as much as one wants; one need only read through attentively the speeches held by our gentlemen parliamentarians on political problems, such as foreign policy issues, during a single session period; one should consider that these people are —at least by claim—the selection of the German nation, and that in any case a large part of these people sat on the benches of our secondary schools, some even attended universities, and one will be able to see quite clearly from this how entirely insufficient the historical education of these people is. If they had not studied history at all, but only possessed sound instinct, it would be significantly better and of greater benefit to the nation.

Precisely in history instruction, a reduction of the material must be undertaken. The main value lies in recognizing the great lines of development. The more instruction is limited to this, the more it is to be hoped that an advantage will later accrue to the individual from his knowledge, which, summed up, also benefits the general public.

comes. For one does not learn history just to know what has been, but one learns history so that it may remain a teacher for the future and for the continued existence of one's own nationality. That is the purpose, and historical instruction is only a means to it. Today, however, here too the means has become the purpose; the purpose is completely excluded. Let it not be said that a thorough study of history requires preoccupation with all these individual dates, since only from them can a determination of the broad line take place. This determination is the task of specialized science. The normal average person, however, is no history professor. For him, history is primarily there to provide him with that measure of historical insight necessary for taking his own stand in the political affairs of his people. Whoever wants to become a history professor may later devote himself to this study in the most thorough manner. He will, of course, also have to deal with all and even the smallest details. However, our current history instruction cannot suffice for that; for it is too extensive for the normal average person, yet far too limited for the specialized scholar.

It is, moreover, the task of a völkisch state to ensure that finally a world history is written in which the racial question is raised to the dominant position.

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In summary: The völkisch state will have to bring general scientific instruction into a shortened form that encompasses the essentials. Beyond this, the possibility of the most thorough specialized scientific training shall be offered. It is sufficient if the individual person receives a general knowledge, kept in broad outlines, as a basis, and only in the field which will become that of his later life, enjoys the most thorough professional and individual training. General education should be compulsory in all subjects, while the specific choice should be left to the individual.

The resulting shortening of the curriculum and the number of hours benefits the training of the body, character, willpower, and decisiveness.

How irrelevant our current school instruction is, especially in the secondary schools, for the profession of later life, is best proven by the fact that today people from three completely different types of schools can enter the same position. What is truly decisive is only the general education and not the drummed-in specialized knowledge. But where—as already mentioned—specialized knowledge is truly necessary, it naturally cannot be acquired within the curricula of our current secondary schools.

The folkish state must therefore one day do away with such half-measures.

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The second change in the scientific curriculum for the folkish state must be the following:

It is in the nature of our current materialized age that our scientific education turns more and more toward purely practical subjects, namely mathematics, physics, chemistry, etc. As necessary as this is for a time in which technology and chemistry rule and represent at least their most externally visible characteristics in daily life, it is just as dangerous when the general education of a nation is always exclusively geared toward this.

On the contrary, this must always be an ideal one. It should correspond more to the humanistic subjects and only offer the foundations for later specialized scientific further education. Otherwise, one renounces forces that are still more important for the preservation of the nation than all technical and other skills. In particular one should not allow oneself to be dissuaded from the study of antiquity in history lessons. Roman history, correctly conceived in its very broad outlines, is and remains the best teacher, not only for today but probably for all times. The Hellenic cultural ideal, too, should be preserved for us in its exemplary beauty. One must not allow the larger racial community to be torn asunder by the differences of individual peoples. The struggle that rages today is over very great goals: a culture is fighting for its existence, one which combines millennia within itself and encompasses both Greek and Germanic heritage together.

There should be a sharp distinction between general education and specialized professional knowledge. Since the latter, especially today, threatens more and more to sink into the service of pure Mammon, general education must be maintained as a counterweight, at least in its more ideal orientation. Here, too, one must steadfastly instill the principle that industry and technology, trade and commerce are only ever able to flourish as long as an idealistically inclined national community provides the necessary prerequisites. These, however, lie not in material egoism, but in a spirit of self-sacrificing readiness for sacrifice.

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Today's education of the youth has, by and large, set as its primary goal the pumping into the young person of that knowledge which he needs for his own advancement on his later path in life. This is expressed as follows: "The boy must one day become a useful member of human society." By this, however, is meant his ability to one day earn his daily bread in a proper manner. The superficial civic education that still runs alongside it stands from the outset on weak feet. Since the state in itself is only a represents a form, it is also very difficult to educate people toward it or even to obligate them to it. A form can break too easily. However, as we have seen, the concept of the "State" today does not possess a clear content. Thus, nothing remains but the commonplace "patriotic" education. In the old Germany, its main emphasis lay in an often unwise, but mostly very bland, idolization of small and tiny potentates, whose sheer number forced a renunciation of a comprehensive appreciation of the truly great figures of our people from the very start. The result among our broad masses was therefore a very insufficient knowledge of German history. Here, too, the grand line is missing.

It is obvious that one could not arrive at a true national enthusiasm in such a manner. Our education lacked the art of singling out a few names from the historical development of our people and making them the common property of the entire German people, so as to wrap a uniformly binding bond around the whole nation through shared knowledge and shared enthusiasm. People did not understand how to make the truly significant men of our people appear in the eyes of the present as towering heroes, to concentrate general attention on them, and thereby create a unified mood. They were unable to raise that which is glorious for the nation from the various subjects of instruction above the level of a factual presentation and to ignite national pride through such shining examples. To the people of that time, this would have appeared as foul chauvinism, which was little liked in that form. The honest dynastic patriotism seemed more pleasant and easier to endure than the roaring passion of the highest national pride. The former was always ready to serve; the latter could one day become the master. Monarchist patriotism ended in veterans' associations; national passion would have been difficult to determine in its path. It is like a noble horse, that does not carry everyone in the saddle. What wonder, if one preferred to hold back from such a danger! That one day a war could come which, in drumfire and gas clouds, would undertake a thorough test of the inner durability of patriotic sentiment, seemed to be held possible by no one. But when it was then there, the lack of the highest national passion took its revenge in the most terrible way. People had little desire left to die for their imperial and royal masters, but the "Nation" was unknown to most.

Since the revolution has made its entry into Germany and monarchist patriotism has thus expired of its own accord, the purpose of history instruction is truly only that of mere knowledge acquisition. This state cannot use national enthusiasm; what it would like to have, however, it will never receive. For just as there could be no dynastic patriotism of ultimate resilience in an age where the principle of nationality reigns, there can be even less republican enthusiasm. For there should be no doubt that under the motto "For the Republic," the German people would not remain on the battlefield for four and a half years; least of all would those remain who created this miraculous structure.

In fact, this republic owes its unscathed existence only to the universally assured readiness for the voluntary assumption of every tribute payment and the signing of every national renunciation. She is sympathetic to the other world; just as every weakling is perceived as more pleasant by those who need him than a gnarled man. Certainly in this sympathy of the enemies for precisely this specific form of state lies also the most crushing criticism of the same.

One loves the German Republic and lets it live because one [finds] a better ally for the enslavement—

work on our people could not be found at all. Only to this fact alone does this magnificent structure owe its current existence. Therefore, it can waive any truly national education and content itself with the "hurrah" shouting of Reichsbanner heroes, who, by the way, if they had to shield this banner with their blood, would run away like hares.

The folkish state will have to fight for its existence. It will neither receive it through Dawes signatures, nor be able to defend its existence through them. For its existence and its protection, it will need precisely that which people now believe they can do without. The more incomparable and valuable its form and content become, the greater will be the envy and resistance of its opponents. The best protection will then lie not in its weapons, but in its citizens; not fortress ramparts will shield it, but the living wall of men and women, filled with the highest love for the fatherland and fanatical national enthusiasm.

Thirdly, therefore, the following must be considered in scientific education:

In science, too, the folkish state must see a means for the promotion of national pride. Not only world history, but the entire history of culture must be taught from this point of view. An inventor must not only appear great as an inventor, but must appear even greater as a fellow countryman. The admiration of every great deed must be recast into pride in the fortunate achiever of the same as a member of one's own people. From the vast number of all the great names in German history, however, the greatest must be selected and presented to the youth in such an impressive manner that they...

become pillars of an unshakable *national feeling.*

The curriculum is to be structured systematically according to these viewpoints, and education is to be designed systematically so that the young person, upon leaving his school, is not a half-pacifist, democrat, or whatever else, but a whole German.

So that this national feeling may be genuine from the beginning and not merely consist of hollow appearance, an iron principle must be hammered into the still-malleable heads during youth: *Whoever loves his people proves it solely through the sacrifices he is prepared to make for them.* A national feeling that is only aimed at profit does not exist. A nationalism that only encompasses classes exists just as little. Hurrah-shouting proves nothing and gives no right to call oneself national if behind it does not stand the great loving concern for the preservation of a general, healthy folkdom. A reason for pride in one's people is only present when one no longer needs to be ashamed of any social class. But a people, of which one half is miserable and careworn or even depraved, presents such a bad picture that no one should feel pride in it. Only when a folkdom is healthy in all its members, in body and soul, can the joy of belonging to it rightly rise in everyone to that high feeling which we designate as national pride. But this highest pride will also only be felt by the one who knows the greatness of his folkdom.

The intimate marriage of *nationalism and a sense of social justice* is to be planted into the young heart already. Then one day a people of citizens will arise, bound together and forged to one another by a common love and a common pride, unshakable and invincible forever.

The fear of our time of chauvinism is the sign of its impotence. Since it lacks not only every overflowing strength but even finds it unpleasant, it is no longer chosen by fate for a great deed. For the greatest upheavals on this earth would not have been conceivable if their driving force, instead of fanatical, even hysterical passions, had been merely the bourgeois virtues of peace and order.

But surely this world is moving toward a great upheaval. And it can only be the one question, whether it turns out for the salvation of Aryan humanity or for the benefit of the eternal Jew.

The völkisch state will have to ensure, through a suitable education of the youth, that it one day obtains a generation ripe for the final and greatest decisions on this globe.

The people, however, that first treads this path, will triumph.

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The entire educational and instructional work of the völkisch state must find its crowning achievement in burning the sense of race and the feeling of race instinctively and rationally into the hearts and brains of the youth entrusted to it. It no boy and no girl should leave school without having been led to the final realization of the necessity and the essence of blood purity. to be. This creates the prerequisite for the preservation of the racial foundations of our nationhood and, through them in turn, the securing of the preconditions for later cultural further development.

For all physical and all mental training would ultimately remain worthless if it did not benefit a being that is fundamentally ready and determined to preserve itself and its own character.

Otherwise, that would occur which we Germans must already lament on a large scale, without perhaps the full extent of this tragic misfortune having been understood so far: that in the future we will also remain only cultural fertilizer, not only in the sense of the limited conception of our current bourgeois view, which sees in the individual lost national comrade only the lost citizen, but in the sense of the most painful realization that then, despite all our knowledge and ability, our blood is nevertheless destined for decline. By repeatedly mating with other races, we may raise them from their previous cultural level to a higher stage, but we sink down from our own height forever.

Moreover, this education from the viewpoint of race must receive its final completion in military service. Just as, in general, the period of military service should be regarded as the conclusion of the normal education of the average German.

As great as the significance of the nature of physical and mental education will be in the folkish state, the selection of people in itself will be just as important for it to be. Today, this is made easy. In general, it is the children of higher-standing, currently well-situated parents who are again deemed worthy of a higher education. Questions of talent play a subordinate role in this. In itself, talent can always only be evaluated relatively. A peasant boy can possess far more talent than the child of parents from a social position that has been elevated for many generations, even if he is inferior to the middle-class child in general knowledge. However, the latter's greater knowledge has nothing to do with greater or lesser talent in itself, but is rooted in the significantly greater abundance of impressions that the child continuously receives as a result of his more versatile upbringing and rich living environment. If the talented peasant boy had also grown up in such an environment from an early age, his mental performance would be quite different. Today there is perhaps only one single field in which origin really matters less than one's own innate talent: the field of art. Here, where one cannot simply "learn," but where everything must already be originally innate and is only later subject to a more or less favorable development, the money and property of the parents hardly come into consideration. Therefore, it is best proven here that genius is not bound to higher social strata or even to wealth. The greatest artists not infrequently come from the poorest homes. And many a little village boy later became a versatile master.

It does not exactly speak for great depth of thought of the time that such insight is not utilized for the whole of intellectual life. It is thought that what cannot be denied in the case of art does not apply to the so-called real sciences. Without doubt, certain train mechanical skills into a human being, just as a clever training can teach a docile poodle the most incredible tricks. However, just as in this animal training, it is not the animal's own understanding that leads to such exercises, so it is with humans. Regardless of any other talent, one can also teach a human certain scientific tricks, but the process is then exactly as lifeless and inwardly soulless as with the animal. On the basis of a certain mental drill, one can even drum above-average knowledge into an average person; yet that remains merely dead and, in the final analysis, sterile knowledge. It then results in that type of person who may indeed be a living encyclopedia, but who nevertheless fails miserably in all special situations and decisive moments of life; he will always have to be trained anew for every requirement, even the most modest, but will not be capable of providing the slightest contribution to the further development of mankind from within himself. Such mechanically drilled knowledge is at most sufficient for taking over state offices in our present time.

It goes without saying that in the total population of a nation, talents will be found for all possible areas of daily life. It is further self-evident that the value of knowledge will be all the greater, the more the dead knowledge is animated by the corresponding talent of the individual. Creative achievements themselves can only arise at all when ability and knowledge form a marriage.

How boundlessly today's humanity sins in this direction may be shown by another example. From time to time, illustrated magazines point out to the German petty bourgeois that here and there, for the first time, a Negro has become a lawyer, teacher, even a pastor, or a heroic tenor or the like. While the idiotic bourgeoisie takes note of such miraculous training with amazement, full of respect for this fabulous result of modern educational art, the Jew very shrewdly understands how to derive from this a to construct a new proof for the correctness of his theory, to be drilled into the peoples, of the equality of men. It does not dawn on this depraved bourgeois world that this is truly a sin against all reason; that it is a criminal madness to train a born semi-ape for so long until one believes to have made a lawyer out of him, while millions of members of the highest cultural race must remain in completely unworthy positions; that it is a sin against the will of the eternal Creator if one allows hundreds of thousands and hundreds of thousands of His most gifted beings to perish in today's proletarian swamp, while Hottentots and Zulu Kaffirs are trained up for intellectual professions. For it is a matter of training, exactly like that of a poodle, and not a scientific "education." The same effort and care applied to intelligent races would enable every single one a thousand times sooner to achieve the same results.

However unbearable this condition would be if it were ever a matter of more than exceptions, it is already unbearable today where talent and disposition do not decide on higher education. Yes, indeed, unbearable is the thought that every year hundreds of thousands of completely untalented people are deemed worthy of a higher education, while other hundreds of thousands of great talent remain without any higher education. The loss that the nation suffers thereby is inestimable. If in recent decades the wealth of significant inventions increased extraordinarily, especially in North America, it was not least because significantly more talents from the lowest strata find the possibility of a higher education there than is the case in Europe.

For inventing, drilled knowledge is simply not enough, but only that which is animated by talent. But today, no value is placed on that here; the good grade alone is supposed to be what matters.

Here too, the folkish state will one day have to intervene educationally. It does not have the task of preserving the decisive influence of an existing social class, but rather the task of extracting the most capable minds from the sum total of all fellow citizens and bringing them to office and dignity. It has not only the obligation to give the average child in the elementary school a certain education, but also the duty to put talent on the path where it belongs. Above all, it must consider it its highest task to open the gates of the state's higher educational institutions to every talent, regardless of which circles they may come from. It must fulfill this task, as only in this way can brilliant leadership of the nation grow out of the layer of representatives of a dead knowledge.

For another reason as well, the state must make provisions in this direction: Our intellectual classes, especially in Germany, are so self-contained and calcified that they lack a living connection to those below. This takes its revenge in two ways: First, they lack the understanding and feeling for the broad masses. They have been torn out of this context for too long to still possess the necessary psychological understanding for the people. They have become alienated from the people. Secondly, however, these upper classes also lack the necessary willpower. For this is always weaker in compartmentalized intellectual circles than in the mass of the primitive people. As for scientific education, by God, we Germans have never truly lacked it, but all the more so in willpower and decisiveness. The more "spirited," for example, our statesmen were, the weaker their actual performance usually was. The political preparation as well as the technical armament for the World War was not insufficient because, for instance, too few educated minds ruled our people, but rather because the rulers were over-educated people, stuffed with knowledge and spirit, but devoid of any healthy instinct and lacking all energy and boldness. It was a fatality that our people had to fight their struggle for existence under the chancellorship of a philosophizing weakling. Had we possessed a more robust man of the people as a leader instead of a Bethmann Hollweg, the heroic blood of the common grenadier would not have flowed in vain. Likewise, the exaggeratedly purely intellectual over-breeding of our leadership material was the best ally for the revolutionary November scoundrels. By withholding the national assets entrusted to it in the most shameful manner, instead of committing them fully and entirely, this intellectuality itself created the prerequisite for the success of the others.

Here the Catholic Church can serve as a model example. In the celibacy of its priests lies the necessity of having to draw the next generation for the clergy from the masses of the broad population time and again, instead of from its own ranks. Yet this very significance of celibacy is not recognized by most at all. It is the cause of the incredibly vigorous strength that dwells in this ancient institution. For because this giant army of spiritual dignitaries is continuously replenished from the lowest strata of the peoples, the Church not only maintains its instinctive connection with the emotional world of the people but also secures for itself a sum of energy and willpower that, in such a form, will eternally exist only in the broad masses of the people. From this stems the astonishing youthfulness of this giant organism, its spiritual flexibility, and its steely willpower.

It will be the task of a võlkisch state to ensure in its educational system that a permanent renewal of the existing intellectual classes takes place through a fresh supply of blood from below.

The state has the obligation to select with the utmost care and precision from the total number of fellow citizens those who are visibly gifted by nature.

to sift out human material and to use it in the service of the general public. For the state and statesmen are not there to enable individual classes to find a livelihood, but to satisfy the tasks incumbent upon them. This, however, will only be possible if, in principle, only capable and strong-willed personalities are trained to be its carriers. This applies not only to all civil service positions, but to the intellectual leadership of the nation in all fields in general. Therein also lies a factor for the greatness of a people, that it succeeds in training the most capable minds for the fields suited to them and placing them in the service of the national community. When two peoples compete with one another who are in themselves equally well-disposed, then that one will achieve victory which has represented its best talents in its entire intellectual leadership, and that one will succumb whose leadership represents only a large common feeding trough for certain estates or classes, without regard for the innate abilities of the individual carriers.

Admittedly, this seems impossible at first in our world today. One will immediately object that one cannot expect the son, for example of a high-ranking civil servant, to become, let us say, a craftsman, because someone else, whose parents were craftsmen, appears more capable. This may be true given today's estimation of manual labor. Therefore, the völkisch state will also have to arrive at a fundamentally different attitude toward the concept of labor. It will, if necessary even through centuries of education, have to break with the nonsense of despising physical activity. It will fundamentally have to evaluate the individual person not according to the type of his work, but according to the form and quality of the achievement. This may seem quite monstrous to a time appear, in which the most mindless hack writer is considered more valuable than the most intelligent precision mechanic simply because he works with a pen. This false assessment, however, as stated, does not lie in the nature of things, but is artificially instilled and was not present in the past. The current unnatural state is based precisely on the general symptoms of illness of our materialized age.

Fundamentally, the value of any work is twofold: a purely material one and an ideal one. The material value lies in the significance, specifically the material significance of a task for the life of the community. The more fellow citizens benefit from a certain accomplished performance, both directly and indirectly, the higher its material value is to be estimated. This estimation, for its part, finds its concrete expression in the material wage which the individual receives for his work. Opposed to this purely material value stands the ideal one. It is based not on the significance of the work performed measured materially, but on its necessity in itself. Just as surely as the material benefit of an invention can be greater than that of an everyday manual labor service, it is just as certain that the community is exactly as dependent on this smallest service as on that greatest one. It may make a material distinction in the evaluation of the benefit of individual work for the community and can give expression to this through the respective remuneration; however, it must ideally establish the equality of all at the moment when every individual strives to do his best in his field—whatever it may be. Upon this, however, the esteem of a person must rest, and not upon the remuneration.

Since in a rational state care should be taken to assign to the individual the activity that corresponds to his ability, or, expressed differently, to train the capable minds for the work suited to them, but since ability fundamentally cannot be instilled but must be innate, and is therefore a gift of nature and not is a merit of man, then general civic estimation cannot be based on the work assigned to the individual, so to speak. For this work falls to the account of his birth as well as the resulting education he received through the community. The estimation of a man must be founded on the manner in which he fulfills the task entrusted to him by the community. For the activity which the individual performs is not the purpose of his existence, but only the means to it. Rather, he should continue to educate and refine himself as a human being, but he can only do this within the framework of his cultural community, which must always rest on the foundation of a state. To maintain this foundation, he must make his contribution. Nature determines the form of this contribution; it is up to him alone to return to the national community, with diligence and integrity, what it has given to him. Whoever does this deserves the highest estimation and the highest respect. Material reward may be granted to him whose performance bears corresponding benefit for the whole; the ideal reward, however, must lie in the estimation that everyone can claim who dedicates the powers which nature gave him and which the national community brought to development to the service of his people. Then, however, it is no longer a shame to be an honest craftsman, but indeed one to steal the day from the dear Lord and daily bread from the good people as an incapable official. Then it will also be taken for granted that a person is not assigned tasks for which he is not suited from the outset.

Moreover, such activity also provides the only yardstick for the right in general equal legal civic activity.

The present era is dismantling itself; it introduces universal suffrage, prattles about equal rights, finbut finds no justification for them. It sees in material wages the expression of a person's value and thereby shatters the foundation for the noblest equality that can possibly exist. For equality does not and can never rest on the achievements of individuals in themselves, but it is possible in the form in which each fulfills his specific obligations. Only through this is the accident of nature eliminated in the assessment of a person's value, and the individual himself is made the smith of his own significance.

In the present day, when entire groups of people only know how to value each other according to salary groups, there is—as already mentioned—no understanding for this. However, for us, this must be no reason to renounce the representation of our thoughts. On the contrary:

Whoever wishes to heal this time, which is inwardly sick and rotten, must first find the courage to clarify the causes of this suffering. But that shall be the concern of the National Socialist movement: to look beyond all philistinism and, from our national character, to gather and organize those forces capable of being the pioneers of a new worldview.

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Admittedly, the objection will be raised that, in general, the ideal estimation can hardly be separated from the material one; indeed, that the declining appreciation of physical labor is caused precisely by its lower remuneration. This lower remuneration is itself again the cause for a restriction of the individual's participation in the cultural assets of his nation. Through this, however, the ideal culture of the person is impaired, which need have nothing to do with his activity in itself. The shyness toward physical labor is all the more justified by the fact that, as a result of the poorer remuneration, the cultural level of the manual laborer would inevitably be suppressed, and thereby the justification for a general lower estimation would be given.

There is a great deal of truth in this. Precisely for this reason, however, one will have to guard against too great a differentiation of wage conditions in the future. Let it not be said that performance would thereby fail to materialize. That would be the saddest sign of the decay of an era, if the drive for a higher intellectual achievement lay only in higher wages. If this viewpoint had been the only decisive one in this world until now, humanity would never have received its greatest scientific and cultural assets. For the greatest inventions, the greatest discoveries, the most revolutionary scientific works, the most magnificent monuments of human culture were not given to the world out of the urge for money. On the contrary, their birth not infrequently meant the very renunciation of the earthly happiness of wealth.

It may be that today money has become the exclusive regent of life, but one day man will again bow before higher gods. Much today may owe its existence only to the longing for money and property, but there is probably only little among it whose absence would leave humanity poorer.

This, too, is a task of our movement: that even today it heralds a time that will give to the individual what he needs for life, but at the same time upholds the principle that man does not live exclusively for the sake of material enjoyments. This shall one day find its expression in a wisely limited graduation of earnings, which in any case enables even the last honest worker an honorable, decent existence as a national comrade and human being.

Let it not be said that this is an ideal state which this world practically could not tolerate and in fact will never reach.

We too are not so simple-minded as to believe that it could ever be possible to bring about a flawless age. However, this does not release us from the obligation to fight recognized errors, to overcome weaknesses, and to strive toward the ideal. Harsh reality will, of its own accord, bring about only too many restrictions. Precisely for that reason, however, man must all the more attempt to serve the ultimate goal, and failures must no more divert him from his intention than he can dispense with a system of justice just because it also makes mistakes, and just as little as one rejects medicine because there will nevertheless always be illness.

One should beware of underestimating the power of an ideal. To anyone who becomes faint-hearted in this regard today, I would like—if he was once a soldier—to remind him of a time whose heroism represented the most overwhelming confession of the power of ideal motives. For what let men die then was not the concern for daily bread, but the love for the Fatherland, the belief in its greatness, the general feeling for the honor of the nation. And only when the German people distanced themselves from these ideals to follow the material promises of the revolution, and exchanged the weapon for the knapsack, did they find themselves, instead of in an earthly heaven, in the purgatory of general contempt and no less general distress.

Therefore, it is all the more necessary to confront the calculators of the current real republic with the faith in an ideal realm.

Chapter 3

Subjects and Citizens

In general, the entity that is today erroneously designated as a State knows only two types of people: citizens and foreigners. Citizens are all those who possess the right of citizenship either through their birth or through subsequent naturalization; foreigners are all those who enjoy this same right in another State. In between, there are also comet-like phenomena, the so-called stateless persons. These are people who have the honor of belonging to none of today's States, and thus possess a right of citizenship nowhere.

Citizenship today is acquired, as already mentioned above, primarily through birth within the borders of a State. Race or ethnic affiliation plays no role at all in this. A Negro, who formerly lived in the German protectorates and now has his residence in Germany, thereby brings a "German citizen" into the world in his child. Likewise, any Jewish or Polish, African or Asian child can be declared a German citizen without further ado.

In addition to naturalization by birth, there is also the possibility of later naturalization. It is tied to various preconditions, for example, that the prospective candidate is, if possible, not a burglar or a pimp, that he is furthermore politically unobjectionable, i.e., a harmless political fool, and finally that he does not become a burden to his new civic homeland. In this realistic age, this of course refers only to the financial burden. Indeed, it is even—

even as a beneficial recommendation to introduce a presumably good future taxpayer in order to accelerate the acquisition of a modern citizenship.

Racial considerations play no role at all in this. The entire process of acquiring citizenship is not much different from that of being admitted, for example, to an automobile club. The man makes his statements, these are checked and appraised, and one day he is informed on a handbill that he has become a citizen, whereby this is even dressed in a witty-droll form. Namely, the former Zulu kaffir in question is told: "You have herewith become a German!"

A state president manages this magic trick. What no heaven could create, such an official Theophrastus Paracelsus transforms in the blink of an eye. A simple stroke of the pen, and a Mongolian Wenzel has suddenly become a real "German."

But not only is the race of such a new citizen not cared about, one does not even pay attention to his physical health. Such a fellow may be eaten away by syphilis as much as he likes, for the modern state he is nevertheless highly welcome as a citizen, provided that he, as already mentioned, represents no financial burden and no political danger.

Thus, every year these structures, called states, take in toxic substances that they are hardly able to overcome anymore.

The citizen himself then differs from the foreigner only in that the path to all public offices is open to him, that he may have to fulfill the obligation of military service, and can further participate actively and passively in elections. By and large, this is all. For the foreigner enjoys the protection of personal rights and personal freedom just as much, not infrequently even more; at any rate, this applies in our modern German Republic.

I know that one hears all this reluctantly; however hardly anything more thoughtless, indeed more brainless, than our current citizenship law exists. There is currently one state in which at least weak beginnings of a better conception are noticeable. Of course, this is not our exemplary German Republic, but the American Union, in which an effort is being made to consult reason again, at least partially. By fundamentally refusing immigration to elements in poor health and simply excluding certain races from naturalization, it is already professing, in faint beginnings, a conception that is characteristic of the folkish (völkisch) concept of the state.

The folkish state divides its inhabitants into three classes: citizens, subjects, and foreigners.

By birth, fundamentally only subject status is acquired. Subject status as such does not yet entitle one to hold public office, nor to political activity in the sense of participating in elections, in both an active and passive capacity. Fundamentally, the race and nationality of every subject must be established. A subject is free at any time to renounce his subject status and become a citizen in the country whose nationality corresponds to his own. The foreigner differs from the subject only in that he possesses citizenship in a foreign state.

The young subject of German nationality is obliged to undergo the school education prescribed for every German. He thereby submits to education as a race- and national-conscious comrade of the people (Volksgenosse). He must later satisfy the further physical exercises prescribed by the state and finally enters the army. Training in the army is general; it must encompass every individual German and educate him for the military field of application possible according to his physical and mental ability. To the blameless—

...a healthy young man will then, upon completion of his military duty, be granted CITIZENSHIP in the most solemn manner. It is the most valuable document for his entire earthly life. With it, he enters into all the rights of the citizen and participates in all its privileges. For the state must make a sharp distinction between those who, as national comrades, are the cause and carriers of its existence and its greatness, and those who only reside within a state as "earning" elements.

The awarding of the CITIZENSHIP CERTIFICATE is to be combined with a solemn oath of allegiance to the national community and to the state. In this document, there must lie a common, all-encompassing bond that bridges all other chasms. IT MUST BE A GREATER HONOR TO BE A CITIZEN OF THIS REICH AS A STREET SWEEPER THAN TO BE A KING IN A FOREIGN STATE.

The citizen is privileged over the foreigner. He is the master OF THE REICH. However, this higher dignity also entails obligations. The person without honor or character, the common criminal, the traitor to the fatherland, etc., can be stripped of this honor at any time. He thereby becomes a state subject again.

The German girl is a state subject and only becomes a citizen upon her marriage. However, citizenship can also be granted to female German state subjects who are active in professional life.

Chapter 4

Personality and the Folkish Concept of the State

If the folkish-national socialist state sees its primary task in the education and preservation of the bearer of the state, then it is not enough alone to promote the racial elements as such, then to educate and finally to train them for practical life; rather, it is necessary that it brings its own organization into harmony with this task.

It would be madness to want to estimate the value of a human being according to his racial affiliation, and thus to declare war on the Marxist standpoint: man is equal to man, if one is then not determined to also draw the final consequences. The final consequence of the recognition of the importance of blood, that is, the racial basis in general, is however the transfer of this assessment to the individual per- son. Just as I must generally evaluate peoples differently on the basis of their racial affiliation, so also the individual human beings within a folk community. The observation that folk is not equal to folk is then transferred to the individual human being with- in a folk community, roughly in the sense that head cannot be equal to head, because here too the blood- related components are probably the same in broad lines, but in detail are subject to a thousandfold finest differentiations.

The first consequence of this knowledge is at the same time the, I would like to say, coarser one, namely the attempt to...

half of the national community, to promote those elements recognized as racially particularly valuable in a decisive manner and to take care of their special increase.

This task is coarser because it can be recognized and solved almost mechanically. It is more difficult to recognize from the totality of all people those minds that are truly the most valuable intellectually and ideally, and to grant them that influence which is not only due to these superior spirits in themselves, but which is above all of benefit to the nation. This screening according to ability and efficiency cannot be carried out mechanically, but is a work that the struggle of daily life takes care of uninterruptedly.

A worldview that strives, while rejecting the democratic idea of the masses, to give this earth to the best people, that is, the highest human beings, must logically also obey the same aristocratic principle within this people and ensure leadership and the highest influence for the best minds in the people concerned. Thus, it is not built on the idea of the majority, but on that of personality.

Whoever believes today that a völkisch, National Socialist state would have to distinguish itself from other states only purely mechanically through a better construction of its economic life, i.e., through a better balance of wealth and poverty or through more co-determination rights of broad layers in the economic process or through fairer remuneration, through the elimination of excessively large wage differences, has remained stuck in the most superficial matters and has no inkling of what we have to designate as a worldview. All that has just been described offers not the slightest security for permanent existence and even less the claim to greatness. A people that remained stuck only in these truly external reforms would not receive in the slightest a guarantee for the victory of this people in the general struggle of nations.

A movement that perceives the content of its mission only in such a generally balancing and certainly just development will, in truth, bring about no powerful and no real reform of existing conditions, because it is not a deep reform, since its entire action ultimately remains stuck in externalities, without providing the people with that inner preparedness which, I would almost like to say, with inevitable certainty allows them to finally overcome those weaknesses under which we have to suffer today.

To understand this more easily, it is perhaps expedient to take another look at the real origins and causes of human cultural development.

The first step that outwardly visibly removed man from the animal was that of invention. Invention itself is originally based on the finding of ruses and feints, the application of which facilitates the struggle for life with other beings and sometimes allows it to proceed favorably in the first place. These most primitive inventions do not yet allow the person to appear clearly enough because they naturally only come to the consciousness of the subsequent, or rather the present-day human observer, as a mass phenomenon. Certain tricks and clever measures, which man can observe in animals, for example, only strike him summarily as a fact, and he is no longer in a position to determine or research their origin, but simply helps himself by describing such processes as "instinctive."

This latter word says nothing at all in our case. For whoever believes in a higher development of living beings must admit that every expression of their drive for life and struggle must once have had a beginning; that one subject must have started it, and that such a process then repeated itself more and more often and spread more and more, until it finally almost entered the subconscious of all members of a par-

...certain kind, only to then appear as instinct.

This will be more easily understood and believed in the case of man himself. His first clever measures in the struggle with other animals—they were certainly, according to their origin, the actions of individual, particularly capable subjects. Here, too, personality was once unconditionally the cause of decisions and executions that were later taken over by all of humanity as a matter of course. Just as any military matter of course, which today has become the basis of any strategy, originally owed its creation to a very specific mind and only in the course of many, perhaps even thousands of years, became generally accepted as completely self-evident.

Man supplements this first perception with a second: he learns to put other things and also living beings into the service of his own struggle for self-preservation; and with this begins the actual inventive activity of humans, which we see generally visible before our eyes today. These material inventions, which start from the use of stone as a weapon, which lead to the domestication of animals, give fire to man through artificial production, and so on to the diverse and amazing inventions of our day, allow the person to be recognized all the more clearly as the bearer of such creation, the closer the individual inventions lie to our present time or the more significant and incisive they are. In any case, we know: what we see around us in terms of material inventions is all the result of the creative power and ability of the individual person. And all these inventions, they ultimately help to raise man more and more above the level of the animal world, indeed to finally remove him from it. They thus serve, in the deepest sense, the continuously occurring higher humanization. But even that which once, as the simplest ruse, served the hunter in the primeval forest...

...facilitated the struggle for existence for humans, helps again in the form of ingenious scientific insights of the present time to ease humanity's struggle for its current existence and to forge the weapons for the struggles of the future. All human thinking and invention serves, in its ultimate effects, primarily the struggle for life of man on this planet, even if the so-called real benefit of an invention or a discovery or a deep scientific insight into the nature of things is not visible at the moment. By everything working together to help raise man more and more out of the framework of the living beings surrounding him, it strengthens and solidifies his position so that he grows into the dominant being on this earth in every respect.

All inventions are therefore the result of the creative work of one person. All these persons themselves are, whether intentionally or unintentionally, more or less great benefactors of all people. Their work later places into the hands of millions, even billions, of human beings the means to facilitate the conduct of their struggle for life.

If we always see individual persons as inventors at the origin of today's material culture, who then complement each other and build upon one another, then the same is true in the exercise and implementation of the things conceived and discovered by the inventors. For all production processes are also, in their origin, to be equated with inventions themselves and are thus dependent on the person. Even purely theoretical intellectual work, which is not measurable in detail but is nevertheless the prerequisite for all further material inventions, appears again as the exclusive product of the individual person. It is not the mass that invents and not the majority that organizes or thinks, but in everything, it is always only the individual human being, the person.

A human community only appears to be well-organized when it facilitates the work of these creative forces in the most accommodating way possible...

and applies it usefully for the community. The most valuable thing about the invention itself, whether it lies in the material realm or in the world of ideas, is first and foremost the inventor as a person. Therefore, to employ him usefully for the community is the first and highest task of the organization of a national community. Indeed, the organization itself must only be an execution of this principle. Only then is it redeemed from the curse of mechanism and becomes something living itself. It must be in itself an embodiment of the striving to place the heads above the masses and consequently to subordinate the latter to the heads.

The organization must therefore not only not prevent the emergence of the heads from the masses, but on the contrary, through the nature of its own essence, must enable and facilitate this to the highest degree. In doing so, it must proceed from the principle that for humanity, the blessing never lay in the masses, but rested in its creative heads, who are therefore in reality to be addressed as the benefactors of the human race. To secure for them the most decisive influence and to facilitate their work is in the interest of the community. Certainly, this interest is not satisfied, and it is not served by the rule of the incapable or the incompetent, and in no case by the gifted masses, but solely by the leadership of those naturally endowed with special gifts for it.

The selection of these heads is handled, as already mentioned, primarily by the hard struggle for life itself. Much breaks and perishes, thus proving not to be destined for the ultimate, and only a few appear at last as chosen. In the fields of thought, of artistic creation, and even those of the economy, this selection process still takes place today, although it is already subjected to a heavy burden, especially in the latter. The administration of the state and likewise the power embodied by the organized military strength of the nation are equally—

is likewise dominated by this thought. Everywhere here, the idea of personality still dominates, the authority of the same downwards and the responsibility towards the higher person upwards. Only political life has today already completely turned away from this most natural principle. While the whole of human culture is only the result of the creative activity of the individual, in the whole, but above all in the supreme leadership of the national community, the principle of the value of the majority appears as decisive and begins from there down gradually to poison the whole of life, i.e. in reality: to dissolve it. Also the destructive effect of the activity of Jewry in other national bodies is basically only to be attributed to its eternal attempts to undermine the importance of the individual among its host nations and to put that of the masses in its place. With this, however, the destructive principle of the Jew takes the place of the organizational principle of Aryan humanity. He thereby becomes "the ferment of decomposition" of peoples and races and, in a broader sense, the dissolver of human culture.

Marxism, however, presents itself as the attempt of the Jew, brought to its purest form, to eliminate the paramount importance of personality in all fields of human life and to replace it with the number of the masses. To this corresponds politically the parliamentary form of government, which we see working so disastrously from the smallest germ cells of the municipality up to the supreme leadership of the entire Reich, and economically the system of a trade union movement which does not serve the real interests of the employee, but exclusively the destructive intentions of the international world Jew. To the same extent that the economy is withdrawn from the effect of the personality principle and instead delivered only to the influences and effects of the masses, it must lose the efficiency that stands in the service of all and is valuable for all, and gradually succumb to a certain backward development—

cases. All works council organizations which, instead of representing the interests of workers and employees, attempt to gain influence over production itself, serve the same destructive purpose. They damage the overall performance, and thereby in reality damage the individual. For the satisfaction of the members of a national body is not achieved in the long run exclusively through mere theoretical phrases, but rather through the goods of daily life falling to the individual and the resulting final conviction that a national community, in its total achievements, safeguards the interests of the individual.

It also plays no role whether Marxism, on the basis of its mass theory, appears capable of taking over and continuing the currently existing economy. The critique regarding the correctness or incorrectness of this principle is not decided by the proof of its ability to administer what exists for the future, but exclusively only by the proof of being able to create such a culture itself. Marxism could take over today's economy a thousand times and let it continue to work under its leadership; even a success of this activity would prove nothing at all against the fact that it would not be in a position, by applying its principle, to create for itself what it undertakes today as a finished product.

And for this, Marxism has provided practical proof. Not only has it nowhere been able to creatively establish a culture or even just an economy itself, it was in fact not even in a position to continue the existing one according to its principles, but had to resort, after a very short time, to the ideas of the personality principle by way of concessions, just as it cannot dispense with these principles in its own organization.

This, however, is what fundamentally distinguishes the völkisch worldview from the Marxist one: that it recognizes not only the value of race, but that it also recognizes the significance of the person and thus designates them as one of the pillars of its entire structure. These are the supporting factors of its worldview.

If the National Socialist movement, in particular, did not understand the fundamental importance of this basic realization, but instead merely tinkered superficially with the current state or even adopted the standpoint of the masses as its own, then it would in reality only represent a competing party to Marxism; it would not possess the right to call itself a worldview. If the social program of the movement consisted only of displacing the personality and putting the masses in its place, then National Socialism itself would already be eaten away by the poison of Marxism, just as our bourgeois party world is.

The folkish state must provide for the welfare of its citizens by recognizing in everything and everyone the significance of the value of the person, and thus initiating in all fields that maximum level of productive capacity which also grants the individual a maximum share.

And accordingly, the folkish state must completely free the entire, but especially the highest, i.e., the political leadership, from the parliamentary principle of majority—that is, mass—determination, in order to replace it with the guaranteed right of the person.

From this results the following realization:

> The best state constitution and state form is that which, with the most natural certainty, brings the best minds of the national community to leading importance and to guiding influence.

But just as in economic life capable people are not to be determined from above, but must fight their way through themselves, and just as here the infinite training from the smallest business to the largest enterprise is provided by itself, and only life then provides the respective tests—

undertakes [tasks], then naturally political minds cannot be suddenly "discovered." Geniuses of an extraordinary kind allow for no consideration of normal humanity.

The State must have the personality principle anchored in its organization, starting from the smallest cell, the municipality, up to the supreme leadership of the entire Reich.

There are no majority decisions, but only responsible persons, and the word "Council" is brought back to its original meaning. Every man shall indeed have advisors at his side, but the decision is made by one man.

The principle that once made the Prussian army the most wonderful instrument of the German people must one day, in a figurative sense, be the principle of the construction of our entire conception of the state:

Authority of every leader downwards and
responsibility upwards.

Even then, one will not be able to dispense with those corporations which we today call parliaments. However, their councils will then truly advise, but responsibility can and may always be held by only one bearer, and consequently, he alone possesses the authority and the right of command.

Parliaments in themselves are necessary because, above all, they provide the opportunity for those minds to slowly rise who can later be entrusted with special responsible tasks.

This results in the following picture:

The völkisch State, starting from the municipality up to the leadership of the Reich, has no representative body that decides anything by majority, but only advisory bodies that stand by the side of the respectively chosen leader and are assigned work by him, in order to assume absolute responsibility themselves in certain areas as needed, exactly just as the leader or chairman of the respective corporation possesses it himself on a larger scale.

The folkish state fundamentally does not tolerate that people are asked for advice or judgment on matters of a special nature, for example of an economic kind, who, by virtue of their education and activity, can understand nothing of the matter. It therefore organizes its representative bodies from the outset into political and professional estate chambers.

To ensure a fruitful cooperation between the two, a special senate always stands above them as a selection.

In no chamber and in no senate does a vote ever take place. They are working institutions and not voting machines. The individual member has an advisory voice, but never a decisive one. This belongs exclusively only to the chairman responsible for it in each case.

This principle of the unconditional connection of absolute responsibility with absolute authority will gradually breed a selection of leaders, such as is not even conceivable today in the age of irresponsible parliamentarism.

Thus, the state constitution of the nation is brought into harmony with that law to which it already owes its greatness in the cultural and economic fields.

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As far as the feasibility of these insights is concerned, I ask you not to forget that the parliamentary principle of democratic majority decision-making has by no means dominated mankind since time immemorial, but on the contrary is to be found only in very small periods of history, which, however, are always periods of the decline of peoples and states.

However, one should not believe that through purely theoretical measures from the top down such a...

can bring about change, as it logically must not stop even at the constitution of the state, but must also permeate all other legislation, indeed, general civic life. Such a transformation can and will only take place through a movement that is itself already built in the spirit of these thoughts and thus already carries within itself the coming state.

Therefore, the National Socialist movement may already today fully immerse itself in these thoughts and bring them to practical effect within its own organization, so that one day it may not only point the state toward the same guidelines, but can also provide it with the already completed body of its own state.

Chapter 5

Worldview and Organization

The folkish state, the general image of which I have attempted to draw in broad outlines, is not yet realized by the mere recognition of what is necessary for this state. It is not enough to know what a folkish state should look like. Much more important is the problem of its emergence. One cannot expect that the current parties, which are primarily the beneficiaries of the present state, will achieve a transformation on their own and carry out a change in their current attitude of their own free will. This is all the less possible as their actual leading elements are always only Jews and more Jews. The development we are currently undergoing would, however, if continued unchecked, one day land at the all-Jewish prophecy—the Jew would actually devour the peoples of the earth, would become their master.

Thus, he pursues his path inevitably, in the highest consciousness of his future goal, towards the millions of German "bourgeois" and "proletarians" who, for the most part, trot to their ruin out of indolence and stupidity paired with cowardice. A party led by him can therefore champion no interests other than his own, but these have nothing in common with the concerns of Aryan peoples.

If one therefore wants to attempt to transfer the ideal image of a folkish state into real reality, then one must, independently of the previous powers of public life, look for a new force that is willing and able to take up the struggle for such an ideal.

to take up. For this is a matter of a struggle, insofar as the first task is not: the creation of a völkisch conception of the state, but above all: the elimination of the existing Jewish one. As so often in history, the main difficulty lies not in the forming of the new state of affairs, but in making room for it. Prejudices and interests combine into a closed phalanx and attempt to prevent the victory of an idea that is unpleasant or threatening to them by all possible means.

Because of this, the fighter for such a new ideal is, unfortunately, forced—despite all positive emphasis on the same—primarily to fight through the negative part of the struggle, the part intended to lead to the elimination of the present condition.

A young doctrine of great and new fundamental significance will, however unpleasant this may be to the individual, have to apply the probe of criticism with all possible sharpness as its first weapon.

It shows little deep insight into historical developments when today the so-called "völkisch" proponents repeatedly emphasize and assure that they by no means intend to engage in negative criticism, but only in constructive work; a stammering that is as childishly idiotic as it is truly "völkisch," and proof of how trace-lessly even the history of their own time has passed these heads by. Marxism also had a goal, and it too knows a constructive activity (even if it is only a matter of establishing a despotism of international world-finance Jewry!); however, it nevertheless practiced criticism for seventy years, and indeed destructive, disintegrating criticism, and again and again criticism, until through this eternally eating acid the old state was undermined and brought to collapse. Only then did its so-called "construction" begin. And that was self-evident, correct, and logical. An existing condition is not eliminated by the mere emphasis and representation of a future one. For it it is not to be assumed that the adherents or even those interested in the currently existing state of affairs could be completely converted and won over for the new one solely by the establishment of a necessity. On the contrary, it can only too easily happen that two states then simply continue to exist side by side and thus the so-called worldview becomes a party, from whose framework it is no longer able to rise. For the worldview is intolerant and cannot content itself with the role of a "party among others," but imperiously demands its own, exclusive and total recognition as well as the complete transformation of the entire public life according to its views. It can therefore not tolerate the simultaneous continued existence of a representation of the former state.

This applies exactly the same to religions.

Christianity, too, could not content itself with building its own altar, but had to proceed inevitably to the destruction of the pagan altars. Only out of this fanatical intolerance could the apodictic faith be formed; this intolerance is even the absolute prerequisite for it.

One may very well raise the objection that such phenomena in world history are mostly a matter of such specifically Jewish ways of thinking; yes, that this kind of intolerance and fanaticism actually embodies the Jewish nature. This may be a thousand times correct, and one may well deeply regret this fact and establish its appearance in the history of mankind with only too justified unease as something that had been foreign to it until then — yet this changes nothing about the fact that this condition is simply there today. The men who want to deliver our German people from its current condition do not have to rack their brains over how nice it would be if this and that were not so, but must try to determine how to eliminate what is given. One of infernal intolerance

A worldview filled with purpose, however, will only be shattered by a new idea driven forward by the same spirit, championed by the same strongest will, yet in itself pure and thoroughly truthful.

The individual today may painfully observe that with the appearance of Christianity, the first spiritual terror entered the much freer ancient world; however, he will not be able to contest the fact that the world has since been oppressed and dominated by this compulsion, and that compulsion is only broken by compulsion, and terror only by terror. Only then can a new state of affairs be constructively created.

Political parties are inclined to compromise, worldviews never.
Political parties even reckon with opponents, worldviews proclaim their infallibility.

Even political parties originally almost always have the intention of achieving sole despotic rule; a small impulse toward a worldview is almost always within them. However, the narrowness of their program already robs them of the heroism that a worldview demands. The conciliation of their will attracts small and weak spirits with whom one is incapable of leading crusades. Thus, they usually get stuck early on in their own miserable pettiness. With this, however, they give up the struggle for a worldview and attempt instead, through so-called "positive cooperation," to conquer a place at the feeding trough of existing institutions as quickly as possible and to stay there as long as possible. That is their entire endeavor. And should they ever be pushed away from this general manger by a somewhat brutally inclined competing boarder, then their thoughts and aspirations are only set on pushing themselves to the front again in the pack of the also-hungry, be it through force or cunning, in order finally, even if it costs their holiest...

conviction of being able to feast at the beloved source of nourishment. Jackals of politics!

Since a worldview is never prepared to share with a second one, it cannot be prepared to cooperate in an existing state of affairs which it condemns; instead, it feels the obligation to combat this state of affairs and the entire opposing world of ideas by all means—that is, to prepare for its collapse.

Both this purely destructive struggle, which is immediately recognized as a danger by all others and thus meets with common resistance, and the positive struggle, which attacks to enforce its own new world of ideas, require determined fighters. Thus, a worldview will only lead its idea to victory if it brings it into the forms of a combat-ready organization. For this, however, it is necessary that, taking these elements into account, it selects certain thoughts from its general world-picture and clothes them in a form that, in its precise, slogan-like brevity, appears suitable to serve as a creed for a new community of people. While the program of a purely political party is the recipe for a healthy outcome of the next election, the program of a worldview signifies the formulation of a declaration of war against an existing order, against an existing state of affairs—in short, against an existing world-conception in general.

It is not necessary that every individual who fights for this worldview gains full insight and exact knowledge into the ultimate ideas and thought processes of the movement's leaders. Rather, it is necessary that a few, very large points of view are made clear to him and that the essential basic lines are indelibly burned into him, so that he is completely permeated by the necessity of the victory of his movement and its doctrine.

The individual soldier is also not initiated into the thought processes of higher strategy. Just as he is instead educated toward rigid discipline and a fanatical conviction of the right and the power of his cause, and toward a total commitment to it, so must this also happen with the individual follower of a movement of great scale, a great future, and the greatest will.

Just as an army would be of little use if its individual soldiers were generals throughout, even if only by virtue of their education and insight, so a political movement is of little use as the representative of a worldview if it only wishes to be a reservoir for "intellectual" people. No, it also needs the primitive soldier, as otherwise an inner discipline cannot be achieved.

It lies in the nature of an Organization that it can only exist if a broad mass, oriented more toward emotion, serves a supreme intellectual leadership. A company of two hundred people who are intellectually equally capable would be harder to discipline in the long run than one of one hundred and ninety who are intellectually less capable and ten who are more highly educated.

Social Democracy once derived the greatest benefit from this fact. It captured those members of the broad strata of our people who had been discharged from military service and already trained in discipline there, and took them into its equally rigid party discipline. Its organization also represented an army of officers and soldiers. The German manual worker discharged from military service became the soldier, the Jewish intellectual the officer; the German trade union officials can be seen as the non-commissioned officer corps. What our bourgeoisie always viewed with a shake of the head—the fact that only the so-called uneducated masses belonged to Marxism—was in truth the prerequisite for its success. For while the bourgeois parties in their one-sided intellectuality represent an unfit, undisciplined gang, Marxism, in its less intellectual...

human material, an army of party soldiers was formed, who now obeyed the Jewish conductor just as blindly as they once did their German officer. The German bourgeoisie, which basically never concerned itself with psychological problems because it felt far superior to them, did not find it necessary here either to reflect in order to recognize the deeper meaning as well as the secret danger of this fact. On the contrary, it was believed that a political movement formed only from circles of the "intelligentsia" would be more valuable for that very reason and possess more claim, even more probability, of attaining government than an uneducated mass. It was never understood that the strength of a political party lies by no means in the greatest possible and independent intellectuality of the individual members, but rather in the disciplined obedience with which its members follow the intellectual leadership. The decisive factor is the leadership itself. When two bodies of troops fight each other, the victor will not be the one in which every individual received the highest strategic training, but the one that has the most superior leadership and at the same time the most disciplined, blindly obedient, best-drilled troop.

This is a fundamental insight that we must always keep before our eyes when examining the possibility of putting a worldview into practice.

If we are therefore to transform a worldview into a fighting movement in order to lead it to victory, the program of the movement must logically take into account the human material available to it. As unshakeable as the ultimate goals and the guiding ideas must be, the advertising program must be as ingenious and psychologically correct in its adjustment to the soul of those without whose help the most beautiful idea would eternally remain only an idea.

When the folkish idea, from the unclear will of today, becomes a clear success is to come, then it must select from its broad world of ideas certain guiding principles which, by their nature and content, are suited to bind a broad mass of people to itself, namely those who alone guarantee the ideological struggle of this idea. This is the German working class.

Therefore, the program of the new movement was summarized in a few, a total of twenty-five guiding principles. They are intended, primarily, to give the man of the people a rough picture of the movement's will. They are, so to speak, a political creed, which on the one hand recruits for the movement and, on the other hand, is suited to unite and weld together those recruited through a commonly recognized obligation.

In this, we must never lose sight of the following insight: Since the so-called Program of the Movement is probably absolutely correct in its ultimate goals, but had to take psychological factors into account in its formulation, the conviction may well arise over time that certain individual guiding principles might be phrased differently or should receive a better formulation. However, any attempt to do so usually has a disastrous effect. For by this, something that should be unshakably firm is abandoned to discussion, which, as soon as a single point is removed from the faith-based dogmatic definition, does not readily result in a new, better, and above all uniform definition, but rather leads to endless debates and general confusion. In such a case, it must always be weighed which is better: a new, more fortunate formulation that causes a dispute within the movement, or a form that is perhaps not the very best at the moment, but which represents a self-contained, unshakable, internally completely uniform—

represents a living organism. And every examination will show that the latter is to be preferred. For since amendments always concern only the external formulation, such corrections will repeatedly appear possible or desirable. Finally, however, given the superficiality of men, there exists the great danger that they see the essential task of a movement in this purely external formulation of a program. With this, the will and the power to champion the idea itself recede, and the activity, which should be directed outward, will exhaust itself in internal programmatic struggles.

In the case of a doctrine that is actually correct in its broad outlines, it is less harmful to retain a version, even if it should no longer entirely correspond to reality, than to expose a fundamental law of the movement, hitherto regarded as granite, to general discussion with its worst consequences by improving it. It is impossible, above all, as long as a movement itself is still fighting for victory. For how can one fill people with blind faith in the correctness of a doctrine if one spreads uncertainty and doubt oneself through constant changes to its external structure?

The essential must never be sought in the external version, but always only in the inner meaning. And this is unchangeable; and in its interest, one can ultimately only wish that the movement maintain the necessary strength for its defense by keeping away all divisive and uncertainty-producing processes.

Here, too, one has to learn from the Catholic Church. Although its edifice of doctrine in some points, and in part quite unnecessarily, comes into collision with exact science and research, it is nevertheless not prepared to sacrifice even a small syllable of its dogmas. It has very correctly recognized that its power of resistance does not lie in a greater or lesser degree of adaptation to the respective scientific results, which in reality, however, fluctuate eternally, but rather in the rigid adherence to once-established dogmas, which first lend the character of faith to the whole. Thus it stands today firmer than ever. One can prophesy that in the same measure in which appearances flee, it itself, as a resting pole in the flight of appearances, will win more and more blind devotion.

Whoever, therefore, truly and earnestly desires the victory of a völkisch world-view, must not only recognize that for the achievement of such a success, firstly, only a movement capable of struggle is suitable, but that secondly, such a movement itself will only hold its ground on the basis of an unshakable certainty and firmness of its program. It must not presume to make concessions to the respective spirit of the times in the formulation of the same, but must maintain a form once found to be favorable forever, in any case, however, until victory has crowned it. Before that, every attempt to bring about disputes over the expediency of one or another program point shatters the unity and the fighting power of the movement in the measure in which its followers participate in such an internal discussion. This is not to say that an "improvement" carried out today could not be subjected to renewed critical examinations again tomorrow, only to find a better substitute the day after tomorrow. Whoever tears down barriers here clears a path whose beginning is known, but whose end is lost in the boundless.

This important realization had to find its utilization in the young National Socialist movement. The National Socialist German Workers' Party received with its program of the twenty-five theses a foundation which must be unshakable. The task of the current and the coming members of our movement must not consist in a critical reworking of these guiding principles, but rather in their commitment to them. For otherwise, the next generation could, with the same right, in turn waste its strength on such purely formal work within the party, instead of bringing new followers and thereby new strength to the movement. For the great number of followers, the essence of our movement will lie less in the letter of our guiding principles than in the sense that we are able to give to them.

To these insights the young movement once owed its name; according to them, the program was later drafted, and in them further lies the basis for the nature of its dissemination. In order to help the völkisch ideas to victory, a people's party had to be created, a party that consists not only of intellectual leaders but also of manual laborers!

Every attempt to proceed to the realization of völkisch thought processes without such a powerful organization would be just as unsuccessful as in the past, today, and also in all the future. With this, however, the movement has not only the right, but the duty to feel itself as a pioneer and thus as a representative of these ideas. As much as the basic ideas of the National Socialist movement are völkisch, so much are the völkisch ideas National Socialist at the same time. But if National Socialism wants to win, it must absolutely and exclusively commit itself to this statement. Here it also has not only the right, but also the duty to emphasize most sharply the fact that every attempt to represent the völkisch idea outside the framework of the National Socialist German Workers' Party is impossible, and in most cases is based outright on fraud.

If someone today reproaches the movement, claiming it acts as if it had "monopolized" the völkisch idea, there is only one single answer to that:

Not only monopolized, but created for practice.

For what existed under this term until now was not suited to influence the fate of our people in the slightest, as all these ideas lacked a clear, uniform formulation. It was mostly just individual, disconnected insights of more or less great correctness, which not infrequently contradicted each other, but in no case had an inner bond among themselves. And even if this had existed, it would never have sufficed in its weakness to adjust and build a movement upon it.

Only the National Socialist movement accomplished this.

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When today all sorts of associations and minor leagues, groups and tiny circles, and for all I care even "large parties," claim the word "völkisch" for themselves, this is in itself a consequence of the activity of the National Socialist movement. Without its work, it would never have occurred to all these organizations to even utter the word "völkisch"; they would have imagined nothing at all under this word, and especially their leading heads would have stood in no relationship of any kind to this concept. Only the work of the NSDAP has made this concept into a word full of substance, which is now taken into the mouths of all sorts of people; above all, it has in of their own successful advertising activity, the power of these völkisch thoughts has been shown and proven, so that even their own greed forces others to at least claim to want something similar.

Just as they have hitherto placed everything in the service of their petty electoral speculation, so for these parties the term "völkisch" today has remained only a completely superficial, hollow slogan with which they attempt to compensate for the recruiting power of the National Socialist movement among their own members. For only the concern for their own existence, as well as the fear of the rise of our movement—borne by a new worldview, whose universal significance they sense as much as its dangerous exclusivity—puts words into their mouths that they did not know eight years ago, laughed at seven years ago, described as nonsense six years ago, fought five years ago, hated four years ago, persecuted three years ago, only to finally annex them themselves two years ago and, combined with their remaining vocabulary, use them as a war cry in the struggle.

And even today, one must repeatedly point out that all these parties lack any inkling of what the German people need. The most striking proof of this is the superficiality with which they take the word "völkisch" into their mouths!

No less dangerous are all those who frolic about as sham-völkisch, forging fantastic plans, mostly based on nothing more than some fixed idea which might be correct in itself, yet in its isolation remains without any significance for the formation of a large, unified fighting community and is in no case suitable for building one up. These people, who brew together a program partly from their own thinking and partly from things they have read, are often more dangerous than the open enemies of the völkisch idea. They are, in the best case, unproductive theorists, but mostly devastating windbags, and not infrequently believe that through flowing...

full beard and ancient Germanic posturing to be able to mask the spiritual and intellectual hollowness of their actions and capabilities.

In contrast to all these futile attempts, it is therefore good to recall the time in which the young National Socialist movement began its struggle.

Chapter 6

The Struggle of the Early Days – The Significance of the Speech

The first great meeting on February 24, 1920, in the festival hall of the Hofbräuhaus had not yet finished echoing within us when preparations were already being made for the next one. While until then it was considered risky to want to hold a small meeting every month or even every fortnight in a city like Munich, a large mass meeting was now to take place every eight days, that is, once a week. I do not need to assure you that we were tormented again and again by only one single fear: Would the people come, and would they listen to us? — even though I personally already had the unshakable conviction back then that once they are there, the people will also stay and follow the speech.

During this time, the Munich Hofbräuhaus festival hall acquired an almost sacred significance for us National Socialists. A meeting every week, almost always in this room, and each time the hall was better filled and the people more devout! Starting from the "war guilt," which no one cared about at the time, and moving beyond the peace treaties, almost everything was dealt with that was somehow expedient for agitation or necessary in terms of ideas. Particular attention was paid to the peace treaties themselves. What did the young movement always and constantly prophesy to the great masses of people back then, and how almost all of it has come true by now! Today it is easy to talk about these things or write. But at that time, a public mass meeting, which contained not bourgeois philistines but incited proletarians, with the theme "The Peace Treaty of Versailles" meant an attack against the Republic and a sign of reactionary, if not monarchist, sentiment. Even at the first sentence containing a criticism of Versailles, one could receive the stereotyped heckling hurled back: "And Brest-Litovsk?" "Brest-Litovsk?" So the crowd roared again and again, until they gradually became hoarse or the speaker finally gave up the attempt to convince them. One could have dashed one's head against the wall in despair over such a people! They did not want to hear, did not want to understand that Versailles was a shame and a disgrace, indeed, not even that this Dictat meant an unheard-of plundering of our people. The Marxist work of destruction and the enemy's poisonous propaganda had driven these people out of all reason. And yet, one was not even allowed to complain. For how immeasurably great was the guilt on the other side! What had the bourgeoisie done to put a stop to this terrible disintegration, to oppose it and to clear the way for the truth through a better and more thorough enlightenment? Nothing and nothing again! I saw them nowhere then, all these great völkisch apostles of today. Perhaps they spoke in small circles, at tea tables, or in clubs of like-minded people, but where they should have been, among the wolves, they did not venture; unless an opportunity arose to howl with them.

It was clear to me then, however, that for the small nucleus which initially formed the movement, the question of guilt for the war had to be settled, and settled in the sense of historical truth. That our movement conveyed the knowledge of the peace treaty to the broadest masses was a prerequisite for the success of the movement in the future. At that time, when they all still saw in this peace a success for democracy, one had to take a stand against it and engrave oneself into the minds of the people forever as an enemy of this treaty, so that later, when one day the harsh reality of this deceptive tinsel would reveal itself unmasked in its naked hatred, the memory of our attitude at that time would win us their trust.

Even in those days, I always took a stand on important questions of principle in which the entire public opinion adopted a false attitude, to take a stand against it regardless of popularity, hatred, or struggle. The NSDAP. was not allowed to be a beadle of public opinion, but had to become a master of it. It shall not be a servant of the masses, but their master!

There is, of course, and especially for every movement that is still weak, the great temptation, in moments when an overwhelming opponent has succeeded in driving the people through his arts of seduction to an insane decision or to a false attitude, to also join in and shout along, especially when a few reasons—even if only apparently—viewed from the perspective of the young movement itself, could speak for it. Human cowardice will search so eagerly for such reasons that it almost always finds something that would give a semblance of right, even from one's "own point of view," to participate in such a crime.

I have experienced such cases several times, in which the highest energy was necessary to prevent the ship of the movement from swimming into the artificially excited general current or, better, from letting it drift with it. The last time, when our infernal press, to whom the existence of the German people is Hecuba, succeeded in driving the South Tyrolean question up to a significance that was bound to become disastrous for the German people. Without considering whose services they were performing, many so-called "national" men and parties and associations, merely out of cowardice before the public opinion staged by the Jews, joined the general outcry and senselessly helped to support the struggle against a system that we Germans, especially in this current situation, ought to perceive as the only glimmer of light in this decaying world. While the international world Jew slowly but surely chokes our throats, our so-called patriots scream against the man and a system who have dared to withdraw from the Jewish-Masonic embrace in at least one place on earth and to oppose this international world-poisoning with a nationalist resistance. But it was too tempting for weak characters simply to set their sails to the wind and to capitulate before the clamor of public opinion. And it was indeed a capitulation! Even if people in their inner mendacity and wickedness do not admit it, perhaps not even to themselves, it remains the truth that it was only cowardice and fear of the plebiscite stirred up by the Jew that prompted them to participate. All other justifications are miserable excuses of the guilt-conscious petty sinner.

It was therefore necessary to pull the movement around with an iron fist in order to preserve it from ruin by this direction. To attempt such a realignment at the moment when public opinion, fanned by all driving forces like a great flame, burns in only one direction, is admittedly not very popular at the moment, and indeed for the daring person it is sometimes almost life-threatening. But not a few men of history have been stoned in such moments for an action for which posterity later had every reason to thank them on their knees.

A movement must reckon with this, and not with the momentary applause of the present. It may well be that in such hours the individual feels anxious; however, he should never forget that after every such hour, redemption also comes, and that a movement that wants to renew a world has to serve not the moment, but the future.

One can observe in this regard that the greatest and most lasting successes in history usually tend to be those which, at their beginning, found the least understanding, because they stood in the sharpest opposition to general public opinion, to its insight, and to its will.

We were able to experience that even then, on the first day of our public appearance. We truly did not "court the favor of the masses," but rather confronted the madness of this people, everywhere. It was almost always the case during these years that I stepped before a gathering of people who believed the opposite of what I wanted to say, and wanted the opposite of what I believed. Then it was the task of two hours to lift two to three thousand people out of their previous convictions, to shatter the foundation of their previous insights blow by blow, and finally to lead them over to the ground of our conviction and our worldview.

I learned something important in a short time back then, namely to knock the weapon of the enemy's rebuttal right out of his hand myself. It was soon noticed that our opponents, especially in the form of their discussion speakers, appeared with a very specific "repertoire" in which recurring objections were raised against our assertions, so that the uniformity of this process pointed to a purposeful, unified training. And so it was. We were able to get to know the incredible discipline of our opponents' propaganda here, and it is still my pride today to have found the means not only to make this propaganda ineffective, but finally to beat its makers with it themselves. Two years later, I was master of this art.

It was important to become clear in advance of every single speech about the probable content and form of the counter-objections to be expected in the discussion, and then to completely dispick apart. In doing so, it was expedient to always immediately cite the possible objections oneself and prove their groundlessness; thus the listener, who, even if stuffed full of the objections taught to him, had otherwise come with an honest heart, was more easily won over by the preemptive handling of the concerns impressed upon his memory. The stuff taught to him was refuted of its own accord, and his attention was increasingly drawn to the lecture.

That was the reason why, after my first lecture on the "Peace Treaty of Versailles," which I had delivered before the troops while still a so-called "educational officer," I changed the lecture to the extent that I now spoke about the "Peace Treaties of Brest-Litovsk and Versailles." For I was able to determine after a very short time, indeed even in the course of the discussion following this first lecture of mine, that the people actually knew nothing at all about the Peace Treaty of Brest-Litovsk, but that the skillful propaganda of their parties had succeeded in portraying this very treaty as one of the most shameful acts of violation in the world. It was due to the persistence with which this lie was repeatedly presented to the broad masses that millions of Germans saw in the Peace Treaty of Versailles nothing more than a just retribution for the crime committed by us at Brest-Litovsk, thus perceiving any real struggle against Versailles as an injustice and remaining in what was sometimes the most honest moral indignation. And this was also part of the reason why the word "reparations," as impudent as it was monstrous, was able to become established in Germany. This most mendacious hypocrisy appeared to millions of our incited fellow citizens truly as the execution of a higher justice. Appalling, but it was so. The best proof of this was provided by the success of the propaganda I then initiated against the Peace Treaty of Versailles, which I preceded with an explanation of the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk. I contrasted the two peace treaties—

each other, compared them point for point, showed the virtually boundless humanity of the one treaty in contrast to the inhuman cruelty of the second, and the result was a resounding success. At that time, I spoke on this subject in meetings of two thousand people, where I was often met by the gazes of three thousand six hundred hostile eyes. And three hours later, I had before me a surging mass full of the holiest indignation and the most immeasurable wrath. Once again, a great lie had been torn out of the hearts and brains of a crowd numbering in the thousands, and a truth had been implanted in its place.

The two lectures, namely on "The True Causes of the World War" and on "The Peace Treaties of Brest-Litovsk and Versailles," I considered at that time to be the most important of all, so that I repeated and repeated them dozens of times in ever new versions, until at least on this point a definite, clear, and uniform conception was spread among the people from whom the movement drew its first members.

These meetings also had the benefit for me personally that I slowly adapted myself to being a speaker for mass meetings, that I became familiar with the pathos and the gesture required by the large room holding a thousand people.

At that time, except, as already emphasized, in small circles, I saw no enlightenment in this direction from the parties that today talk big and act as if they had brought about a change in public opinion. But if a so-called national politician gave a lecture in this direction anywhere, it was only before circles that were mostly already of his conviction, and for whom what was presented represented at most a reinforcement of their own sentiments. But that was not what mattered then; rather, it mattered exclusively to win over those people through enlightenment and propaganda who, until then, by virtue of their education and insight, stood on opposing ground.

The leaflet was also placed by us in the service of this enlightenment. Even while with the troops, I had composed a leaflet with a comparison of the peace treaties of Brest-Litovsk and Versailles, which was distributed in very large editions. I later took over stocks of it for the Party, and here too the effect was again a good one. The first meetings were characterized above all by the fact that the tables were covered with all sorts of leaflets, newspapers, brochures, etc. However, the main emphasis was placed on the spoken word. And in fact, only this alone is capable of bringing about truly great upheavals, and for general psychological reasons.

I have already explained in the first volume that all mighty, world-shaking events have been brought about not by written matter, but by the spoken word. This was followed by a lengthy discussion in a part of the press, in which, of course, our bourgeois "smart alecks" in particular took a very sharp stand against such an assertion. But the very reason why this happened refutes the doubters. For the bourgeois intelligentsia protests against such a view only because they themselves obviously lack the power and ability to influence the masses through the spoken word, since they had increasingly thrown themselves into purely literary activity and renounced the truly agitational nature of speech. Such a habit, however, leads inevitably over time to what characterizes our bourgeoisie today, namely the loss of the psychological instinct for mass effect and mass influence.

While the speaker receives a continuous correction of his lecture from the crowd before whom he speaks, insofar as he can constantly measure by the faces of his listeners to what extent they are able to follow his explanations with understanding and whether the impression and the effect of his words lead to the desired goal lead, the writer does not know his readers at all. Therefore, from the very outset, he will not aim at a specific crowd of people present before his eyes, but will keep his explanations quite general. However, because of this, he loses to a certain degree psychological finesse and, consequently, flexibility. Thus, in general, a brilliant orator will still be better able to write than a brilliant writer is able to speak, unless he constantly practices this art. Added to this is the fact that the mass of people is inherently lazy, remains sluggish in the rut of old habits, and of their own accord only reluctantly reach for something written if it does not correspond to what they themselves believe and does not provide what they hope for. Therefore, a piece of writing with a certain tendency will mostly be read only by people who already belong to that same direction. At most, a leaflet or a poster can, through its brevity, count on finding a moment's attention even from someone who thinks differently. The image in all its forms, up to the film, already possesses a greater prospect. Here, the human being needs to work even less intellectually; it is enough to look, at most to read very short texts, and so many will be more ready to take in a pictorial representation than to read a longer piece of writing. The image brings to the human being, in a much shorter time—I might almost say at a single stroke—an enlightenment that he only receives from written material through tedious reading.

The most essential thing, however, is that a piece of writing never knows into whose hands it will fall, and yet it must maintain its specific formulation. The effect will generally be all the greater the more this formulation corresponds to the intellectual level and the nature of exactly those who will be its readers. A book intended for the broad masses must therefore attempt from the outset to have a different effect in style and level than a work intended for higher intellectual strata.

Only in this kind of adaptability does the

The written word [submits] itself to the spoken word. The speaker may, for all I care, treat the same theme as the book; yet, if he is a great and brilliant popular orator, he will hardly repeat the same reproach and the same material twice in the same form. He will always allow himself to be carried by the broad masses in such a way that, through feeling, exactly those words flow to him which he needs to speak to the hearts of his respective listeners. However, if he errs even slightly, he always has the living correction before him. As already stated above, he is able to read from the facial expressions of his listeners whether, firstly, they understand what he is saying, whether, secondly, they are able to follow the whole, and to what extent he has, thirdly, convinced them of the correctness of what has been presented. If he sees—firstly—that they do not understand him, he will become so primitive and clear in his explanation that even the last one must comprehend him; if he feels—secondly—that they are unable to follow him, he will build up his thoughts so carefully and slowly until even the weakest among them all no longer lags behind; and he will—thirdly—as soon as he suspects that they do not seem to be convinced of the correctness of what has been presented, repeat this so often and in ever new examples, bring forward their objections himself, which he senses unspoken, and refute and shatter them for so long until finally the last group of an opposition lets him recognize, through their posture and their facial expressions, their capitulation to his argumentation.

In this regard, it is not seldom a matter of people overcoming prejudices that are not grounded in their reason, but are mostly unconscious, supported only by feeling. To overcome this barrier of instinctive aversion, of emotional hatred, of biased rejection, is a thousand times more difficult than the rectification of a faulty and erroneous scientific opinion. False concepts and poor knowledge can be eliminated through instruction, but resistances of feeling never. Only an appeal to these mysterious full forces themselves can act here; and this can hardly ever be the writer, but almost exclusively only the speaker.

The most striking proof of this is provided by the fact that despite an often very cleverly presented bourgeois press, which floods our people in unheard-of millions of copies, this press could not prevent the broad masses from becoming the sharpest enemy of precisely this bourgeois world. The entire flood of newspapers and all the books produced year after year by intellectualism slide off the millions of the lower classes like water from oiled leather. This can only prove two things: either the incorrectness of the content of this entire writing achievement of our bourgeois world, or the impossibility of reaching the heart of the broad masses through literature alone. Especially, of course, when this literature itself is as un-psychologically oriented as is the case here.

One should not reply (as a large German-national newspaper in Berlin attempted) that Marxism itself, precisely through its literature, especially through the effect of the fundamental work by Karl Marx, provides the counter-proof for this assertion. Rarely has anyone attempted to support an erroneous view more superficially. What has given Marxism its astonishing power over the broad masses is by no means the formal, written work of Jewish intellectual labor, but rather the monstrous wave of oratorical propaganda that took possession of the broad masses over the years. Out of a hundred thousand German workers, on average not even a hundred know this work, which has always been studied by a thousand times more intellectuals and especially Jews than by actual followers of this movement from the large lower classes. This work was not written for the broad masses at all, but exclusively for the intellectual leadership of that Jewish machine for world conquest; it was then heated with entirely different material: the press. For that is what the Marxist press differs from our bourgeois one. The Marxist press is written by agitators, and the bourgeois would like to conduct agitation through writers. The social-democratic hack editor, who almost always comes to the editorial office directly from the meeting hall, knows his people like no other. The bourgeois scribe, however, who steps out of his study before the broad masses, becomes sick from their mere fumes and therefore stands helpless before them even with the written word.

What won the millions of workers for Marxism is less the writing style of Marxist church fathers than the tireless and truly enormous propaganda work of tens of thousands of tireless agitators, starting from the great apostle of incitement down to the small trade union official and the shop steward and discussion speaker; these are the hundreds of thousands of meetings where, standing on tables in smoky taverns, these folk orators hammered away at the masses and thus knew how to gain a fabulous knowledge of this human material, which all the more enabled them to choose the most effective weapons of attack against the fortress of public opinion. And these were further the gigantic mass demonstrations, those hundred-thousand-man processions, which burned into the small, wretched man the proud conviction that, though a small worm, he was nevertheless a limb of a great dragon, under whose glowing breath the hated bourgeois world would one day go up in fire and flames and the proletarian dictatorship would celebrate the final victory.

From such propaganda then came the people who were ready and prepared to read a social-democratic press, but a press that itself was not written, but spoken. For while in the bourgeois camp professors and scribes, theorists and writers of all kinds sometimes also tried to speak—

seek, speakers in Marxism sometimes also try to write. And precisely the Jew, who comes into particular consideration here, will generally, by virtue of his mendacious dialectical skill and agility, also be more of an agitating speaker as a writer than a creative author.

That is the reason why the bourgeois newspaper world (quite apart from the fact that it is itself for the most part Judaized and therefore has no interest in truly instructing the broad masses) is not able to exert the slightest influence on the attitude of the broadest strata of our people.

How difficult it is to overturn emotional prejudices, moods, feelings, etc., and to replace them with others, on how many barely measurable influences and conditions success depends, the sensitive speaker can judge by the fact that even the time of day at which the lecture takes place can have a decisive influence on its effect. The same lecture, the same speaker, the same theme have completely different effects at ten o'clock in the morning, at three o'clock in the afternoon, or in the evening. I myself, as a beginner, had scheduled meetings for the morning and remember in particular a rally that we held as a protest "against the oppression of German territories" in the Münchner-Kindl-Keller. This was Munich's largest hall at the time, and the venture seemed very great. To make it particularly easy for the followers of the movement and all others who came to attend, I scheduled the meeting for a Sunday morning at ten o'clock. The result was depressing, yet at the same time extraordinarily instructive: the hall was full, the impression truly overwhelming, but the mood was icy cold; no one warmed up, and I myself as a speaker felt deeply unhappy at being unable to establish any connection, not the slightest contact with my listeners. I did not believe I had spoken worse than usual; yet the effect seemed equal to zero. Completely unsatisfied, even if richer by one experience having become [so], I left the meeting. Tests that I later undertook in the same manner led to the same result.

This should not come as a surprise. One may go to a theater performance and watch a play at three o'clock in the afternoon and the same play with the same cast at eight o'clock in the evening, and one will be astonished by the diversity of the effect and the impression. A person with fine feeling and the ability to gain clarity about this mood for themselves will readily be able to determine that the impression of the performance in the afternoon is not as great as that in the evening. The same observation applies even to a cinema piece. This is important because, in the case of the theater, one might say that perhaps the actor does not exert themselves as much in the afternoon as in the evening. The film, however, is no different in the afternoon than at nine o'clock in the evening. No, time itself exerts a certain effect here, just as space does upon me. There are rooms that leave one cold for reasons that are difficult to recognize, which somehow offer the most violent resistance to any creation of mood. Traditional memories and ideas present within a person are also capable of decisively determining an impression. Thus, a performance of "Parsifal" in Bayreuth will always have a different effect than at any other place in the world. The mysterious magic of the house on the Festival Hill of the old Margravial city cannot be replaced or even matched by external means.

In all these cases, it is a matter of impairments to human freedom of will. This applies most, of course, to meetings where people come with an opposing volitional attitude and who must now be won over to a new will. In the morning and even during the day, the volitional forces of humans still seem to struggle with the highest energy against the attempt to impose a foreign will and a foreign opinion. In the evening, on the other hand, they succumb more easily to the dominating force of a stronof a stronger will. For truly, every such assembly represents a wrestling match between two opposing forces. The superior eloquence of a dominant apostolic nature will now more easily succeed in winning over people to the new will who have themselves already experienced a weakening of their power of resistance in the most natural way, than those who are still in full possession of their mental and volitional resilience.

The same purpose is served by the artificially created and yet mysterious twilight of Catholic churches, the burning candles, incense, censers, etc.

In this wrestling match of the orator with the opponents to be converted, the former will gradually acquire that wonderful sensitivity for the psychological conditions of propaganda which the writer almost always lacks. Therefore, the written word, in its limited effect, will generally serve more to preserve, consolidate, and deepen an already existing conviction or opinion. All truly great historical upheavals have not been brought about by the written word, but at most accompanied by it.

One should not believe that the French Revolution would ever have come about through philosophical theories if it had not found an army of agitators led by demagogues of the highest caliber, who whipped up the passions of a people already in torment, until finally that terrible volcanic eruption occurred which froze all of Europe in terror. And likewise, the greatest revolutionary upheaval of recent times, the Bolshevik Revolution in Russia, did not occur through the writings of Lenin, but through the hate-stirring oratorical activity of countless agitators, both great and small.

The masses of illiterates were certainly not inspired for the communist revolution by the theoretical reading of a Karl Marx, but only by the glittering heaven that thousands of agitators—all, to be sure, in the service of an idea—preached to the people.

And that has always been so and will remain so forever.

It corresponds entirely to the stubborn world-alienation of our German intelligentsia to believe that the writer must necessarily be intellectually superior to the speaker. This view is illustrated in the most delightful way by a critique in the aforementioned national newspaper, in which it is stated that one is so often disappointed to suddenly see the speech of a recognized great speaker in print. This reminds me of another critique that came into my hands during the course of the war; it examined the speeches of Lloyd George, who was then still Minister of Munitions, most painstakingly, only to arrive at the witty conclusion that these speeches were intellectually and scientifically inferior, and otherwise banal and self-evident products. I then got hold of a small volume of some of these speeches myself and had to laugh out loud that a normal German "knight of the ink" had no understanding of these psychological masterpieces of spiritual mass influence. This man judged these speeches solely by the impression they left on his own blasé attitude, while the great English demagogue had focused solely on exerting the greatest possible effect on the mass of his listeners and, in the broadest sense, on the entire lower English people. Viewed from this standpoint, however, the speeches of this Englishman were most wonderful achievements, as they testified to a truly astonishing knowledge of the soul of the broad masses of the people. Their effect was indeed a truly resounding one.

Compare with this the helpless stammering of a Bethmann Hollweg. On the surface, these speeches were admittedly more intellectual, but in reality, they only showed the inability of this man to speak to his people, whom he simply did not know. Nevertheless, the average sparrow-brain of a German, naturally highly educated scientifically, scribbling soul manages to judge the intellectuality of the English minister by the impression—

to appreciate the impression that a speech aimed at mass effect leaves on his inner self, calcified by sheer science, and to compare it with that of a German statesman whose witty chatter naturally finds more receptive ground with him. That Lloyd George was not only equal but a thousand times superior to a Bethmann Hollweg in genius was proven by the very fact that he found in his speeches that form and expression which opened the hearts of his people to him and finally let this people serve his will completely. It is precisely in the primitivity of this language, the originality of its forms of expression, and the use of easily understandable, simplest examples that the proof of the outstanding political ability of this Englishman lies. For I must not measure the speech of a statesman to his people by the impression it leaves on a university professor, but by the effect it exerts on the people. And this alone also provides the measure for the genius of the speaker.

* * *

The astonishing development of our movement, which was founded only a few years ago out of nothing and is already considered worthy today of being most sharply persecuted by all internal and external enemies of our people, is to be attributed to the constant consideration and application of these insights.

However important the literature of the movement may be, in our current situation it will nevertheless have greater significance for the equal and uniform education of the upper and lower leaders than for the winning over of oppositely minded masses. Only in the rarest cases will a convinced Social Democrat or a fanatical Communist condescend to acquire a National Socialist brochure or even a book, to read it and to gain an insight into our worldview from it or to study the criticism of his own. Even a newspaper will only very rarely be read if it does not bear the stamp of party affiliation from the outset. Moreover, this would also be of little use, for the overall image of a single newspaper issue is so fragmented and so splintered in its effect that one could not expect any influence on the reader from a one-time reading. However, one cannot and should not expect anyone for whom even pennies play a role to subscribe permanently to an opposing newspaper just out of the urge for objective enlightenment. Hardly one in ten thousand will do this. Only those who have already been won over to the movement will read the party organ permanently, specifically as a continuous news service for their movement.

It is quite different with the "spoken" leaflet! One person or another, especially if he receives it free of charge, will be much more likely to pick it up, all the more so if a topic that is currently on everyone's lips is treated vividly in the headline. After a more or less thorough perusal, he might be made aware of new perspectives and attitudes, and even of a new movement, through such a leaflet. But even in the best-case scenario, this only provides a slight impulse, never a fait accompli. For the leaflet, too, can only suggest something or point to something, and its effect will only occur in connection with a subsequent thorough instruction and enlightenment of its readers. This is and always remains the mass meeting.

The mass meeting is also necessary because in it the individual, who at first feels isolated as a prospective supporter of a young movement and easily falls prey to the fear of being alone, for the first time sees the image of a receives from a larger community, which has a strengthening and encouraging effect on most people. The same man will, within the framework of a company or a battalion, surrounded by all his comrades, set out for an assault with a lighter heart than he would if left entirely to his own devices. In a pack, he still feels somewhat secure, even if in reality a thousand reasons might speak against it.

The commonality of the large demonstration, however, not only strengthens the individual, but it also unites and helps to create esprit de corps. The man who, as the first representative of a new doctrine in his enterprise or in his workshop, is exposed to heavy pressures, necessarily requires that strengthening which lies in the conviction of being a member and a fighter of a large, comprehensive body. He receives the impression of this body for the first time only in the collective mass demonstration. When he steps out of his small workplace or out of the large factory, in which he feels quite small, for the first time into the mass meeting and now has thousands upon thousands of people of the same mindset around him, when as a seeker he is swept away into the powerful effect of the suggestive intoxication and the enthusiasm of three to four thousand others, when the visible success and the approval of thousands confirm to him the correctness of the new doctrine and for the first time awaken doubt in the truth of his previous conviction — then he himself succumbs to the magical influence of what we designate with the word mass suggestion. The will, the longing, but also the power of thousands accumulates in every individual. The man who enters such a meeting doubting and wavering leaves it inwardly fortified: he has become a member of a community.

The National Socialist movement must never forget this, and in particular, it must never allow itself to be influenced by those bourgeois simpletons who know everything better, but nonetheless [lost] a great state along with their...

forfeited their own existence and the rule of their class. Yes, they are immensely clever, they can do everything, they understand everything—only one thing alone they have not understood, namely, how to prevent the German people from falling into the arms of Marxism. In this, they have failed most miserably and pitifully, so that their current conceit is merely arrogance, which, as is well known, always grows on the same branch as stupidity.

If these people today do not grant any special value to the spoken word, they do so, by the way, only because they have already—praise and thanks be to God—thoroughly convinced themselves of the ineffectiveness of their own speeches.

Chapter 7

The Struggle with the Red Front

I personally attended so-called bourgeois meetings in 1919/20 and also in 1921. They always made the same impression on me as the mandated spoonful of cod liver oil did in my youth. One is supposed to take it, and it is said to be very good, but it tastes atrocious! If one were to tie the German people together with ropes and drag them by force into these bourgeois "rallies," locking the doors until the end of every performance and letting no one out, then perhaps in a few centuries it might lead to success. However, I must openly confess that life would then probably no longer bring me joy, and I would rather not be a German at all. Since one cannot do that, thank God, one should not be surprised if the healthy, unspoiled people avoid "bourgeois mass meetings" like the devil avoids holy water.

I have come to know them, these prophets of a bourgeois worldview, and I am truly not surprised, but rather understand why they attach no importance whatsoever to the spoken word. At that time, I attended meetings of the Democrats, the German Nationalists, the German People's Party members, and also the Bavarian People's Party members (Bavarian Center). What immediately struck one was the homogeneous solidarity of the listeners. It was almost always only party members who took part in such a rally. The whole thing, devoid of any discipline, resembled a yawning card-playing club more than a meeting of the people who had just undergone their greatest revolution.

In order to maintain this peaceful atmosphere, everything that could possibly be done was done by the speakers. They spoke, or rather, they mostly read speeches in the style of a witty newspaper article or a scientific treatise, avoided all strong language, and occasionally threw in a weak, professorial joke, at which the honorable board table began to laugh as a matter of duty; even if not loudly, so as not to be provocative, then at least in a refined, muffled, and restrained manner.

And then there was that board table itself!

I once saw a meeting in the Wagner Hall in Munich; it was a demonstration on the occasion of the anniversary of the Battle of the Nations at Leipzig. The speech was delivered or read by a dignified old gentleman, a professor at some university. The board sat on the podium. On the left a monocle, on the right a monocle, and in between one without a monocle. All three in frock coats, so that one received the impression either of a court of law about to carry out an execution, or of a solemn christening—in any case, of a rather religious act of consecration. The so-called speech, which might have looked quite nice in print, was simply dreadful in its effect. After only three-quarters of an hour, the entire assembly was dozing away in a state of trance, interrupted only by the departure of individual little men and women, the clatter of the waitresses, and the yawning of more and more listeners. Three workers who were present in the meeting, whether out of curiosity or as assigned sentries, and behind whom I stationed myself, looked at each other from time to time with ill-concealed grins and finally nudged each other with their elbows, whereupon they very quietly left the hall. One could tell by looking at them that they did not want to disturb anyone at any price. In this company, that was really not necessary. Finally, the meeting seemed to be drawing to a close. After the professor, whose voice had meanwhile become quieter and quieter, had concluded his lecture, the one between the two monocles rose—

The meeting leader, seated among the officials, addressed the "German sisters" and "brothers" present, bellowing about how great his gratitude was and how their feelings in this direction must be for the unique and magnificent lecture that Professor X. had given them here in a manner as enjoyable as it was thorough and profound, and which in the truest sense of the word had been an "inner experience," even a "deed." It would mean a profanation of this solemn hour, he said, if one were to add a discussion to these enlightened remarks; therefore, in the spirit of all those present, he would refrain from such a debate and instead ask everyone to rise from their seats to join in the cry: "We are a united people of brothers," etc. Finally, as a conclusion, he called for the singing of the *Deutschlandlied*.

And then they sang, and it seemed to me as if already by the second verse the voices became somewhat fewer and only swelled powerfully again during the refrain, and by the third verse this sensation intensified, so that I believed not everyone might have been entirely sure of the text. But what does this matter, when such a song rings out to heaven with full fervor from the heart of a German-national soul!

Thereupon the meeting dispersed, i.e., everyone hurried to get out quickly, some to beer, others to a café, and still others into the fresh air. Yes, out into the fresh air, just out! That was also my only sensation. And this is supposed to serve the glorification of a heroic struggle of hundreds of thousands of Prussians and Germans? For shame, and again, for shame!

The government may indeed love such a thing. That is, of course, a "peaceful" meeting. There, the Minister for Peace and Order really has no need to fear that the waves of enthusiasm might suddenly burst the official measure of bourgeois decency; that suddenly, in the intoxication of enthusiasm, the people...

streaming from the hall, not to hurry to a café or tavern, but to march in rows of four in lockstep with "Germany Highly Honored" through the streets of the city, thereby causing inconvenience to a police force in need of rest.

No, with such citizens one can be satisfied.

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In contrast, the National Socialist meetings were certainly no "peaceful" gatherings. There, the waves of two worldviews clashed against each other, and they did not conclude with the vapid rattling off of some patriotic song, but with the fanatical outburst of völkisch and national passion.

From the very beginning, it was important to introduce blind discipline into our meetings and to absolutely ensure the authority of the meeting leadership. For what we spoke was not the powerless drivel of a bourgeois "speaker," but was always suited by content and form to provoke the opponent to a reply! And opponents were in our meetings! How often they came in thick crowds, individual agitators among them, and on all faces reflecting the conviction: Today we will finish you off!

Yes, how often were they literally led in in columns back then, our friends of the red color, with the task previously drilled into them to smash the whole business tonight and put an end to the story! And how often did everything then stand on a knife's edge, and only the ruthless energy of our meeting leadership and the brutal aggressiveness of our hall security could repeatedly thwart the opponent's intention.

And they had every reason to be irritated.

Even the red color of our posters drew them into our meeting halls. The normal bourgeoisie was quite...

horrified that we, too, had resorted to the red of the Bolsheviks, and they saw in this a very ambiguous matter. The German-national spirits repeatedly whispered the suspicion to one another in secret that, basically, we were also just a variety of Marxism, perhaps even just disguised Marxists or, better yet, Socialists. For these minds have not yet grasped the difference between Socialism and Marxism to this day. Especially when it was also discovered that in our meetings we fundamentally did not greet "Ladies and Gentlemen," but only "National Comrades" (male and female), and spoke among ourselves only of party comrades, the Marxist ghost seemed proven to many of our opponents. How often have we shaken with laughter at these simple-minded bourgeois cowards in the face of the witty guessing games about our origin, our intentions, and our goal.

We chose the red color of our posters after careful and thorough consideration, in order to provoke the left side, to bring them to indignation and to entice them to come to our meetings, even if only to break them up, so that in this way we could talk to the people at all.

It was delightful in those years to follow the perplexity and also helplessness of our opponents in their eternally wavering tactics. First, they called upon their followers to take no notice of us and to avoid our meetings.
This was also generally followed.
But since, in the course of time, individuals came nonetheless and this number slowly but increasingly grew, and the impression of our teaching was evident, the leaders gradually became nervous and restless and became obsessed with the conviction that one could not watch this development forever, but must put an end to it with terror.

Thereupon came the calls to the "class-conscious proletarians" to go in masses to our meetings, in order to [attack] the "monarchist, reactionary...

agitation" in their representatives with the fists of the proletariat.

Suddenly, our meetings were filled with workers as early as three-quarters of an hour before the scheduled time. They resembled a powder keg that could explode at any moment, and to which the burning fuse had already been applied. Yet it always turned out differently. People came in as our enemies and went out, if not yet as our supporters, then at least as thoughtful, even critical examiners of the correctness of their own doctrine. Gradually, however, it reached a point where, after my three-hour lecture, supporters and opponents fused into a single enthusiastic mass. Then, any signal to break up the meeting was in vain. And that was when the leaders truly began to feel afraid, and they turned back to those who had previously taken a stand against this tactic and who now pointed to their view with a certain appearance of justification: that the only right thing to do was to fundamentally forbid the worker from attending our meetings.

Then they no longer came, or at least in fewer numbers. But after only a short time, the whole game began all over again. The ban was not maintained; the comrades came in increasing numbers, and finally, the supporters of the radical tactic triumphed once more. We were to be broken up.

When, after two, three, often even eight or ten meetings, it turned out that breaking them up was easier said than done, and the result of every single meeting meant a crumbling away of the red combat troops, then suddenly the other slogan came again: "Proletarians, comrades, male and female! Avoid the meetings of the National Socialist agitators!"

The same eternally wavering tactic was also found, incidentally, in the red press. At one moment they tried to kill us with silence, only to convince themselves of the pointlessness of this attempt and return to the opposite. We were "mentioned" in some way every day, and mostly to demonstrate to the worker the absolute ridiculousness to make our entire existence clear. After some time, however, the gentlemen had to feel that this not only did not harm us, but on the contrary, was useful to the extent that naturally many individuals had to ask themselves the question of why so many words were dedicated to a phenomenon if it were so ridiculous. People became curious. Thereupon, they suddenly pivoted and began, for a time, to treat us as true general criminals against humanity. Article after article, in which our criminality was explained and proven anew time and again, scandal stories, even if fabricated from A to Z, were then intended to do the rest. However, they seemed to have become convinced of the ineffectiveness of these attacks as well after a short time; basically, all of this only helped to concentrate general attention on us all the more.

At that time, I took the standpoint: It does not matter whether they laugh at us or revile us, whether they present us as buffoons or as criminals; the main thing is that they mention us, that they occupy themselves with us again and again, and that we gradually appear in the eyes of the workers themselves as the power with which, at present, the only remaining confrontation is taking place. What we really are and what we really want, we will show the Jewish press pack one fine day.

One reason why it usually did not come to direct disruptions of our meetings at that time was, however, also the quite incredible cowardice of the leaders of our opponents. In all critical cases, they sent forward "little Johnnies," and at most waited outside the halls for the result of the disruption.

We were almost always very well informed about the intentions of these gentlemen. Not only because, for reasons of expediency, we ourselves left many party comrades within the red formations, but because the red masterminds themselves were seized by a talkativeness that was very useful to us in this case, such as one finds in un-

...unfortunately found very frequently among our German people. They could not keep a secret when they had hatched something; in fact, they usually tended to cackle before the egg was even laid. Thus, we had often and repeatedly made the most extensive preparations without the red disruption squads having even the slightest inkling of how close their expulsion was.

This period forced us to take the protection of our meetings into our own hands; one can never count on official protection; on the contrary, experience shows it always benefits only the disruptors. For the only actual result of official intervention, namely by the police, was at most the dissolution of the meeting, and thus its closure. And that was precisely the goal and intention of the opposing disruptors.

In general, a practice has developed here within the police that represents the most monstrous illegality imaginable. Namely, if the authorities become aware through any threats that there is a danger of a meeting being broken up, they do not arrest those making the threats, but instead forbid the others, the innocent ones, from holding the meeting—a piece of wisdom that a normal police mind still prides itself on immensely. They call it a "preventative measure to prevent an illegality."

The determined bandit, therefore, has it in his power at any time to make the political activity and engagement of decent people impossible. In the name of peace and order, the state authority bows before the bandit and requests the other party to kindly not provoke him. Thus, when National Socialists wanted to hold meetings in certain places and the trade unions declared that this would lead to resistance from their members, the police by no means put the extortionist fellows under lock and key, but instead forbade us from holding the meeting. Indeed, these organs of the law even had the unbelievable impudence to communicate this to us in writing countless times.

If one wanted to protect oneself against such eventualities, one had to ensure that every attempt at a disturbance was nipped in the bud.

In this regard, however, the following also came into consideration: Every meeting that receives its protection exclusively through the police discredits the organizers in the eyes of the broad masses. Meetings whose holding is guaranteed only by the deployment of a large police force do not act as an advertisement, insofar as the prerequisite for winning over the lower strata of a people is always an obviously existing strength.

Just as a courageous man will more easily conquer women's hearts than a coward, so a heroic movement also wins the heart of a people sooner than a cowardly one that is kept alive only by police protection.

Particularly for this latter reason, the young party had to ensure that it represented its own existence, protected itself, and broke the opposing terror itself.

Meeting protection was built upon:

1. an energetic and psychologically correct management of the meeting;
2. an organized steward troop.

When we National Socialists held a meeting back then, we were the masters of it and no one else. And we emphasized this master-right most sharply, uninterruptedly, in every minute. Our opponents knew very well that whoever provoked back then was thrown out ruthlessly, even if we ourselves had been only a dozen among half a thousand. In the meetings of that time, especially outside of Munich, fifteen or sixteen National Socialists encountered five, six, seven, and eight hundred opponents. Yet we would nonetheless have tolerated no provocation, and our meeting attendees knew very well that we would rather have let ourselves be beaten to death than surrender. It was more than once that a handful of party comrades heroically held their own against a roaring and striking red superior force.

Certainly, in such cases, these fifteen or twenty men would have been overwhelmed in the end. However, the others knew that beforehand at least double or triple their number would have had their skulls smashed in, and they did not like to risk that.

We have tried to learn here from the study of Marxist and bourgeois meeting techniques and have indeed learned.

The Marxists had always possessed a blind discipline, so that the thought of breaking up a Marxist meeting could not even occur, at least from the bourgeois side. All the more did the Reds themselves always occupy themselves with such intentions. They had gradually not only achieved a certain virtuosity in this field but finally went so far as to describe a non-Marxist meeting in large areas of the Reich as a provocation of the proletariat in itself; especially when the wire-pullers sensed that at the meeting their own record of sins might be enumerated in order to reveal the baseness of their activity, which lies to and deceives the people.

As soon as such a meeting was announced, the entire red press raised a furious outcry, whereby these principled despisers of the law not infrequently were the first to turn to the authorities with the request, as urgent as it was threatening, to immediately prevent this "provocation of the proletariat," "so that worse things may be averted." Depending on the size of the official blockhead, they chose their language and achieved their success. If, however, by way of exception, there was actually a German official at such a post, not an official creature, and he rejected the impudent presumption, then followed the well-known summons not to tolerate such a "provocation of the proletariat," but to appear in masses at the meeting on such-and-such a date in order to "the bourgeois-to put an end to the shameful trade of these wretched creatures with the help of the calloused fist of the proletariat."

Now, one must have seen such a bourgeois meeting, must have experienced its meeting leadership in all its misery and in its fear! Quite often, a meeting was simply canceled in response to such threats. But the fear was always so great that instead of eight o'clock, the opening rarely took place before a quarter to nine or nine o'clock. The chairman then endeavored, through ninety-nine compliments, to make it clear to the "gentlemen of the opposition" present how much he and all the others present were inwardly delighted (a flat lie!) about the visit of men who did not yet stand on their ground, because only through mutual discussion (which he thus solemnly promised right from the start) could views be brought closer together, mutual understanding awakened, and a bridge be built. Whereby he incidentally also assured them that it was by no means the intention of the meeting to alienate people from their previous views. By no means, no, everyone should be saved in his own fashion, but also let others be saved, and therefore he asked that the speaker be allowed to finish his remarks, which would not be very long anyway, and that the world not be presented with the shameful spectacle of internal German brotherly strife in this meeting as well... Brrr.

The brotherly people from the left, however, usually had no understanding for this; rather, before the speaker had even begun, he already had to pack up amidst the wildest insults, and one not infrequently got the impression as if he were still grateful to fate for the quick shortening of the torturous procedure. Amidst tremendous spectacle, such bourgeois meeting toreadors left the arena, provided they did not fly down the stairs with dented heads, which was even often the case.

Thus, it certainly meant something new for the Marxists, when we National Socialists organized our first meetings, and especially how we organized them. They came in with the conviction that they could, as a matter of course, repeat the little game they had played so often with us as well. "Today we're shutting it down!" How many a man, upon entering our meeting, loudly shouted this sentence to another, only to find himself sitting in front of the hall entrance in a flash, before he could even make a second heckle.

Firstly, the leadership of the meeting was already different with us. We did not beg for the gracious permission to give our presentation, nor was an endless discussion promised to everyone from the outset; instead, it was summarily established that we were the masters of the meeting, that we consequently possessed the domestic authority, and that anyone who dared to make even a single heckle would be mercilessly thrown out the same way he had come in. Furthermore, we had to decline any responsibility for such a fellow; if time remained and it suited us, we would allow a discussion to take place, if not, then none, and the speaker, Party Comrade So-and-so, now has the floor.

They were already astonished by that.

Secondly, we possessed a tightly organized hall security service. In the bourgeois parties, this hall security, or rather order service, usually consisted of gentlemen who believed that, in the dignity of their age, they possessed a certain right to authority and respect. Since the Marxist-incited masses did not care in the slightest about age, authority, and respect, the existence of this bourgeois hall security was practically, so to speak, abolished.

Right at the beginning of our large-scale meeting activity, I initiated the organization of a hall security service as an order service, which fundamentally comprised nothing but young fellows. They were partly comrades whom I knew from military service, others were newly won young party members who, from the very beginning, were instructed that...

and were subsequently raised with the conviction that terror can only be broken by terror; that on this earth, the brave and determined have always had success on their side; that we fight for a mighty idea, so great and sublime that it well deserves to be shielded and protected with the last drop of blood. They were imbued with the doctrine that if reason should ever fall silent and force have the final word, the best weapon of defense lies in the attack, and that the reputation of our order troop must precede it—not as a debating club, but as a combat community determined to the utmost.

And how this youth had longed for such a slogan!

How disappointed and indignant this campaign generation had been, full of disgust and loathing for the bourgeois spinelessness!

It then became so very clear how the revolution was truly only possible thanks to the devastating bourgeois leadership of our people. The fists to protect the German people would have been there even then; only the heads for the deployment had been missing. How the eyes of my boys often lit up back then when I explained to them the necessity of their mission, assuring them again and again that all wisdom on this earth remains unsuccessful unless strength enters its service, shields and protects it; that the mild goddess of peace can only walk by the side of the god of war, and that every great deed of this peace requires the protection and help of strength! How the idea of compulsory military service has now dawned on them in a much more vivid form! Not in the calcified sense of old, ossified bureaucratic souls in the service of the dead authority of a dead state, but in the living realization of the duty to stand up for the existence of one's people as a whole through the devotion of the individual's life, always and at all times, in every place and in every spot.

And how these boys then joined in!

Like a swarm of hornets, they flew at the disturbers of our meetings, regardless of their superior numbers, however great they might be, regardless of wounds and bloody sacrifices, entirely filled with the great idea of clearing the way for the holy mission of our movement.

As early as midsummer 1920, the organization of the security squad gradually took on definite forms, in order to gradually organize itself into hundreds in the spring of 1921, which in turn divided themselves into groups.

And this was urgently necessary, for in the meantime the meeting activity had steadily increased. To be sure, we still often met in the festival hall of the Munich Hofbräuhaus, but even more often in the larger halls of the city. The Bürgerbräu festival hall and the Münchner-Kindl-Keller experienced ever more powerful mass meetings in the autumn and winter of 1920/21, and the picture was always the same:

Rallies of the NSDAP. even then usually had to be closed by the police before the start due to overcrowding.

* * *

The organization of our security squad brought a very important question to clarification. Until then, the movement possessed no party emblem and also no party flag. The lack of such symbols not only had immediate disadvantages but was intolerable for the future. The disadvantages consisted primarily in the fact that the party comrades lacked any outward sign of their belonging together, while for the future it was unbearable to have to do without a sign that possessed the character of a symbol of the movement and as such could be opposed to the International.

What significance, however, is attributed to such a symbol psychologically, I had already had the opportunity to recognize more than once in my youth and also to feel emotionally.

understand. After the war, I then experienced a mass demonstration of Marxism in Berlin in front of the Royal Palace and Lustgarten. A sea of red flags, red armbands, and red flowers gave this demonstration, in which an estimated one hundred and twenty thousand people took part, a formidable appearance even from a purely external perspective. I could feel and understand for myself how easily the man of the people succumbs to the suggestive magic of such a grandiosely effective spectacle.

The bourgeoisie, which represents or stands for no worldview at all in terms of party politics, therefore had no flag of its own. It consisted of "patriots" and consequently walked around in the colors of the Reich. Had these themselves been the symbol of a specific worldview, then one could have understood that the holders of the state also saw in its flag the representative of their worldview, since the symbol of their worldview had become the state and Reich flag through their own activity.

However, things were not like that.

The Reich had been constructed without the assistance of the German bourgeoisie, and the flag itself had been born from the womb of war. Thus, it was really only a state flag and possessed no significance in the sense of a special ideological mission.

Only in one part of the German-speaking area was there something like a bourgeois party flag, in German-Austria. By choosing the colors of the year forty-eight, Black-Red-Gold, as its party flag, a part of the national bourgeoisie there created a symbol that, although ideologically without any significance, nevertheless bore a revolutionary character in terms of state policy. The sharpest enemies of this Black-Red-Gold flag were at that time — this should never be forgotten today — Social Democrats and Christian Socials or Clericals. It was precisely they who at that time insulted, defiled, and smeared these colors, just as they later—

ter, 1918, dragged Black-White-Red into the gutter. However, the Black-Red-Gold of the German parties of old Austria was the color of the year '48, a time that may have been fantastic, but which individually possessed the most honest German souls as representatives, even if the Jew stood invisibly in the background as the mastermind. Consequently, it was only the betrayal of the fatherland and the shameless bartering away of the German people and German property that made this flag so sympathetic to Marxism and the Center Party that today they revere it as the highest sanctuary and found their own banners for the protection of the flag they once spat upon.

Thus, until the year 1920, Marxism was actually not confronted by any flag that would have embodied the polar opposite to it in terms of worldview. For even if the German bourgeoisie in its better parties no longer wanted to condescend after the year 1918 to adopt the suddenly discovered black-red-gold imperial flag as its own symbol, they themselves had no program of their own for the future to oppose the new development, at best the thought of a reconstruction of the past Empire.

And it is to this thought that the black-white-red flag of the old Empire owes its resurrection as the flag of our so-called national bourgeois parties.

That the symbol of a state of affairs which could be overcome by Marxism under circumstances and accompanying phenomena that were hardly glorious is poorly suited as a sign under which this same Marxism is to be destroyed again, is obvious. As sacred and dear as these old, uniquely beautiful colors in their youthful freshness of composition must be to every decent German who fought under them and saw the sacrifice of so many, so little does this

The Flag as a Symbol for a Struggle of the Future.

I have always, in contrast to bourgeois politicians, represented the standpoint in our movement that it was a true stroke of luck for the German nation to have lost the old flag. What the Republic does under its flag can remain a matter of indifference to us. From the bottom of our hearts, however, we should thank fate that it was gracious enough to preserve the most glorious war flag of all time from being used as a bedsheet for the most shameful prostitution. The present Reich, which sells itself and its citizens, should never be allowed to carry the black-white-red flag of honor and heroes.

As long as the November shame lasts, let it wear its own outer shell and not attempt to steal this one as well from a more honorable past. Our bourgeois politicians should call it to their conscience that whoever desires the black-white-red flag for the state commits a theft against our past. The former flag was truly only suitable for the former Reich, just as, praise and thanks be to God, the Republic chose the one suitable for itself.

That was also the reason why we National Socialists could not have seen an expressive symbol of our own activity in the hoisting of the old flag. For we do not want to awaken the old Reich, which perished due to its own mistakes, from death, but rather to build a new state.

The movement that today fights against Marxism in this sense must therefore already carry the symbol of the new state in its flag.

The question of the new flag, i.e., its appearance, occupied us very intensely at that time. Suggestions came from all sides, which, however, were mostly better intended than well-executed. For the new flag had to be just as much a symbol of our own struggle as it should, on the other hand, have a great poster-like effect. Anyone who has to deal a lot with the masses themselves will, in all...

recognize very important matters in these apparent trifles. An effective badge can, in hundreds of thousands of cases, provide the first impetus for interest in a movement.

For this reason, we had to reject all suggestions to identify our movement with the old state or, more correctly, with those weak parties whose only political goal is the restoration of past conditions by using a white flag, as was suggested from many sides. Furthermore, white is not a stirring color. It is suitable for chaste associations of young maidens, but not for the transformative movements of a revolutionary time.

Black was also suggested: suitable in itself for the present time, but it contained no representation of the will of our movement that could be interpreted in any way. Finally, this color also does not have a sufficiently stirring effect.

White-blue was ruled out, despite its aesthetically wonderful effect, as the color of an individual German state and of a political attitude toward particularist narrow-mindedness that unfortunately did not enjoy the best reputation. Moreover, here too, it would have been very difficult to find a reference to our movement. The same applied to black-white.

Black-red-gold was out of the question in itself.

Nor black-white-red, for reasons already mentioned, at least not in its previous form. In its effect, however, this color combination stands sublime high above all others. It is the most radiant chord that exists.

I myself always advocated for the retention of the old colors, not only because to me as a soldier they are the holiest thing I know, but because in their aesthetic effect they also correspond by far the most to my feeling. Nevertheless, I had to reject without exception the countless designs that came in at that time from the circles of the young movement, and which for the most part had drawn the swastika into the old flag. I myself — as leader — did not want to immediately come forward with my own design to come before the public, as it was indeed possible that someone else would bring one just as good or perhaps even better. In fact, a dentist from Starnberg also delivered a design that was not at all bad, which, by the way, came quite close to mine, only it had the one flaw that the swastika was composed into a white disk with curved hooks.

I myself had meanwhile, after countless attempts, laid down a final form; a flag made of red base cloth with a white disk and in its center a black swastika. After long trials, I also found a specific ratio between the size of the flag and the size of the white disk, as well as the shape and thickness of the swastika.

And so it remained.

In the same sense, armbands for the order-keeping troops were immediately commissioned, namely a red band on which the white disk with the black swastika is also located.

The party badge was also designed according to the same guidelines: a white disk on a red field and in the center the swastika. A Munich goldsmith, Füß, delivered the first usable and then also retained design.

In the high summer of 1920, the new flag appeared before the public for the first time. It fit our young movement excellently. Just as the movement was young and new, so was the flag. No one had ever seen it before; at that time, it acted like a flaming torch. We ourselves all felt an almost childlike joy when a loyal female party member executed the design for the first time and delivered the flag. Only a few months later, we possessed half a dozen of them in Munich, and the increasingly spreading order-keeping troop especially contributed to disseminating the new symbol of the movement.

And a symbol this truly is! Not only that through the unique colors, dearly beloved by us all, which had once won so much honor for the German people, our reverence for the past is attested; it was also the best embodiment of the movement's will. As National Socialists, we see our program in our flag. In red we see the social idea of the movement, in white the nationalistic idea, and in the swastika the mission of the struggle for the victory of the Aryan man and, at the same time, the victory of the idea of creative work, which itself was eternally anti-Semitic and will be anti-Semitic.

Two years later, when the security squad had long since become a storm detachment comprising many thousands of men, it seemed necessary to give this defense organization of the young worldview a special symbol of victory: the standard. I also designed this myself and then handed it over to an old, loyal party comrade, the master goldsmith Gahr, for execution. Since then, the standard has been among the emblems and field signs of the National Socialist struggle.

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The meeting activity, which increased more and more in 1920, finally led to us holding as many as two meetings in some weeks. People crowded in front of our posters, the largest halls in the city were always filled, and tens of thousands of misled Marxists found their way back to their national community to become fighters for a coming, free German Reich. The public in Munich had gotten to know us. People spoke of us, and the word "National Socialist" became familiar to many and already signified a program. The host of followers, and even the members themselves, began to grow continuously, so that by the winter of 1920/21 we were already able to appear as a strong party in Munich.

At that time, apart from the Marxist parties, there was no party, especially no national one, that could have pointed to such mass rallies as we did. The

The Münchner-Kindl-Keller, which held five thousand people, had been packed to the bursting point more than once, and there was only one single room left that we had not yet dared to approach, and this was the Circus Krone.

At the end of January 1921, heavy worries arose for Germany once again. The Paris Agreement, on the basis of which Germany committed itself to the payment of the insane sum of one hundred billion gold marks, was to become a reality in the form of the London Dictate.

A working group of so-called völkisch associations, which had existed in Munich for a long time, wanted to invite people to a larger joint protest on this occasion. Time was pressing hard, and I myself was nervous in view of the eternal wavering and hesitation to actually carry out resolutions that had been made. At first, there was talk of a rally at Königsplatz, but this was abandoned again because people were afraid of being beaten up by the Reds, and a protest rally in front of the Feldherrnhalle was planned. However, this too was abandoned, and finally a joint meeting in the Münchner-Kindl-Keller was proposed. Meanwhile, day after day had passed; the major parties had taken no notice of the terrible event at all, and the working group itself could not decide to finally set a firm date for the intended rally.

On Tuesday, February 1, 1921, I urgently demanded a final decision. I was put off until Wednesday. On Wednesday, I then absolutely demanded clear information as to whether and when the meeting should take place. The information was again indefinite and evasive; it was said that they "intended" to call upon the working group for a rally on Wednesday in eight days.

With that, my thread of patience snapped, and I decided to carry out the protest rally alone. On Wednesday at noon, I dictated the poster into the typewriter in ten minutes and at the same time had the Circus rent Krone for the next day, Thursday, February 3rd.

At that time, this was an infinitely great risk. Not only did it seem questionable whether the giant space could be filled, but one also ran the risk of being broken up. Our security squad was far from sufficient for this colossal room. I also had no real idea of the possible course of action in the event of a disruption. At the time, I considered it much more difficult in the circus building than in a normal hall. However, as it turned out, it was exactly the opposite. In the giant room, it was actually easier to master a disruption squad than in cramped halls.

Only one thing was certain: any failure could set us back for a very long time. For a single successful disruption would have destroyed our aura in one blow and encouraged the opponents to try again and again what had once succeeded. That could have led to the sabotage of all our further meeting activities, which could only have been overcome after many months and after the hardest struggles.

We had only one day to put up posters, namely Thursday itself. Unfortunately, it was already raining in the morning, and the fear seemed justified whether, under such circumstances, many people would not rather stay at home instead of rushing through rain and snow to a meeting where there might possibly be murder and manslaughter.

In general, on Thursday morning I suddenly became afraid that the room might not be full after all (I would have been disgraced before the working group), so I quickly dictated some leaflets and sent them to print to have them distributed in the afternoon. These naturally contained the invitation to attend the meeting.

Two trucks, which I had rented, were wrapped in as much **red** as possible, a few of our flags were planted on them, and each was manned with fifteen to twenty occupied by party comrades; they received the order to drive diligently through the streets of the city, to drop leaflets, in short, to make propaganda for the mass rally in the evening. It was for the first time that trucks with flags drove through the city on which there were no Marxists. The bourgeoisie therefore stared after the red-decorated trucks, adorned with fluttering swastika flags, with open mouths, while in the outer districts countless clenched fists were also raised, whose owners appeared visibly enraged by the latest "provocation of the proletariat." For only Marxism had the right to hold meetings, just as it did to drive around on trucks.

By seven o'clock in the evening, the circus was not yet well occupied. I was notified by telephone every ten minutes and was quite uneasy myself; for at seven o'clock or a quarter past seven, the other halls had usually been half, indeed often almost full. However, this was soon explained. I had not reckoned with the giant dimensions of the new space: a thousand people made the Hofbräuhaus festival hall appear very well occupied, while they were simply swallowed up by the Circus Krone. They were hardly seen. Shortly thereafter, however, more favorable reports arrived, and at a quarter to eight, it was said that the room was three-quarters full and very large crowds were standing in front of the ticket counters. Thereupon I set off.

At two minutes past eight, I arrived in front of the circus. A crowd of people could still be seen in front of it, partly just curious onlookers, including many opponents who wanted to wait for the events outside.

As I entered the mighty hall, the same joy seized me as a year before in the first meeting in the Munich Hofbräuhaus festival hall. But only after I had squeezed through the walls of people and reached the high-situated podium did I see the success in its full magnitude. Like a giant shell, this hall lay before me, filled with thousands and thousands of people. Even the arena was packed to capacity. Over five thousand six hundred tickets had been issued, and if one included the total number of unemployed, poor students, and our security squads, there must have been about six and a half thousand people present.

"Future or Ruin" was the theme, and my heart rejoiced at the conviction that the future lay down there before me.

I began to speak and talked for nearly two and a half hours, and my feeling told me after the first half hour already that the meeting would be a great success. The connection to all these thousands of individuals had been established. Already after the first hour, the applause began to interrupt me in ever larger spontaneous outbursts, only to ebb away after two hours and transition into that solemn silence which I later experienced so often in this room and which will probably remain unforgettable to every single person. One could then hear little more than the breathing of this giant crowd, and only when I had spoken the last word did it suddenly surge up, to find its redeeming conclusion in the "Deutschland" song, sung with the highest fervor.

I watched as the giant space slowly began to empty and an immense sea of people pressed out through the mighty central exit for nearly twenty minutes. Only then did I myself leave my place, overjoyed, to head home.

Photographs were taken of this first meeting in the Circus Krone in Munich. They show better than words the magnitude of the demonstration. Bourgeois newspapers carried illustrations and notes, mentioning only, however, that it had been a "national" demonstration, but concealing the organizers in their usual modest manner.

With this, we had for the first time stepped far beyond the framework of an ordinary party of the day. One could

could no longer pass us by. Now, in order not to let the impression arise that this meeting success was merely a flash in the pan, I immediately scheduled a second rally in the Circus for the following week, and the success was the same. Again, the giant space was filled to the bursting point with masses of people, so that I decided to hold a third meeting in the same style in the coming week. And for the third time, the giant circus was packed full of people from bottom to top.

After this introduction to the year 1921, I increased the meeting activity in Munich even more. I now moved on to holding not just one mass meeting every week, but in some weeks two; indeed, in midsummer and late autumn, it sometimes became three. We now always met in the Circus and were able to note to our satisfaction that all our evenings brought the same success.

The result was an ever-increasing number of followers of the movement and a large increase in membership.

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Such successes naturally did not let our opponents rest either. After they had always vacillated in their tactics, sometimes professing terror and sometimes the "conspiracy of silence," they could not, as they themselves had to recognize, hinder the development of the movement in any way with either one or the other. So they decided, in a final effort, on an act of terror in order to finally put a stop to our further meeting activity.

As an external occasion for the action, they used a highly mysterious assassination attempt on a member of the Landtag named Erhard Auer. Said Erhard Auer was supposed to have been shot at by someone in the evening. That is to say, he was not actually shot, but it was said that an attempt had been made to shoot at him. Fabulous presence of mind as well as the proverbial courage of the Social Democratic party leader would not only have thwarted the wicked attack, but would have put the nefarious perpetrators themselves to the most ignominious flight. They had fled so hastily and so far that the police were unable to catch even the slightest trace of them later. This mysterious event was now used by the organ of the Social Democratic Party in Munich to incite against the movement in the most excessive manner and, with the usual loquacity, to hint at what must soon follow. Care would be taken that our trees did not grow into the sky, but that proletarian fists would now intervene in good time.

And a few days later, the day of intervention had already arrived.

A meeting in the festival hall of the Munich Hofbräuhaus, in which I myself was to speak, had been chosen for the final confrontation.

On November 4, 1921, between six and seven o'clock in the afternoon, I received the first positive news that the meeting would definitely be disrupted, and that for this purpose large masses of workers, especially from some "red" factories, were intended to be sent to the meeting.

It was due to an unfortunate coincidence that we did not receive this notification even earlier. On the same day, we had given up our old, venerable office in the Sterneckergasse in Munich and had moved into a new one; that is, we were out of the old one but could not yet get into the new one because work was still being done in it. Since the telephone in the first had been disconnected and in the second had not yet been installed, a whole number of telephone attempts on that day to inform us of the intended disruption were in vain.

The consequence of this was that the meeting itself was protected only by very weak security forces. Only a numerically small company of sixty—

and forty heads was present, but the alarm apparatus was not yet so developed as to bring in substantial reinforcements within the course of an hour in the evening. Added to this was the fact that such alarming rumors had already reached our ears countless times without anything special subsequently happening. The old saying that announced revolutions usually fail to materialize had, until then, always proven correct for us as well.

For this reason, perhaps not everything was done that could have been done on that day to counter a disruption with the most brutal determination.

Finally, we considered the Munich Hofbräuhaus festival hall to be conceivably unsuitable for a disruption. We had feared it more for the largest halls, especially for the Circus. In this respect, that day gave us a valuable lesson. We later studied the whole range of questions, I might even say, with scientific methodology and arrived at results that were in part as incredible as they were interesting, and which in the following period were of fundamental importance for the organizational and tactical leadership of our Storm Detachments.

When I arrived in the vestibule of the Hofbräuhaus at a quarter to eight, however, there could no longer be any doubt about the existing intention. The hall was overcrowded and had therefore been closed by the police. The opponents, who had appeared very early, were inside the hall, and our supporters were for the most part outside. The small SA awaited me in the vestibule. I had the doors to the large hall closed and then ordered the forty-five or forty-six men to line up. I explained to the boys that today they would probably have to remain loyal to the movement for the first time come what may, and that none of us were allowed to leave the hall unless they carried us out as dead men; I myself would remain in the hall, and I did not believe that even one of them would desert me; but if I myself saw one who proved himself a coward, I would personally...

personally tear off the armband and take away the badge. Then I requested them, at the slightest attempt to break up the meeting, to proceed immediately and to be mindful of the fact that one defends oneself best by attacking.

A triple "Heil," which this time sounded rougher and hoarser than usual, was the answer.

Then I went into the hall and could now survey the situation with my own eyes. They sat packed inside and were already seeking to pierce me with their eyes. Countless faces were turned toward me with dogged hatred, while others again, with mocking grimaces, let loose very unmistakable shouts. Today they would "finish us off," we should watch out for our guts, they would finally stop our mouths, and whatever other such fine phrases there were. They were conscious of their superior numbers and felt accordingly.

Nevertheless, the meeting could be opened, and I began to speak. In the Hofbräuhaus festival hall, I always stood at one of the long sides of the hall, and my podium was a beer table. I was therefore actually right in the midst of the people. Perhaps this circumstance contributed to creating a mood in this particular hall such as I have never found similarly in any other place.

In front of me, especially to my left, sat and stood nothing but opponents. They were thoroughly robust men and youths, for the most part from the Maffei factory, from Kustermann, from the Isaria meter works, etc. Along the left wall of the hall, they had already pushed forward quite close to my table and now began to collect beer mugs; that is, they kept ordering beer and placed the empty mugs under the table. Whole batteries were thus created, and it would have surprised me if the matter had ended well again today.

After about an hour and a half—I was able to speak for that long despite all the heckling—it was almost as if I were becoming master of the situation. The leaders of the disruption squads...

seemed to feel this themselves; for they became increasingly restless, went out frequently, came back in again, and spoke to their people with visible nervousness.

A small psychological error I committed in parrying an interjection, which I became aware of myself almost as soon as the word had left my mouth, gave the signal for the attack.

A few angry shouts, and a man suddenly jumped onto a chair and roared into the hall: "Freedom!" At which signal the freedom fighters began their work.

In a few seconds, the entire room was filled with a roaring and screaming crowd, over which, like howitzer shells, countless beer mugs flew; in between, the cracking of chair legs, the bursting of mugs, howling, jeering, and screaming.

It was an idiotic spectacle.

I remained standing at my place and could observe how completely my boys fulfilled their duty.

I would have liked to see a bourgeois meeting then! The dance had not even begun when my stormtroopers—for that is what they were called from that day on—attacked. Like wolves, they threw themselves in packs of eight or ten again and again upon their opponents and actually began to thrash them out of the hall bit by bit. After only five minutes, I hardly saw one of them who was not already covered in blood. How many did I only truly get to know then; at the head my brave Maurice, my current private secretary Hess, and many others who, even though severely injured themselves, attacked again and again as long as they could stay on their feet. For twenty minutes the hellish noise lasted, but then the opponents, who might have numbered seven or eight hundred men, were for the most part beaten out of the hall by my not even fifty men and chased down the stairs. Only in the left rear corner of the hall did a large group still hold out and offer the most bitter resistance. Then suddenly, from the hall entrance towards the podium two pistol shots, and now a wild crackling broke loose. One's heart almost rejoiced again at such a refreshing of old war experiences. From then on, it was no longer possible to distinguish who was shooting; only one thing could be established: that from that moment on, the rage of my bleeding boys had increased mightily, and finally the last disruptors, overwhelmed, were driven out of the hall.

About twenty-five minutes had passed; the hall itself looked as if a shell had hit it. Many of my supporters were just being bandaged, others had to be driven away, but we had remained masters of the situation. Hermann Esser, who had taken over the chairmanship of the meeting that evening, declared: "The meeting continues. The speaker has the floor," and I then spoke again.

After we had already closed the meeting ourselves, an excited police lieutenant suddenly came rushing in and squawked into the hall with wildly flailing arms: "The meeting is dissolved."

Involuntarily, I had to laugh at this latecomer to the events; genuine police self-importance. The smaller they are, the larger they must at least appear to be.

We had really learned a lot that evening, and our opponents, too, have not forgotten the lesson they, for their part, had received.

Since then, until the autumn of 1923, the "Münchener Post" has no longer announced any fists of the proletariat to us.

Chapter 8

The Strong is Mightiest Alone

In the preceding, I have mentioned the existence of a working group of German-völkisch associations and would like to briefly discuss the problem of these working groups at this point.

In general, a working group is understood to be a group of associations that enter into a certain mutual relationship to facilitate their work, elect a common leadership of more or less great competence, and now carry out common actions together. From this alone, it follows that these must be clubs, associations, or parties whose goals and paths do not lie too far apart. It is claimed that this is always the case. It now appears to the normal average citizen to be as gratifying as it is reassuring to hear that such associations have finally, by coming together in such a "working group," discovered the "common bond" and "put aside what divides them." At the same time, the general conviction prevails that such a union then gains an enormous increase in strength, and that the otherwise weak little groups have suddenly become a power through it.

However, this is mostly false!

It is interesting and, in my eyes, important for a better understanding of this question to gain clarity as to how it can even come to the formation of associations, clubs, or the like, all of which claim to want to pursue the same goal. In and of itself, it would be logical that *one* goal should only be pursued by...

advocated by one association and that reasonably multiple associations do not advocate the same goal. Without a doubt, that goal was initially envisioned by only one association. A man announces a truth somewhere, calls for the solution of a certain question, sets a goal, and forms a movement intended to serve the realization of his intention.

Thus, a society or a party is founded which, depending on its program, is intended to bring about either the elimination of existing grievances or the achievement of a particular state in the future.

As soon as such a movement has come into being, it practically possesses a certain priority right. It would actually be self-evident that all people who intend to advocate the same goal as it does should join such a movement and thereby strengthen its power, in order to better serve the common work. Especially every mentally active mind should feel precisely in such an integration the prerequisite for the real success of a common struggle. Consequently, reasonably and with a certain honesty (on which, as I will prove later, a great deal depends), there should be only one movement for one goal.

That this is not the case can be attributed to two causes. One of them I would almost describe as tragic, while the second is miserable and is to be found in human weakness itself. At the deepest level, however, I see in both only facts that are suited to increase the will itself, its energy and intensity, and through this higher breeding of human drive, finally enable the solution of the problem in question.

The tragic cause why the solution of a certain task usually does not remain with a single association is the following: Every deed of great style on this earth will generally be the fulfillment of a wish that has long existed in millions of people, be a longing cherished in silence by many. Yes, it can happen that centuries longingly wish for the solution of a certain question because they sigh under the unbreakability of an existing condition, without the fulfillment of this general longing appearing. Peoples who can no longer find a heroic solution at all from such distress can be described as impotent, while we see the vitality of a people and the destiny for life still guaranteed by it most strikingly proven when, for liberation from a great compulsion or for the removal of a bitter distress or for the satisfaction of its restless soul, which has become insecure, fate one day grants the man blessed for it, who finally brings the long-awaited fulfillment.

It lies entirely in the nature of so-called great questions of the time that thousands participate in their solution, that many believe themselves called, indeed, that fate itself proposes various ones for choice, in order to finally give victory to the stronger, more capable one in the free play of forces and to entrust him with the solution of the problem.

So it may be that centuries, dissatisfied with the shaping of their religious life, long for a renewal, and that out of this spiritual urge dozens and more men arise who, on the basis of their insight and their knowledge, believe themselves called to the solution of this religious distress, in order to appear as prophets of a new doctrine or at least as fighters against an existing one.

Certainly here too, by virtue of natural order, the strongest will be destined to fulfill the great mission; however, the realization that precisely this one is the exclusively called one usually tends to come to the others only very late. On the contrary, they all see themselves as having equal rights and being called to the solution of the task, and the contemporary world is usually least able to distinguish which of them—because alone capable of the highest—uniquely deserves its support.

Thus, in the course of centuries, and often within the same period of time, various men appear and found movements to champion goals which, at least allegedly, are the same or are perceived as the same by the great mass of people. The people themselves likely harbor vague desires and have general convictions, without, however, being able to become precisely clear about the actual nature of the goal or their own wish, or even the possibility of their fulfillment.

The tragedy lies in the fact that those men strive toward the same goal by entirely different paths, without knowing one another, and therefore, in the purest faith in their own mission, consider themselves obligated to go their own ways without regard for others.

That such movements, parties, and religious groups arise completely independently of one another, solely out of the general will of the times, in order to operate in the same direction, is what appears tragic at least at first glance, because one is all too inclined to the opinion that the force scattered across different paths could, if concentrated into a single one, lead more quickly and surely to success. This, however, is not the case. Rather, Nature herself, in her inexorable logic, makes the decision by letting the various groups enter into competition with one another and struggle for the palm of victory, and leads that movement to the goal which has chosen the clearest, closest, and surest path.

But how should the correctness or incorrectness of a path be determined from the outside, if the play of forces were not given free rein, if the final determination were withdrawn from the doctrinaire decision of human know-it-alls and handed over to the infallible proof of visible success, which will ultimately always give the final confirmation of the correctness of an action!

Thus, various groups march on separate...

Toward the same goal, so they will, as far as they have taken notice of the existence of similar endeavors, examine the nature of their path more thoroughly, shorten it if possible, and, by exerting their utmost energy, attempt to reach the goal more quickly.

Thus, from this competition, a higher breeding of the individual fighter results, and humanity has not infrequently to thank its successes for the lessons drawn from the misfortune of failed earlier attempts.

Thus, in the fact of initial fragmentation, which at first glance appears tragic and arose without the conscious fault of individuals, we can recognize the means by which the best procedure was finally achieved.

We see in history that, in the view of most, the two paths which were once possible to take for the solution of the German question, and whose main representatives and champions were Austria and Prussia, Habsburg and Hohenzollern, should have been merged from the outset; according to their view, one should have entrusted oneself to one or the other path with united strength. But then, at that time, the path of the representative who ultimately proved more significant would have been trodden; however, the Austrian intention would never have led to a German Reich.

And now the Reich of the strongest German unity arose precisely from what millions of Germans felt with bleeding hearts to be the last and most terrible sign of our brotherly strife: the German imperial crown was in truth fetched on the battlefield of Königgrätz and not in the battles before Paris, as was later thought.

Thus, the founding of the German Reich in itself not the result of any common will on common paths, but rather the result of a conscious, sometimes also unconscious, struggle for hegemony, from which struggle Prussia finally emerged as the victor. And whoever does not renounce the truth in party-political blindness will have to confirm that so-called human wisdom would never have made the same wise decision as the wisdom of life, i.e., the free play of forces, has finally allowed to become reality. For who in German lands two hundred years ago would have seriously believed that Hohenzollern Prussia would one day be the germ cell, founder, and teacher of the new Reich, and not Habsburg?! Who today would still want to deny that fate acted better this way; indeed, who today could even imagine a German Reich supported by the principles of a rotten and decayed dynasty?

No, natural development has, even if after centuries of struggle, finally brought the best man to the position where he belonged.

This will always be so, will eternally remain so, as it has always been until now.

Therefore, it is not to be lamented if different people set out on the path to reach the same goal: the strongest and fastest will be recognized in this way and will become the victor.

There is now a second cause for why in the life of nations, movements of an apparently similar kind often seek to reach the apparently same goal by different paths. This cause is not only not tragic, but even quite wretched. It lies in the sad mixture of envy, jealousy, ambition, and a thieving disposition, which one unfortunately finds combined many times in individual subjects of humanity.

For as soon as a man appears who deeply recognizes the distress of his people and now, after having gained ultimate clarity about the nature of the illness, seriously tries to remedy them, once he has fixed a goal and chosen the path that can lead to this goal – then immediately small and tiny spirits become attentive and now eagerly follow the actions of this man who has drawn the eyes of the public upon himself. Just like sparrows who, seemingly completely uninterested but in reality extremely tense, constantly observe a luckier comrade who has found a piece of bread, in order to suddenly rob him in an unguarded moment, so too are these people. One only needs to set out on a new path, and already many lazy loiterers become suspicious and scent some rewarding morsel that might perhaps lie at the end of this path. As soon as they have found out where it might be found, they eagerly set off to reach the goal by another, possibly faster way.

Now, if the new movement is founded and has received its specific program, then those people come and claim to champion this same goal; but by no means by honestly joining the ranks of such a movement and thus recognizing its priority, but rather they steal the program and found their own party based upon it. In doing so, they are impertinent enough to assure the thoughtless contemporary world that they had wanted exactly the same thing as the other long before, and not infrequently they succeed in placing themselves in a favorable light instead of rightfully falling into general contempt. For is it not a great audacity to pretend to write the task that another has inscribed on his banner onto one's own, to borrow his programmatic guiding principles, but then, as if one had created all this oneself, to go one's own way? This audacity is particularly evident in the fact that the very same elements who first caused the fragmentation through their new foundations are, experience shows, the ones who talk most of all about the necessity of unity and oneness as soon as they...

believe they notice that the opponent's lead can no longer be caught up.

It is to such a process that the so-called "völkisch fragmentation" is due.

Admittedly, the formation of a whole series of groups, parties, etc., designated as völkisch in the years 1918/19 had occurred through the natural development of things, entirely without fault on the part of the founders. From all of them, the NSDAP had already slowly crystallized as the victor by the year 1920. The fundamental integrity of those individual founders could now be proven no more brilliantly than by the truly admirable decision of many to sacrifice their own, visibly less successful movement to the stronger one—that is, to dissolve it or to incorporate it unconditionally.

This applies especially to the main fighter of the then German Socialist Party in Nuremberg, Julius Streicher. The NSDAP and the DSP had arisen with the same ultimate goals, yet completely independently of one another. The primary champion of the DSP was, as mentioned, the then teacher Julius Streicher in Nuremberg. Initially, he too was sacredly convinced of the mission and the future of his movement. However, as soon as he could clearly and beyond doubt recognize the greater strength and the stronger growth of the NSDAP, he ceased his activity for the DSP and the Working Community and called upon his followers to join the NSDAP, which had emerged victorious from the mutual struggle, and to continue fighting in its ranks for the common goal. A decision personally as difficult as it was fundamentally decent.

From this first period of the movement, no fragmentation has remained; rather, almost everywhere the honest will of the men of that time also led to an honest, straight, and correct end. That which we today label with the term "völkisch fragmentation" owes its existence, as already emphasized, exception-

...less of the second of the causes I have cited: Ambitious men, who previously had never had thoughts of their own, much less their own goals, felt "called" at exactly the moment in which they saw the success of the NSDAP undeniably ripening.

Suddenly, programs emerged that were completely copied from ours, ideas were championed that had been borrowed from us, goals set for which we had already been fighting for years, and paths chosen which the NSDAP had long since trodden. Every means was used to justify why one was forced to form these new parties despite the long-existing NSDAP; however, the nobler the motives that were substituted, the more untruthful those phrases were.

In truth, a single reason had been decisive: the personal ambition of the founders to want to play a role for which their own dwarfish appearance in itself really brought nothing to the table but a great boldness to take over foreign thoughts, a boldness which in ordinary civil life is usually referred to as thievish.

At that time, there was nothing in the conceptions and ideas of others that such a political kleptomaniac would not have accumulated in the shortest possible time for his new business. Those who did this, however, were the same people who later, with tearful eyes, deeply lamented the "völkisch fragmentation" and incessantly spoke of the "necessity of unity," in the quiet hope of finally being able to dupe the others to the point where, tired of the eternal accusatory clamor, they would throw the movements created for their implementation to the thieves in addition to the ideas stolen so far.

If they did not succeed in this, however, and if the profitability of the new enterprises—thanks to the small intellectual dimensions of their owners—did not hold what was expected of it...

had promised, then one was certainly inclined to give it more cheaply and was already happy if one could land in one of the so-called working federations.

Everything that at that time was unable to stand on its own feet joined together into such working federations; probably proceeding from the belief that eight cripples, linked together, would surely produce a gladiator.

But if there really was one healthy person among the cripples, then he needed all his strength just to keep the others on their feet, and was thereby finally paralyzed himself.

We must always view the joining together in so-called working federations as a question of tactics; yet we must never separate ourselves from the following fundamental insight:

Through the formation of a working federation, weak associations are never transformed into strong ones, but a strong association can and often will suffer a weakening through them. The opinion that a factor of strength must result from the grouping of weak groups is incorrect, since the majority in any form and under all prerequisites will, according to experience, be the representative of stupidity and cowardice, and therefore any multiplicity of associations, as soon as it is directed by a self-chosen multi-headed leadership, is delivered over to cowardice and weakness. Also, through such a merger, the free play of forces is suppressed, the struggle for the selection of the best is turned off, and thus the necessary and final victory of the healthier and stronger is forever prevented. Such mergers are therefore enemies of natural development, for they usually hinder the solution of the problem for which the struggle is being waged far more than they promote it.

It may happen that, for purely tactical reasons, the supreme leadership of a movement that looks into the future nevertheless enters into an agreement with similar associations regarding the handling of certain questions for a very short time and perhaps even undertakes common steps. However, this must never lead to the perpetuation of such a state of affairs, unless the movement itself wishes to renounce its redeeming mission. For once it has finally become entangled in such a union, it loses the possibility and also the right to let its own strength take full effect in the sense of a natural development, thus overcoming its rivals and achieving the set goal as the victor.

One should never forget that everything truly great in this world was not fought for by coalitions, but that it was always the success of a single victor. Coalition successes, by the very nature of their origin, already bear the seeds of future crumbling, indeed of the loss of what has already been achieved. Great, truly world-shaking revolutions of a spiritual nature are only conceivable and realizable at all as titanic struggles of individual entities, but never as undertakings of coalitions.

Thus, above all, the völkisch state will never be created by the compromising will of a völkisch working group, but only by the steel-hard will of a single movement that has fought its way through against all.

9. Chapter

Basic Thoughts on the Meaning and Organization of the SA.

The strength of the old state rested on three pillars: the monarchical form of government, the administrative body, and the army. The revolution of 1918 eliminated the form of government, disintegrated the army, and delivered the administrative body to party corruption. With this, however, the most essential supports of a so-called state authority were smashed. This authority itself almost always rests on three elements, which fundamentally underlie every authority.

The first foundation for the formation of authority is always popularity. However, an authority that rests solely on this foundation is still outwardly weak, insecure, and wavering. Every bearer of such an authority based purely on popularity must therefore strive to improve and secure the basis of this authority through the formation of power. In power, therefore, in force, we see the second foundation of every authority. It is already significantly more stable and secure, but by no means always more powerful than the first. If popularity and force unite and are able to endure together for a certain time, then an authority can arise on an even firmer basis, the authority of tradition. When finally popularity, power, and tradition combine, an authority may be regarded as unshakable.

Through the revolution, this last case has been completely eliminated. Indeed, there was no longer even an authority of tradition. With the collapse of the old Empire, the removal of the old form of state, the destruction of the former sovereign emblems and imperial symbols, tradition was abruptly severed. The consequence of this was the most severe upheaval of state authority.

Even the second pillar of state authority, force, was no longer present. In order to be able to carry out the revolution at all, one had been forced to disintegrate the embodiment of the organized power and force of the state, namely the army; indeed, one had to use the corroded parts of the army itself as revolutionary combat elements. Even if the front-line armies had not fallen prey to this disintegration to a uniform extent, the more they left behind the glorious sites of their four-and-a-half-year heroic struggle, the more they were eaten away by the acid of the home-front's disorganization and, upon arriving at the demobilization organizations, likewise ended up in the chaos of the so-called voluntary obedience of the soldiers' council era.

On these mutinous crowds of soldiers, who viewed military service in the sense of an eight-hour working day, one could certainly no longer support any authority. Thus the second element, the one that first guarantees the stability of authority, was also removed, and the revolution actually possessed only the most primitive element, popularity, on which to build its authority. Precisely this foundation, however, was an extraordinarily insecure one. To be sure, the revolution succeeded in shattering the old state structure with a single mighty blow, but in the deepest sense only because the normal equilibrium within the structure of our people had already been removed by the war.

Every national body can be divided into three large classes: into an extreme of the best humanity on the one side, good in the sense of all virtues, especially discharacterized by courage and a spirit of sacrifice, and on the other hand, an extreme of the worst human scum, bad in the sense of the presence of all egoistic drives and vices. Between these two extremes lies, as a third class, the large, broad middle stratum, in which neither radiant heroism nor the basest criminal mentality is embodied.

Times of the ascent of a national body are characterized by—indeed, exist only through—the absolute leadership of the extremely best part.

Times of a normal, steady development or of a stable condition are characterized by and exist through the visible dominance of the elements of the middle, whereby the two extremes balance each other out or, rather, cancel each other out.

Times of the collapse of a national body are determined by the predominant activity of the worst elements.

It is noteworthy, however, that the broad mass, as the class of the middle, as I wish to designate it, only perceptibly makes an appearance when the two extremes are tied up in mutual struggle, but that in the event of the victory of one of the extremes, it always compliantly subordinates itself to the victor. In the case of the dominance of the best, the broad mass will follow them; in the case of the rise of the worst, it will at least offer them no resistance; for the mass of the middle itself will never fight.

The war has now, in its four-and-a-half-year bloody course, disturbed the inner equilibrium of these three classes insofar as one must state—while acknowledging all the sacrifices of the middle—that it led to an almost complete bleeding out of the extreme of the best of humanity. For what in these four and a half years of irreplaceable German heroic blood shed was truly immense. One should sum up all the hundreds of thousands of individual cases in which it was said again and again: volunteers to the front, volunteer patrolmen, volunteer messengers, volunteers for telephone squads, volunteers for bridge crossings, volunteers for U-boats, volunteers for aircraft, volunteers for assault battalions, etc. — again and again throughout four and a half years on a thousand occasions volunteers and more volunteers —, and one always sees the same result: The beardless youth or the mature man, both filled with glowing love for the fatherland, with great personal courage or the highest sense of duty, they reported. Ten thousand, even a hundred thousand such cases occurred, and gradually this humanity became thinner and thinner. What did not fall was either shot to pieces into cripples or gradually crumbled away as a result of the smallness of the remaining number. But one should consider above all that the year 1914 raised entire armies of so-called volunteers who, thanks to the criminal lack of conscience of our parliamentary good-for-nothings, had received no valid peacetime training and were thus now abandoned to the enemy as defenseless cannon fodder. The four hundred thousand who fell or became cripples in the battles in Flanders at that time could no longer be replaced. Their loss was more than the departure of a mere number. Through their death, the scale, too lightly weighted on the good side, shot upwards, and the elements of meanness, of baseness, and of cowardice, in short, the mass of the extreme of the bad, now weighed heavier than before.

For one more thing was added to this:

Not only that on the battlefields the extreme of the best had been thinned out in the most monstrous way throughout the four and a half years, the extreme of the bad had meanwhile preserved itself in the most wonderful manner. Certainly, for every one who voluntarily...

reporting hero, who after a holy sacrificial death then ascended the steps to Valhalla, a draft dodger who very cautiously turned his back on death in order to instead occupy himself more or less usefully at home.

Thus, the end of the war yields the following picture: The broad middle layer of the nation has paid its toll in dutiful blood sacrifices; the extreme of the best has sacrificed itself almost completely in exemplary heroism; the extreme of the bad, supported by the most nonsensical laws on the one hand and by the non-application of the articles of war on the other, has unfortunately remained preserved just as completely.

This well-preserved scum of our national body then made the revolution, and they could only make it because the extreme of the best elements no longer stood against them: — they were no longer alive.

With that, however, the German revolution was from the outset only a conditionally popular matter. It was not the German people themselves who committed this act of Cain, but the light-shunning rabble of its deserters, pimps, etc.

The man at the front, he welcomed the end of the bloody struggle, was happy to be able to set foot on home soil again, to be allowed to see wife and child again. But with the revolution itself, he had nothing to do internally; he did not love it, and even less did he love its instigators and organizers. In the four and a half years of the hardest struggle, he had forgotten the party hyenas, and all their quarreling had become foreign to him.

Only among a small part of the German people had the revolution become truly popular: namely, among that class of its helpers who had chosen the backpack as the identifying mark of all honorary citizens of this new state. They did not love revolution for its own sake, as so many erroneously still believe today, but because of its consequences.

Truly, an authority could only with great difficulty be permanently established solely on the popularity among these Marxist freebooters.

support. And yet, the young Republic needed authority at any price if it did not want to be suddenly swallowed up again, after a brief chaos, by a retaliatory power consolidating itself from the last elements of the good side of our people.

At that time, those proponents of the upheaval feared nothing more than losing every bit of ground themselves in the whirlpool of their own confusion and suddenly being seized by an iron fist—the kind that grows out of the life of nations more than once in such times—and placed on different ground. The Republic had to consolidate itself at any price.

Thus, it was almost immediately forced to create an organization of force alongside the swaying pillar of its weak popularity, in order to be able to establish a firmer authority upon it.

When the matadors of the revolution felt the ground shaking beneath their feet in the days of December, January, and February 1918/19, they looked around for people who would be willing to strengthen the weak position, which the love of their people offered them, through the power of the weapon. The "anti-militaristic" Republic needed soldiers. But since the first and only support of its state authority—namely its popularity—was rooted only in a society of pimps, thieves, burglars, deserters, slackers, etc., that is, in that part of the people which we must describe as the extreme of evil, all recruitment for people who were ready to sacrifice their own lives in the service of the new ideal would have been a futile labor of love in these circles.

The supporting layer of the revolutionary thought and the execution of the revolution was neither capable nor willing to provide the soldiers for the protection of the same. For this layer by no means wanted the organization of a republican state body, but rather the disorganization of the preavailable for the better satisfaction of their instincts. Their slogan was not: Order and the development of the German Republic, but rather: the plundering of the same.

Thus the cry for help, which the People's Deputies let out in a thousand anxieties at that time, had to go unheard in this layer; on the contrary, it triggered defense and bitterness. For in such an undertaking, one felt a breach of faith and loyalty, sensing in the formation of an authority no longer based solely on its popularity, but supported by power, the beginning of the struggle against what was for these elements the only significant aspect of the revolution: against the right to theft and the undisciplined rule of a horde of thieves and looters broken out from the walls of the penitentiaries and freed from their chains—in short, low-life rabble.

The People's Deputies might call as much as they wanted; no one came from their ranks, and only the counter-cry "Traitors" made known to them the view of those carriers of their popularity.

At that time, for the first time, numerous young Germans found themselves ready, in the service of "peace and order," as they believed, to button up the soldier's coat once more, to take carbine and rifle over the shoulder, in order to confront the destroyers of the homeland with donned steel helmets. As volunteer soldiers they joined together in free corps and began, while they grimly hated the revolution, to protect and thereby practically strengthen that same revolution.

They acted so in the best of faith.

The actual organizer of the revolution and its real wire-puller, the international Jew, had correctly assessed the situation at that time. The German people was not yet ripe to be dragged into the Bolshevik bloodbath, as had succeeded in Russia. This was largely due to the racially still greater unity between the German intelligentsia and the German manual laborer. Furthermore, in the great penetration of even the broadest layers of the people with educational elements, which is similarly the case only in other Western European states, but was completely lacking in Russia. There, the intelligentsia itself was already for the most part of non-Russian nationality or at least of a non-Slavic racial character. The thin intellectual upper class of the Russia of that time could be removed at any time due to the complete lack of connecting intermediate components to the mass of the great people. The intellectual and also the moral level of the latter, however, was appallingly low there.

Just as it succeeded in Russia to incite the uneducated crowd of the broad masses, who could neither read nor write, against the thin intellectual upper class that had no relationship or connection with them, the fate of this country was decided, the revolution succeeded; the Russian illiterate was thus made into the defenseless slave of his Jewish dictators, who for their part were certainly clever enough to let this dictatorship be supported by the phrase of the "people's dictatorship."

In Germany, the following was added: Just as surely as the revolution could only succeed as a result of the gradual disintegration of the army, so surely the real carrier of the revolution and disintegrator of the army had not been the soldier of the front, but rather the more or less light-shunning rabble that either hung around in the home garrisons or performed services somewhere in the economy as "indispensable." This army was further reinforced by tens of thousands of deserters who could turn their backs on the front without any particular risk. The real coward naturally fears nothing more at all times than death. But at the front, he had death before him day after day in a thousandfold forms.

eyes. If one wants to keep weak, wavering, or even cowardly fellows to their duty nonetheless, then there has always been only one possibility: the deserter must know that his desertion brings with it exactly what he wants to flee. At the front one can die, as a deserter one must die. Only through such a draconian threat to every attempt at desertion can a deterrent effect be achieved not only for the individual, but also for the whole.

And herein lay the meaning and purpose of the Articles of War. It was a beautiful belief to be able to fight through the great struggle for the existence of a people, supported solely by the voluntary loyalty born and maintained out of the recognition of necessity. Voluntary fulfillment of duty has always determined the best in their actions, but not the average. Therefore, such laws are necessary, such as those against theft, which were not created for those who are fundamentally honest, but for the vacillating, weak elements. Such laws are intended to prevent, through the deterrence of the wicked, the development of a state of affairs in which the honest man would finally be regarded as the stupider one and thus the view would increasingly prevail that it would be more expedient to participate in theft as well, rather than to watch with empty hands or even allow oneself to be robbed.

Thus it was wrong to believe that in a struggle which, by all human foresight, could rage for years, one could dispense with the aids which the experience of many centuries, even millennia, allowed to appear as those which are capable of forcing weak and uncertain people to fulfill their duty in serious times and moments of the most severe nervous strain.

For the war-volunteer hero, one naturally needed no Articles of War, but certainly for the cowardly egoist who, in the hour of his people's need, values his own life more highly than that of the community. Such a characterless weakling, however, can only be deterred from giving in to his cowardice by the application of the harshest punishment. When men are constantly struggling with death and must endure for weeks without rest in mud-filled craters, sometimes with the poorest rations, the wavering recruit cannot be kept in line by threats of prison or even hard labor, but only by the ruthless application of the death penalty. For experience shows that in such times he regards prison as a place still a thousand times more pleasant than the battlefield, since in prison at least his priceless life is not threatened. The fact that during the war the death penalty was practically eliminated—that is, the articles of war were in reality put out of commission—has taken a terrible revenge. An army of deserters poured, especially in 1918, into the rear areas and the homeland and helped to form that great, criminal organization which we then suddenly saw before us as the maker of the revolution after November 7, 1918.

The front itself actually had nothing to do with it. Naturally, all its members felt a longing for peace. But in this very fact lay an extraordinary danger for the revolution. For when, after the armistice, the German armies began to approach home, the anxious question of the revolutionaries of that time was always the same: What will the front-line troops do? Will the field-greys tolerate it?

In these weeks, the revolution in Germany had to appear externally moderate, at least, if it did not want to run the risk of being suddenly smashed to pieces with lightning speed by a few German divisions. For if at that time even a single divisional commander had made the decision to use his division, which was loyally devoted to him, to to tear down the red rags and have the "Councils" lined up against the wall, breaking any possible resistance with mortars and hand grenades, then in not even four weeks this division would have swollen into an army of sixty divisions. The Jewish wire-pullers trembled at this more than at anything else. And precisely to prevent this, a certain moderation had to be imposed on the revolution; it could not be allowed to degenerate into Bolshevism, but had to, as things stood, feign "peace and order." Hence the numerous great concessions, the appeal to the old civil service body, to the old army leaders. They were needed for at least a certain time, and only when the Moors had done their duty could one dare to give them the merited kicks and take the Republic out of the hands of the old civil servants and deliver it into the claws of the revolutionary vultures.

Only in this way could one hope to dupe old generals and old civil servants, in order to disarm any eventual resistance from them from the outset through the apparent harmlessness and mildness of the new state of affairs.

Practice has shown how much this succeeded.

However, the revolution had not been made by elements of peace and order, but rather by those of riot, theft, and looting. And for these, neither was the development of the revolution in accordance with their own will, nor could the course of events be explained and made palatable to them for tactical reasons.

With the gradual increase of Social Democracy, it had more and more lost the character of a brutal revolutionary party. Not as if it had ever mentally paid homage to any goal other than that of the revolution, or its leaders had ever had other intentions; not at all. However, what finally remained was only the intention and a body no longer suitable for carrying them out. With a party of ten million, one can no longer make a revolution. In such a movement, one no longer has an extreme of activity before them, but rather the broad mass of the center—that is, inertia.

In this realization, the famous split of Social Democracy by the Jew took place even during the war; that is: while the Social Democratic Party, corresponding to the inertia of its mass, hung like a lead weight on national defense, the radical-activist elements were pulled out of it and formed into particularly powerful new attack columns. Independent Party and Spartacus League were the storm battalions of revolutionary Marxism. They had to create the accomplished fact, upon whose ground the mass of the Social Democratic Party, prepared for it for decades, could then step. The cowardly bourgeoisie was correctly assessed by Marxism in this process and simply treated "en canaille." No notice was taken of them at all, knowing that the dog-like submissiveness of the political structures of an old, worn-out generation would never be capable of serious resistance.

As soon as the revolution had succeeded and the main pillars of the old state could be considered broken, but the returning front-line army began to emerge as a sinister sphinx, the natural development of the revolution had to be braked; the bulk of the Social Democratic army occupied the conquered position, and the independent and Spartacist storm battalions were pushed aside.

This did not happen, however, without a struggle.

Not only did the activist attack formations of the revolution now feel betrayed because they were not satisfied and wanted to continue striking on their own, but their unruly rioting was only desired by the masterminds of the revolution themselves. For hardly was the overthrow over was, there were already apparently two camps within it, namely: the party of law and order and the group of bloody terror. But what was more natural than that our bourgeoisie should immediately join the camp of law and order with flying colors? Now, all at once, for these most wretched political organizations, the possibility of an activity was given in which they, without having to say so, had nevertheless secretly found ground under their feet again and came into a certain solidarity with the power they hated, but feared even more intensely. The political German bourgeoisie had received the high honor of being allowed to sit down at a table with the thrice-cursed Marxist leaders to fight the Bolsheviks.

Thus, as early as December 1918 and January 1919, the following situation emerged:

A revolution was made by a minority of the worst elements, behind which all the Marxist parties immediately stood. The revolution itself has an apparently moderate character, which draws the enmity of the fanatical extremists. These begin to bang around with hand grenades and machine guns, to occupy state buildings, in short, to threaten the moderate revolution. To avert the horror of such a further development, an armistice is concluded between the carriers of the new state of affairs and the supporters of the old, in order to now be able to lead the fight together against the extremists. The result is that the enemies of the Republic have thereby ceased their fight against the Republic as such and are helping to suppress those who, even if from entirely different points of view, are also enemies of this Republic. The further result, however, is that the danger of a struggle by the supporters of the old state against those of the new appears to be finally averted.

One cannot keep this fact before one's eyes often or sharply enough. Only he who grasps it understands how it was possible that a people, nine-tenths of whom did not make a revolution, seven-tenths of whom reject it, six-tenths of whom hate it, yet finally this revolution could be forced upon them by one-tenth.

Gradually, the Spartacist barricade fighters on one side and the nationalist fanatics and idealists on the other bled to death, and to the same extent that these two extremes wore each other down, the mass of the center triumphed, as always. The bourgeoisie and Marxism found themselves on the ground of given facts, and the Republic began to "consolidate." This, however, did not initially prevent the bourgeois parties, especially before elections, from citing the monarchist idea for a while longer, in order to conjure the lesser spirits of their followers with the spirits of the past world and to be able to capture them once again.

This was not honest. Inwardly, they had all long since broken with the monarchy, and the uncleanness of the new state of affairs began to make its seductive effects felt in the bourgeois party camp as well. The ordinary bourgeois politician feels more comfortable today in the corruption-sludge of the Republic than in the clean hardness that he still remembers from the past state.

* * *

As already mentioned, after the smashing of the old army, the revolution was forced to create a new power factor to strengthen its state authority. As things stood, it could only gain this from adherents of a worldview that was actually opposed to it. From them alone could a new army body slowly emerge, which, externally limited by the peace treaties, had to be reshaped in its mindset over time into an instrument of the new state conception.

If one asks the question why—apart from all the real mistakes of the old state, which were the cause were — the revolution as an action could succeed, so one arrives at the result:

1. as a result of the paralysis of our concepts
   of fulfillment of duty and obedience
   and
2. as a result of the cowardly passivity of our
   so-called state-preserving parties.

Regarding this, the following should be said:

The paralysis of our concepts of fulfillment of duty and obedience has its ultimate reason in our entirely non-national and always purely state-oriented education. From this results here, too, the misjudgment of means and end. Sense of duty, fulfillment of duty, and obedience are not ends in themselves, just as little as the state is an end in itself, but rather they should all be the means to enable and secure the existence of a community of spiritually and physically similar living beings on this earth. In an hour when a national body visibly collapses and, by all appearances, is delivered over to the most severe oppression, thanks to the actions of a few scoundrels, obedience and fulfillment of duty toward these mean doctrinaire formalism, indeed pure madness, if on the other hand, through the refusal of obedience and "fulfillment of duty," the salvation of a people from its downfall would be made possible.

According to our current bourgeois conception of the state, the divisional commander who at that time received the order from above not to shoot, acted according to duty and thus correctly by not shooting, since to the bourgeois world, thoughtless formal obedience is more valuable than the life of one's own people. According to the National Socialist view, however, in such moments it is not obedience toward weak superiors that comes into force, but rather obedience toward the national community. In such a...

hour, the duty of personal responsibility toward an entire nation became apparent.

The fact that a living conception of these terms had been lost among our people or, better, in our governments, only to give way there to a purely doctrinaire and formal one, was the cause of the revolution's success.

Regarding the second point, the following should be noted:

The deeper reason for the cowardice of the "state-preserving" parties is, above all, the departure of the activist, well-intentioned part of our people from their ranks, who bled to death in the field. Apart from that, our bourgeois parties, which we can describe as the only political entities that stood on the ground of the old state, were convinced that they were permitted to represent their views exclusively through intellectual means and with intellectual tools, since the application of physical force belonged to the state alone. Not only is such a view to be seen as a sign of a gradually developing decadent weakness, but it was also nonsensical in a time when a political opponent had long since abandoned this standpoint and instead openly emphasized the intention to champion his political goals through violence if possible. At the moment when Marxism emerged in the world of bourgeois democracy as a consequence of it, their appeal to conduct the struggle with "intellectual weapons" was an absurdity that was bound to take a terrible revenge one day. For Marxism itself had always held the view that the use of a weapon is to be carried out only according to considerations of expediency and that the right to do so always lies in success.

How correct this view is was proven in the days of November 7–11, 1918. At that time, Marxism did not care in the least about parliamentarianism and democracy, but rather gave both the death blow through bellowing and shooting mobs of criminals. That the bourgeois chatter-organizations were defenseless at that same moment is a matter of course.

After the revolution, when the bourgeois parties suddenly reappeared, albeit under changed firm names, and their brave leaders crawled out from the concealment of dark cellars and airy attics, they had, like all representatives of such old structures, not forgotten their mistakes and likewise learned nothing new. Their political program lay in the past, insofar as they had not already inwardly reconciled themselves to the new state of affairs; their goal, however, was to be allowed to participate in the new state of affairs if possible, and their only weapons remained, as before, their words.

Even after the revolution, the bourgeois parties miserably capitulated to the street at all times.

When the Law for the Protection of the Republic was to be adopted, a majority for it was initially not present. However, in the face of the two hundred thousand demonstrating Marxists, such a fear seized the bourgeois "statesmen" that they adopted the law against their conviction, in the edifying fear that otherwise, upon leaving the Reichstag, they would be beaten black and blue by the raging masses. Which then, unfortunately, failed to happen as a result of the adoption. —

Thus the development of the new state went its way, as if a national opposition had not existed at all.

The only organizations that would have possessed the courage and strength in this period to oppose Marxism and its incited masses were initially the Freikorps, later the self-defense organizations, civil guards, etc., and finally the traditional associations.

But why their existence also brought about no perceptible change whatsoever in the development of German history was due to the following:

Just as the so-called national parties were unable to exert any influence, for lack of any threatening power on the street, so could on the other hand, the so-called defense leagues could exert no influence whatsoever due to the lack of any political idea and, above all, any real political goal.

What had once given Marxism success was the perfect interplay of political will and activist brutality. What excluded national Germany from any practical shaping of German development was the lack of a cohesive cooperation of brutal power with brilliant political will.

Whatever the nature of the will of the "national" parties might have been, they did not have the slightest power to champion this will, least of all on the street.

The defense leagues had all the power, were the masters of the street and the state, and possessed no political idea and no political goal for which their power would have been used for the benefit of national Germany, or could even have been used. In both cases, it was the cunning of the Jew who managed, through clever persuasion and encouragement, to bring about a formal perpetuation, or in any case an increasing deepening, of this unfortunate destiny.

It was the Jew who, through his press, understood how to launch the idea of the "unpolitical character" of the defense leagues with infinite skill, just as he, in political life, always equally slyly praised and demanded the "pure spirituality" of the struggle. Millions of German blockheads then babbled this nonsense, without having even a faint inkling of how they were practically disarming themselves and delivering themselves defenseless to the Jew.

But for this, too, there is of course a natural explanation. The lack of a great reshaping idea means at all times a limitation of fighting power.

The conviction of the right to use even the most brutal weapons is always bound to the existence of a fanatical belief in the necessity of the victory of a revolutionary new order on this earth.

A movement that does not fight for such highest goals and ideals will therefore never resort to the ultimate weapon.

The pointing out of a new great idea was the secret of the success of the French Revolution; the Russian one owes its victory to the idea, and Fascism has only through the idea received the strength to subject a people in the most beneficial way to a most comprehensive reorganization.

Bourgeois parties are not capable of this.

However, not only the bourgeois parties saw their political goal in a restoration of the past, but also the paramilitary associations, insofar as they concerned themselves with political goals at all. Old veterans' association and Kyffhäuser tendencies became alive in them and helped to politically blunt the sharpest weapon that national Germany had at that time, and to let it decay in the mercenary service of the Republic. That they acted in the best of intentions, but above all in the best of faith, does not change in the slightest the unfortunate madness of these events at that time.

Gradually, Marxism received the necessary power support for its authority in the consolidating Reichswehr and subsequently began, consistently and logically, to dismantle the national paramilitary associations that appeared dangerous, as they were now superfluous. Individual particularly daring leaders, who were viewed with suspicion, were summoned before the bars of the courts and put behind Swedish curtains [prison bars]. But for all of them, the fate that they themselves had caused was fulfilled.

With the founding of the NSDAP, a movement had appeared for the first time whose goal, unlike that of the bourgeois parties, did not lie in a mechanical restoration of the past, but in the endeavor to establish an organic völkisch state in place of today's nonsensical state mechanism.

From the very first day, the young movement took the stand that its idea must be represented intellectually, but that the protection of this representation, if necessary, must be secured even by brute force. Faithful to its conviction of the immense significance of the new doctrine, it seems a matter of course to it that no sacrifice can be too great for the establishment of the goal.

I have already pointed out the factors which oblige a movement, if it wishes to win the heart of a people, to undertake from its own ranks the defense against terrorist attempts by its opponents. It is also an eternal experience of world history that a terror represented by a worldview (Weltanschauung) can never be broken by formal state authority, but can always only succumb to a new, equally bold and determinedly proceeding other worldview. This will be unpleasant to the feelings of the official guardians of the state at all times, but that does not remove the fact from the world. State authority can only guarantee peace and order if the state's content coincides with the prevailing worldview of the time, so that violent elements possess only the character of individual criminal natures and are not regarded as representatives of an idea extremely opposed to the state's views. In such a case, the state can apply the greatest measures of force for centuries against a terror threatening it; in the end, it will nevertheless be powerless against it and will succumb.

The German state is being most severely besieged by Marxism. In its seventy-year struggle, it has not been able to prevent the victory of this worldview, but despite a total of thousands of years of hard labor and prison sentences and the bloodiest measures, which it imposed in countless cases upon the fighters of the Marxist worldview threatening it, it was nevertheless forced into an almost complete capitulation. (The normal bourgeois state leader will also want to deny this, naturally without being able to convince anyone.)

But the state that crawled to the cross unconditionally before Marxism on November 9, 1918, will not suddenly rise tomorrow as its conqueror; on the contrary: bourgeois weaklings in ministerial chairs are already babbling today about the necessity of not governing against the workers, whereby they envision Marxism under the term "worker." However, by identifying the German worker with Marxism, they not only commit a forgery of the truth that is as cowardly as it is mendacious, but they also attempt, through their motivation, to hide their own collapse before the Marxist idea and organization.

In view of this fact, however—namely the complete submission of today's state to Marxism—the National Socialist movement is all the more duty-bound not only to prepare the victory of its ideas intellectually, but also to take over their defense against the terror of the victory-drunk International itself.

I have already described how, out of practical life, a meeting-protection force slowly formed in our young movement, how this gradually took on the character of a specific security troop and strove for an organizational form.

As much as the structure that gradually emerged might have outwardly resembled a so-called defense association, it was just as little comparable to one.

As already mentioned, the German defense organizations had no specific political ideas of their own. They were really only self-defense associations of more or less expedient training and organization, so that they actually represented an illegal supplement to the respective legal instruments of power of the state. Their free-corps-like character was only justified by the nature of their formation and by the state of the nation at that time, but by no means does such a title belong to them as free formations of the struggle for a free, independent conviction. These they did not possess, despite all the oppositional attitudes of individual leaders and entire associations against the Republic. For it is not enough to be convinced of the inferiority of an existing condition in order to be able to speak of a conviction in a higher sense, but this is rooted only in the knowledge of a new condition and in the inner vision of a condition which one feels it is a necessity to achieve and for whose realization one regards it as the highest task of life to commit oneself.

This fundamentally distinguishes the security troop of the National Socialist movement of that time from all defense associations, in that it was not in the least a servant of the conditions created by the revolution or wanted to be, but rather that it struggled exclusively for a new Germany.

This security troop, however, initially only had the character of a hall security force. Its first task was a limited one: it consisted in making it possible to hold meetings which, without them, would have been flatly prevented by the opponent. Even then, it had been trained for an attack to be carried out blindly, but not because, as was talked about in foolish German-völkisch circles, it revered the rubber truncheon as the highest spirit, but because it understood that the greatest spirit ex-can be neutralized if its bearer is struck down by a rubber truncheon, as indeed in history it has not infrequently happened that the most significant minds ended under the blows of the lowliest helots. It did not want to establish violence as the goal, but rather to protect the heralds of the spiritual goal from being oppressed by violence. And in doing so, it understood that it is not obligated to undertake the protection of a state that grants no protection to the nation, but that, on the contrary, it has to undertake the protection of the nation against those who threatened to destroy the people and the state.

After the battle of the meeting in the Munich Hofbräuhaus, the security troop received once and for all, in permanent memory of the heroic storm attacks of the small number of that time, the name Storm Detachment (Sturmabteilung). As this designation already implies, it represents only one department of the movement. It is a member within it, just as the propaganda, the press, the scientific institutes, and others merely form members of the party.

How necessary its development was, we could see not only in this memorable meeting, but also in our attempt to gradually push the movement out of Munich into the rest of Germany. As soon as we appeared dangerous to Marxism, the latter left no opportunity unused to nip every attempt at a National Socialist meeting in the bud, or to prevent its holding by breaking it up. In this, it was quite a matter of course that the party organizations of Marxism of all shades blindly covered every such intention and every such incident in the representative bodies. But what should one say to the bourgeois parties which, themselves beaten down by Marxism, did not even dare in many places to let their speakers appear publicly, and which nevertheless followed with a completely incomprehensible, stupid satisfaction any battles against Marxism that turned out unfavorably for us. They were happy that he who was could not be conquered by themselves, which rather conquered them, was also not to be broken by us. What should one say to civil servants, police presidents, even ministers, who, with truly indecent lack of character, liked to present themselves outwardly as "national" men, but in all the disputes we National Socialists had with Marxism, performed the most shameful menial services for the latter! What should one say to people who went so far in their self-degradation that they readily persecuted the men to whose heroic sacrifice of their own lives they partly owed the fact that they had not been hung from lampposts as mangled corpses by the red mob just a few years earlier!

These were such sad phenomena that they once drove the unforgettable late President Pöhner—who in his hard straightforwardness hated all sycophants as only a man with an honest heart can hate—to the blunt remark: "In my whole life I wanted to be nothing other than first a German and then an official, and I would never want to be confused with those creatures who, as administrative whores, prostitute themselves to anyone who is currently able to play the master."—

It was particularly sad that this sort of person gradually not only gained power over tens of thousands of the most honest and upright German civil servants but also slowly infected them with their own lack of character, while pursuing the honest ones with grim hatred and finally hounding them out of office and position, all the while still presenting themselves in hypocritical mendacity as "national" men.

From such people we could never hope for any support, and we received it only in very rare cases. Only the development of our own protection could ensure the activity of the movement and at the same time gain it that public attention and general—

win my respect, which is paid to the one who, when attacked, defends himself.

As a guiding principle for the internal training of this Storm Detachment, the prevailing intention was always to train them, alongside all physical strengthening, to be an unshakeably convinced representative of the National Socialist idea and finally to consolidate their discipline to the highest degree. It was to have nothing to do with a defense organization of bourgeois conception, but likewise nothing at all with a secret organization.

The reason why I already at that time most strongly protested against allowing the SA of the NSDAP to be raised as a so-called defense league had its basis in the following consideration:

Purely objectively, the military training of a people cannot be carried out by private associations, except with the assistance of the most enormous state resources. Any other belief is based on a great overestimation of one's own capabilities. It is simply impossible to build up organizations of military value beyond a certain scope with so-called "voluntary discipline." The most important support of the power of command is missing here, namely the power of punishment. It was indeed possible in the autumn or, better yet, in the spring of 1919 to set up so-called "Freikorps," but not only did they mostly consist of front-line soldiers who had gone through the school of the old army at that time, but the nature of the obligation they imposed on the individuals subjected them, at least for a limited time, just as unconditionally to military obedience.

This is completely lacking in a voluntary "defense organization" of today. The larger its association becomes, the weaker the discipline becomes, the lower the demands that can be placed on the individuals must be, and the more the whole will take on the character of the old non-political warriors' and veterans' associations.

A voluntary education for military service without secured unconditional power of command will, in large masses...

...could never be carried out. There will always be only a few who possess the willingness to voluntarily submit to a compulsion for obedience, such as was considered self-evident and natural in the army.

Furthermore, real training cannot be carried out due to the ridiculously meager funds available to a so-called defense league for such a purpose. Yet, the best and most reliable training would have to be the primary task of such an institution. Eight years have now passed since the war, and since that time, no age group of our German youth has been systematically trained anymore. However, it cannot be the task of a defense league to merely encompass the already trained age groups of the past, as one could otherwise immediately calculate mathematically when the last member will leave this corporation. Even the youngest soldier of 1918 will be unfit for combat in twenty years, and we are approaching this point in time with alarming speed. Thus, every so-called defense league will inevitably take on more and more the character of an old veterans' association. This, however, cannot be the purpose of an institution that describes itself not as a warrior association, but as a defense league, and which endeavors to express through its very name that it sees its mission not only in the preservation of tradition and the solidarity of former soldiers, but in the cultivation of the defense concept and in the practical representation of this idea—that is, in the creation of a defensible body.

This task, however, absolutely requires the training of elements that have not yet been militarily drilled, and this is actually impossible in practice. With one or two hours of training per week, one really cannot create a soldier. Given today's enormously increased demands that military service places on the individual man, a two-year period of service is perhaps just barely sufficient to turn an untrained young man into a skilled soldier...

transform. We have all, after all, seen the terrible consequences in the field that resulted for young soldiers who were not thoroughly trained in the craft of war. Volunteer formations that had been drilled for fifteen and twenty weeks with iron determination and boundless devotion nevertheless represented nothing more than cannon fodder at the front. Only when integrated into the ranks of experienced old soldiers could younger recruits, trained for four to six months, serve as useful members of a regiment; they were guided here by the "old-timers" and then gradually grew into their tasks.

How hopeless, by contrast, does the attempt seem to want to raise a troop without clear command authority and without comprehensive means through a so-called training of one to two hours a week! With that, one can perhaps refresh old soldiers, but never make young people into soldiers.

How indifferent and completely worthless such an approach would be in its results can be further evidenced by the fact that in the same time in which a so-called voluntary defense league, with great difficulty and hardship, trains or attempts to train a few thousand inherently well-intentioned people (it does not reach others at all) in the idea of national defense, the state itself, through the pacifist-democratic nature of its education, consistently robs millions and millions of young people of their natural instincts, poisons their logical patriotic thinking, and thus gradually transforms them into a herd of sheep, patient in the face of any arbitrary power.

How ridiculous, in comparison, are all the efforts of the defense leagues to try to convey their ideas to the German youth!

But almost more important is the following point of view, which has always led me to take a stand against any attempt at a so-called military strengthening on a voluntary league basis:

Assuming that, despite the previously mentioned difficulties, an association were nevertheless to succeed in training a certain number of Germans year after year to be defensive men, both in terms of their mindset as well as their physical fitness and weapons training, the result would still be zero in a state which, by its entire tendency, does not desire such a militarization at all, indeed directly hates it, since it completely contradicts the innermost goal of its leaders—the corrupters of this state.

In any case, however, such a result would be worthless under governments that have not only proven by deed that they care nothing for the military strength of the nation, but which above all would never be willing to issue an appeal to this strength, except at most to support their own ruinous existence.

And today that is indeed the case. Or is it not ridiculous to want to militarily train a few tens of thousand men in the twilight of dawn for a regiment, when only a few years earlier the state ignominiously abandoned eight and a half million best-trained soldiers, not only no longer making use of them, but even exposing them to general insult as thanks for their sacrifices! One wants, therefore, to train soldiers for a state regime that defiled and spat upon the most glorious soldiers of the past, had the medals torn from their chests, took away their cockades, trampled their flags, and disparaged their leadership? Or has this current state regime ever taken even a single step to restore the honor of the old army, to hold its subverters and insulters accountable? Not the slightest. On the contrary: we can see the latter enthroned in the highest state offices. — As they used to say in Leipzig: "Might makes right." Since today in our Republic, however, power lies in the hands of the same men who once instigated the revolution, this

Revolution, however, represents the basest high treason, indeed, the most wretched villainy in German history altogether, so absolutely no reason can be found why the power of precisely these characters should be increased through the formation of a new young army. In any case, all reasons of common sense speak against it.

But what value this state, even after the Revolution of 1918, attached to the military strengthening of its position was once again clearly and unequivocally evident from its attitude toward the large self-defense organizations existing at that time. As long as they had to intervene for the protection of personally cowardly creatures of the revolution, they were not unwelcome. But as soon as, thanks to the gradual pauperization of our people, the danger to these seemed eliminated and the existence of the leagues now signified a national-political strengthening, they were superfluous, and everything was done to disarm them, indeed, if possible, to scatter them.

History proves gratitude from princes only in rare examples. But to count on the gratitude of revolutionary firebrands, plunderers of the people, and national traitors is something only a neo-bourgeois patriot can manage. In any case, in an examination of the problem of whether voluntary defense leagues should be created, I could never refrain from the question: For whom am I training the young people? For what purpose will they be used, and when should they be called upon? The answer to this simultaneously provides the best guidelines for one's own behavior.

If today's state were ever to fall back on trained stocks of this kind, then this would never happen for a representation of national interests abroad, but always only for the protection of the violators of the nation at home from the general rage of the deceived, betrayed, and sold-out people that might one day flare up.

The SA of the NSDAP, for this reason alone, was to have nothing at all to do with a military organization.

have. It was a means of protection and education for the National Socialist movement, and its tasks lay in a completely different field than those of the so-called defense associations.

However, it was also not intended to represent a secret organization. The purpose of secret organizations can only be an illegal one. But this automatically limits the scope of such an organization. It is not possible, especially given the talkativeness of the German people, to build up an organization of any significant size and simultaneously keep it secret from the outside or even just veil its goals. Every such intention will be thwarted a thousandfold. Not only is a staff of pimps and similar rabble available to our police authorities today, who for the Judas-pay of thirty pieces of silver betray what they can find and invent what could be betrayed, but the movement's own supporters themselves can never be brought to the silence necessary in such a case. Only very small groups can, through years of sifting, take on the character of real secret organizations. But the very smallness of such entities would nullify their value for the National Socialist movement.

What we needed and need were and are not a hundred or two hundred daring conspirators, but a hundred thousand and yet another hundred thousand fanatical fighters for our worldview. Work should not be done in secret conventicles, but in powerful mass processions, and the path for the movement cannot be cleared by dagger and poison or pistol, but by the conquest of the street. We have to teach Marxism that the future master of the street is National Socialism, just as it will one day be the master of the state.

The danger of secret organizations today lies further in the fact that the members often completely misunderstand the magnitude of the task, and instead, the opinion is formed that the fate of a people could really be decided suddenly in a favorable sense by a single act of murder. Such an opinion may have its historical justification, namely, when a people languishes under the tyranny of some brilliant oppressor of whom it is known that his outstanding personality alone guarantees the inner stability and dreadfulness of the enemy pressure. In such a case, a man willing to sacrifice himself may suddenly spring forth from a people to thrust the deadly steel into the breast of the hated individual. And only the republican mind of guilt-conscious little scoundrels will view such an act as the most abominable thing, while the greatest singer of freedom of our people dared, in his "Tell," to give a glorification of such action.

In the years 1919 and 1920, there was a danger that the member of secret organizations, carried away by great role models of history and shuddering at the boundless misfortune of the Fatherland, would attempt to take revenge on the destroyers of the home, in the belief that he would thereby put an end to the distress of his people. Every such attempt, however, was nonsense, because Marxism had not triumphed at all thanks to the superior genius and personal significance of an individual, but rather through the boundless wretchedness, the cowardly failure of the bourgeois world. The most cruel criticism that can be leveled at our bourgeoisie is the observation that the revolution itself did not produce a single head of any greatness and yet the bourgeoisie submitted to it. It is still understandable to capitulate before a Robespierre, a Danton, or a Marat, but it is devastating to surrender to the withered Scheidemann, the fat Mr. Erzberger, and a Friedrich Ebert, and all the countless other political pygmies.

to have crawled out. There was truly not one head there in whom one could have seen, for instance, the brilliant man of the revolution and thus the misfortune of the fatherland; rather, there were nothing but revolutionary vermin, rucksack-Spartacists wholesale and retail. Getting rid of any one of them was completely irrelevant and had at most the one result that a few other equally large and equally thirsty bloodsuckers came in his place all the sooner.

In those years, one could not intervene sharply enough against a view that had its cause and justification in truly great phenomena of history, but did not fit the current age of dwarfs in the slightest.

The same consideration must be applied to the question of the elimination of so-called traitors to the country. It is ridiculously illogical to kill a fellow who has betrayed a cannon, while next door in the highest positions of dignity sit scoundrels who sold out an entire Reich, who have the futile sacrifice of two million dead on their conscience, who must answer for millions of cripples, but who meanwhile carry on their republican business with perfect composure. Eliminating petty traitors is senseless in a state whose government itself exempts the traitors from any punishment. For thus it can happen that one day the honest idealist, who eliminates a villainous arms-traitor for his people, is called to account by capital traitors to the country. And there it is indeed an important question: Should one have such a treacherous little creature eliminated again by a creature or by an idealist? In one case the success is doubtful and betrayal for later almost certain; in the other case a small scoundrel is eliminated and in the process the life of an idealist, who perhaps cannot be replaced, is put at stake.

Furthermore, my position on this question is that one should not hang petty thieves in order to let the big ones run free, but that one day a German National Court—

court has to judge and execute several tens of thousands of the organizing and thus responsible criminals of the November betrayal and everything that belongs to it. Such an example will then also be a necessary lesson once and for all for even the smallest traitor of weapons.

These are all considerations that prompted me to repeatedly forbid participation in secret organizations and to preserve the SA itself from the character of such organizations. In those years, I kept the National Socialist movement away from experiments whose executors were mostly magnificent, idealistically minded young Germans, but whose deed only allowed them to become victims themselves, as they were not able to improve the fate of the Fatherland in the slightest.

* * *

But if the SA was to be neither a military defense organization nor a secret society, then the following consequences had to result:

1. Their training must take place not according to military points of view, but according to party-expedient ones.

Insofar as the members are to be physically strengthened in the process, the main emphasis must not be placed on military drilling, but rather on athletic activity. Boxing and Jiu-Jitsu have always seemed more important to me than any bad, because after all only half-hearted, marksmanship training. Give the German nation six million athletically flawlessly trained bodies, all glowing with fanatical love for the Fatherland and educated to the highest spirit of attack, and a national state will have created an army out of them, if necessary, in not even two years, at least insofar as a certain basic stock is available for them. However, as conditions stand today, this can only be the Reichswehr and not a defense association stuck in half-measures. Physical strengthening should instill in the individual the conviction of his superiority and give him that confidence give, which eternally lies only in the consciousness of one's own strength; furthermore, it should instill in him those sporting skills that serve as a weapon for the defense of the movement.

2. In order to prevent any secret character of the SA from the outset, apart from its immediately recognizable clothing, the very size of its membership must point the way for it, which benefits the movement and is known to the entire public. It must not meet in secret, but should march under the open sky and thus be clearly directed toward an activity that finally destroys all legends of a "secret organization." In order to also withdraw it spiritually from all attempts to satisfy its activism through small conspiracies, it had to be, from the very beginning, completely initiated into the great idea of the movement and so thoroughly trained in the task of representing this idea that from the outset the horizon widened and the individual man did not see his mission in the removal of some minor or major crook, but in the commitment to the establishment of a new National Socialist völkisch state. Through this, however, the struggle against the current state was lifted out of the atmosphere of small acts of revenge and conspiracy to the magnitude of an ideological war of annihilation against Marxism and its structure.

3. The organizational formation of the SA as well as its clothing and equipment is to be carried out appropriately, not according to the models of the old army, but according to an expediency determined by its task.

These views, which guided me in the years 1920 and 1921, and which I gradually tried to instill into the young organization, had the success that by the high summer of 1922 we already had a considerable number of hundreds [Hundertschaften] possessed, which gradually received their special characteristic clothing in the late autumn of 1922. Three events were infinitely important for the further development of the SA.

1. The great general demonstration of all patriotic associations against the Law for the Protection of the Republic in the late summer of 1922 at the Königsplatz in Munich.

The patriotic associations of Munich had at that time issued the call, which, as a protest against the introduction of the Law for the Protection of the Republic, called for a giant rally in Munich. The National Socialist movement was also to participate in it. The closed march of the Party was initiated by six Munich hundreds, which were then followed by the sections of the political Party. In the procession itself, two bands marched, and about fifteen flags were carried along. The arrival of the National Socialists on the large square, which was already half full and otherwise devoid of flags, excited immeasurable enthusiasm. I myself had the honor of being allowed to speak as one of the orators before the crowd, which now numbered sixty thousand heads.

The success of the event was overwhelming, especially because, despite all red threats, it was proven for the first time that national Munich could also march on the street. Red republican defense leaguers [Schutzbündler], who tried to take action with terror against approaching columns, were dispersed within a few minutes by SA hundreds with bloody heads. The National Socialist movement showed for the first time its determination to claim the right to the street for itself in the future as well, and thus to wrest this monopoly from the hands of the international traitors of the people and enemies of the fatherland.

The result of this day was the no longer contestable proof of the psychological and also organizational correctness of our views on the expansion of the SA. It was now on the so successfully proven basis—

position was energetically expanded, so that only a few weeks later, double the number of *Hundertschaften* (centuries) were established in Munich.

2. The March on Coburg in October 1922.

"Völkisch" associations intended to hold a so-called "German Day" in Coburg. I myself received an invitation to this with the note that it would be desirable if I could bring some accompaniment with me. This request, which I received in my hands at eleven o'clock in the morning, came at a very convenient time for me. Only an hour later, the orders for a visit to this "German Day" were issued. As "accompaniment," I designated eight hundred men of the SA, who were to be transported in approximately fourteen *Hundertschaften* from Munich by special train to the small town, which had recently become Bavarian. Corresponding orders went out to National Socialist SA groups that had meanwhile been formed in other locations.

It was the first time that such a special train ran in Germany. In all places where new SA men boarded, the transport caused the greatest sensation. Many had never seen our flags before; the impression they made was very great.

When we arrived at the station in Coburg, we were met by a deputation from the organizing committee of the "German Day," who conveyed to us an order designated as an "agreement" from the local trade unions, or rather the Independent and Communist Party, to the effect that we were not allowed to enter the city with unfurled flags, not with music (we had brought our own forty-two-man strong band), and not in a closed march.

I immediately and flatly rejected these shameful conditions, but did not fail to express my astonishment to the gentlemen of the leadership of this convention present that negotiations were being held and agreements made with these people, and declared that the SA would immediately form up in *Hundertschaften* and with sounding—

would march into the city with music and waving banners.

And so it happened.

Already on the station square, we were greeted by a roaring and jeering crowd numbering many thousands. "Murderers," "bandits," "robbers," "criminals," were the pet names with which the exemplary founders of the German Republic affectionately showered us. The young SA maintained exemplary order; the companies formed up on the square in front of the station and initially took no notice of the harassment. Due to anxious police authorities, the marching column was not led to our quarters—a shooting hall located on the periphery of Coburg—as intended, but into the Hofbräuhauskeller near the center of the city, in a town that was completely foreign to all of us. To the left and right of the procession, the raging of the accompanying masses increased more and more. Hardly had the last company turned into the courtyard of the cellar when large masses already tried to follow under deafening screams. To prevent this, the police closed off the cellar. Since this condition was unbearable, I now had the SA fall in once more, exhorted them briefly, and demanded the immediate opening of the gates from the police. After a long hesitation, they complied.

We now marched back the way we had come in order to reach our quarters, and there, however, a stand finally had to be made. After it had been impossible to break the composure of the companies through screaming and insulting shouts, the representatives of true socialism, of equality and brotherhood, resorted to stones. With that, our patience was at an end, and so for ten minutes it rained down devastatingly to the left and right, and a quarter of an hour later, nothing Red was to be seen on the streets anymore.

At night, there were still serious clashes. SA patrols had found National Socialists who, individually...

had been attacked, found in a ghastly condition. Thereupon, short work was made of the opponents. By the very next morning, the Red Terror, under which Coburg had already suffered for years, was broken.

With genuine Marxist-Jewish mendacity, an attempt was now made through leaflets to incite the "comrades of the international proletariat" onto the streets once more by claiming, in a complete distortion of the facts, that our "murder gangs" had begun a "war of extermination against peaceful workers" in Coburg. At half-past one, the great "people's demonstration," for which tens of thousands of workers from the entire surrounding area were hoped for, was to take place. I therefore, firmly determined to finish off the Red Terror once and for all, ordered the SA to assemble at twelve o'clock; it had meanwhile swelled to nearly fifteen hundred men. I set out with them on a march to the Veste Coburg, across the large square where the Red demonstration was supposed to take place. I wanted to see if they would dare to molest us once again. When we entered the square, instead of the announced ten thousand, only a few hundred were present, who generally remained quiet as we approached, and some of whom ran away. Only in a few places did Red squads, who had meanwhile arrived from outside and did not yet know us, attempt to provoke us again; but in the blink of an eye, their desire to do so was thoroughly extinguished. And now one could see how the previously fearfully intimidated population slowly woke up, gained courage, dared to greet us with cheers, and in the evening, upon our departure, broke out in spontaneous jubilation in many places.

Suddenly, at the station, the railway personnel declared that they would not run the train. I then had it communicated to some of the ringleaders that in this case I intended to round up whatever Red bigwigs fell into my hands, and that we would then simply drive the train ourselves, albeit on the locomotive and tender and intended to take along a few dozen brothers of international solidarity in every carriage. I also did not fail to draw the gentlemen's attention to the fact that the journey with our own forces would, of course, be an infinitely risky undertaking and that it would not be out of the question that we might all break our necks and bones together. We would be happy, however, to then at least depart for the hereafter not alone, but in equality and fraternity with the red gentlemen.

Thereupon the train departed very punctually, and we arrived back safely in Munich the next morning.

In Coburg, for the first time since the year 1914, the equality of citizens before the law was thus restored. For if today some simple-minded high official presumes to claim that the state protects the lives of its citizens, then this certainly did not apply at that time; for the citizens in those days had to defend themselves against the representatives of the present state.

The significance of this day could not at first be fully estimated in its consequences. Not only was the victorious SA extraordinarily bolstered in its self-confidence and in the belief in the correctness of its leadership, but the surrounding world also began to concern itself more closely with us, and many recognized for the first time in the National Socialist movement the institution which, in all probability, would one day be called upon to bring the Marxist madness to a fitting end.

Only democracy groaned that one could dare not to peacefully allow one's skull to be bashed in, but that we had presumed, in a democratic republic, to meet a brutal attack with fists and sticks instead of with pacifist chants.

The bourgeois press in general was partly wretched, partly mean, as always, and only a few sincere newspapers welcomed the fact that at least in one

...place had finally put an end to the Marxist highwaymen.

In Coburg itself, however, a part of the Marxist working class—who, moreover, had to be regarded merely as misled—learned to see, taught by the fists of National Socialist workers, that these workers also fight for ideals; for experience shows that one only fights for something that one believes in and that one loves.

The greatest benefit, however, was for the SA itself. It now grew very rapidly, so that at the Party Congress on January 27, 1923, nearly six thousand men were already able to participate in the consecration of the banners, and the first hundreds were fully clothed in their new attire.

The experiences in Coburg had shown just how necessary it is—not only to strengthen esprit de corps, but also to avoid confusion and prevent mutual failure of recognition—to introduce a uniform clothing for the SA. Until then, they wore only the armband; now the windbreaker and the well-known cap were added.

The experiences of Coburg had the further significance that we now proceeded systematically in all places where the Red Terror had for many years prevented any meeting of those who thought differently, to break this terror and to establish freedom of assembly. From then on, National Socialist battalions were repeatedly concentrated in such places, and gradually one Red stronghold after another in Bavaria fell victim to National Socialist propaganda. The SA had increasingly grown into its task, and it had thus moved further and further away from the character of a senseless and non-essential defense movement and had risen to become a living combat organization for the establishment of a new German state.

This logical development lasted until March 1923.

Then an event occurred that forced me to take the movement out of its previous course and lead it toward a reorganization.

3. The occupation of the Ruhr region by the French, which took place in the first months of the year 1923, had a great significance for the development of the SA in the period that followed.

Even today, it is still not possible, and especially not expedient in the national interest, to speak or write about this in full public view. I can only express myself to the extent that this topic has already been touched upon in public proceedings and has thereby been brought to the knowledge of the public.

The occupation of the Ruhr region, which did not come as a surprise to us, gave rise to the well-founded hope that the cowardly policy of retreat would now finally be broken and that a very specific task would thus fall to the paramilitary associations. The SA, which at that time already comprised many thousands of young, vigorous men, could not then be withdrawn from this national service. In the spring and midsummer of the year 1923, its conversion into a military combat organization took place. The later development of the year 1923 was largely to be attributed to it, insofar as it concerned our movement.

Since I deal with the development of the year 1923 in broad strokes elsewhere, I only want to establish here that the reorganization of the SA at that time—if the prerequisites that had led to its reorganization, namely the commencement of active resistance against France, did not materialize—was a harmful one from the viewpoint of the movement.

The conclusion of the year 1923, as appalling as it may appear at first glance, was, viewed from a higher vantage point, almost necessary in so far as it ended with one blow the reorganization of the SA, which had been rendered pointless by the attitude of the German Reich government but was now harmful to the movement, and thus created the possibility of one day rebuilding there again, where one once had to leave the right path.

The NSDAP, refounded in 1925, must now once again establish, train, and organize its SA according to the principles mentioned at the beginning. It must thereby return to the originally healthy views and must now again regard it as its highest task to create in its SA an instrument for the representation and strengthening of the ideological struggle of the movement.

It must neither tolerate the SA sinking to the level of a kind of defense league nor a secret organization; rather, it must strive to train within it a hundred-thousand-man guard of the National Socialist and thus deeply völkisch idea.

Chapter 10

Federalism as a Mask

In the winter of 1919, and even more so in the spring and summer of 1920, the young party was forced to take a position on a question that had already risen to extraordinary importance during the war. In the first volume, in the brief description of the signs of the impending German collapse that became visible to me personally, I pointed out the special kind of propaganda that took place on the part of both the English and the French to tear open the old rift between North and South. In the spring of 1915, the first systematic agitational pamphlets appeared against Prussia as the sole culprit of the war. By the year 1916, this system had reached a complete, as skillful as it was villainous, development. The incitement of the South German against the North German, calculated to appeal to the lowest instincts, also began to bear fruit after a short time. It is a reproach that must be leveled against the then-authoritative bodies both in the government and in the army command—or rather, in the Bavarian command posts—and which they cannot shake off, that in god-blinded dereliction of duty they did not intervene against it with the necessary determination. Nothing was done! On the contrary, in various places it seemed that people did not mind seeing it at all and were perhaps narrow-minded enough to think that such propaganda would not only put a stop to the unified development of the German people, but that it would also automatically result in a strengthening of federalist forces.

would have to. Hardly ever in history has a malicious omission been more evilly avenged. The weakening that was believed to be inflicted upon Prussia affected all of Germany. Its consequence, however, was the acceleration of the collapse, which did not merely shatter Germany, but primarily the individual states themselves.

In the city where the artificially stirred-up hatred against Prussia raged most fiercely, the revolution against the ancestral royal house broke out first.

Now, it would certainly be wrong to believe that the fabrication of this anti-Prussian sentiment was to be attributed to enemy war propaganda alone, and that grounds for excuse for the people seized by it would not have existed. The incredible nature of the organization of our war economy, which, in a truly insane centralization, tutelaged—and swindled—the entire territory of the Reich, was a primary reason for the emergence of that anti-Prussian attitude.

For the normal little man, the war societies, which happened to have their headquarters in Berlin, were identical with Berlin, and Berlin itself was synonymous with Prussia. That the organizers of this predatory institution, called war societies, were neither Berliners nor Prussians, indeed not Germans at all, hardly came to the consciousness of the individual at that time. He saw only the gross defectiveness and the constant encroachments of this hated institution in the capital of the Reich and naturally transferred all his hatred to this capital and Prussia simultaneously, all the more so as from a certain side not only was nothing done against it, but in secret such an interpretation was even greeted with a smirk.

The Jew was far too clever not to understand even then that the infamous campaign of plunder, which he organized against the German people under the mantle of the war societies, would, indeed must, provoke resistance.

As long as this one did not jump at his own throat, he had no need to fear him. But in order to prevent an explosion of the masses, driven to despair and indignation, in this direction, there could be no better recipe than to let their rage flare up elsewhere and thus consume itself.

Let Bavaria argue against Prussia and Prussia against Bavaria as much as they liked—the more, the better! The hottest struggle between the two meant the most secure peace for the Jew. General attention was thereby completely diverted from the international maggot of nations; people seemed to have forgotten it. And if the danger seemed to emerge that level-headed elements, which were also numerous in Bavaria, urged insight, reflection, and restraint, thereby threatening the bitter struggle to subside, the Jew in Berlin only needed to stage a new provocation and wait for the result. Instantly, all beneficiaries of the dispute between North and South pounced on every such incident and blew until the embers of indignation had risen again into a bright fire.

It was a clever, refined game that the Jew played at that time to keep the individual German tribes constantly occupied and distracted, so as to be able to plunder them all the more thoroughly in the meantime.

Then came the revolution.

If, up until the year 1918, or rather, until November of that year, the average person, and especially the poorly educated philistine and worker, could not yet correctly recognize the real course of events and the inevitable consequences of the dispute among the German tribes, especially in Bavaria, then at least the part calling itself "national" should have understood it on the day the revolution broke out. For hardly had the action succeeded when in Bavaria the leader and organizer of the revolution already became the representative of "Bavarian" interests. The international Jew Kurt Eisner began to play Bavaria against to play off Prussia. But it was, after all, a matter of course that this very Oriental, who as a press-scoundrel was constantly roaming here and there in the rest of Germany, would have been the last person called upon to safeguard Bavarian interests, and that Bavaria could be the most indifferent thing to him that existed in God's wide world.

By giving the revolutionary uprising in Bavaria a very deliberate point against the rest of the Reich, Kurt Eisner did not act in the least from Bavarian points of view, but only as an agent of Jewry. He used the existing instincts and dislikes of the Bavarian people in order to be able to smash Germany more easily by means of them. The shattered Reich, however, would have easily become a prey to Bolshevism.

The tactics he employed were initially continued even after his death. Marxism, which had always showered the individual states and their princes in Germany with the bloodiest scorn, now suddenly appealed as the “Independent Party” precisely to those feelings and instincts that had their strongest roots in princely houses and individual states.

The struggle of the Soviet Republic against the advancing liberation contingents had been propagandistically framed primarily as a “struggle of Bavarian workers” against “Prussian militarism.” Only from this can one understand why in Munich, quite unlike other German regions, the crushing of the Soviet Republic did not lead to the reflection of the broad masses, but rather to an even greater bitterness and doggedness against Prussia.

The art with which the Bolshevist agitators understood how to present the elimination of the Soviet Republic as a “Prussian-militarist” victory against the “anti-militarist” and “anti-Prussian” minded Bavarian people bore rich fruit. While Kurt Eisner, on the occasion of the elections...

In the legislative Bavarian State Parliament in Munich, which could not muster even ten thousand supporters, the Communist Party even remained under three thousand; however, after the collapse of the Republic, both parties together had risen to nearly one hundred thousand voters.

Already during this time, my personal struggle against the insane incitement of the German tribes against one another began.

I believe I have never started a more unpopular cause in my life than my resistance at that time against the anti-Prussian agitation. In Munich, even during the Soviet Republic, the first mass meetings had taken place in which hatred against the rest of Germany, but especially against Prussia, was whipped up to such a boiling point that it was not only associated with mortal danger for a North German to attend such a meeting, but the conclusion of such rallies usually ended quite openly with the insane shouting: "Away from Prussia!" – "Down with Prussia!" – "War against Prussia!", a sentiment that a particularly brilliant representative of Bavarian sovereign interests in the German Reichstag summarized in the battle cry:

"Rather die Bavarian than perish Prussian."

One must have experienced the meetings of that time to understand what it meant for me personally when I, surrounded by a handful of friends, stood up for the first time in a meeting at the Löwenbräukeller in Munich to defend against this madness. It was war comrades who provided me with assistance then, and one can perhaps empathize with our feelings when an irrational mass roared against us and threatened to strike us down—a mass that, during the time we had defended the fatherland, had for the most part loitered about as deserters and shirkers in the rear areas or at home. For me, however, these appearances had the fortunate result that the band of my faithful became all the more closely bound to me.

felt and was soon sworn to me for life and death.

These struggles, which repeated themselves again and again and dragged on through the whole year of 1919, seemed to intensify even further at the beginning of 1920. There were meetings — I remember one in particular in the Wagner Hall on Sonnenstraße in Munich — in which my group, which had grown larger in the meantime, had to endure the severest battles, which not infrequently ended with dozens of my followers being mistreated, beaten down, and trampled underfoot, only to be finally thrown out of the halls, looking more like corpses than living beings.

The struggle, which I had first taken up as an individual, supported only by my war comrades, was now carried on as a—I might almost say—holy task by the young movement.

It is still my pride today to be able to say that at that time — almost exclusively dependent on our Bavarian supporters — we nevertheless slowly but surely put an end to this mixture of stupidity and treason. I say stupidity and treason because, despite all my conviction of the inherently well-meaning but stupid mass of followers, I cannot credit the organizers and instigators with such simplicity. I considered them then, and still consider them today, to be traitors hired and paid by France. In one case, the case of Dorten, history has in the meantime already pronounced its judgment.

What made the matter particularly dangerous at that time was the skill with which people knew how to conceal the true tendencies by pushing federalist intentions into the foreground as the sole reason for this activity. That the stirring up of hatred against Prussia has nothing to do with federalism is, however, obvious. A "federalist activity" that attempts to dissolve or divide another federal state also leaves a strange impression. For an honest federalist, for whom the citation of Bismarck's imperial idea...

does not represent a lying phrase, should not, in the same breath, wish to sever parts from the Prussian state created or at least completed by Bismarck, or even publicly support such separatist endeavors. How they would have screamed in Munich if a conservative Prussian party had favored the secession of Franconia from Bavaria or even demanded and promoted it in public action! In all of this, one could only truly feel sorry for the honestly federalist-minded natures who had not seen through this wicked game of rogues; for they were, first and foremost, the ones deceived. By burdening the federalist idea in such a way, its own supporters dug its grave. One cannot propagate a federalist organization of the Reich if one degrades, insults, and defiles the most essential member of such a state structure, namely Prussia itself, making it, if possible, impossible as a federal state. This was all the more unbelievable as the struggle of these so-called Federalists was directed precisely against that Prussia which can least be associated with the November Democracy. For the insults and attacks of these so-called "Federalists" were directed not against the fathers of the Weimar Constitution, who, by the way, were themselves for the most part South Germans or Jews, but against the representatives of the old conservative Prussia, the antipodes of the Weimar Constitution. That they took special care not to touch the Jew should not be surprising, but perhaps provides the key to the solution of the whole riddle.

Just as before the revolution the Jew understood how to distract attention from his war companies or, better, from himself, and knew how to turn the masses, especially of the Bavarian people, against Prussia, so after the revolution he had to somehow cover the new and now ten times larger raid. And again he succeeded, in this case, in inciting the so-called "national elements" of Germany against each other: conservatively minded Bavarians against equally conservatively minded Prussians. And again he pursued it in the most cunning manner, in that he, who alone held the threads of the Reich's destiny in his hands, provoked such crude and tactless encroachments that the blood of those affected was constantly driven to a boil. But never against the Jew, but always against the German brother. It was not the Berlin of four million industrially working, diligent, creative people that the Bavarian saw, but the lazy, decomposed Berlin of the worst West End! Yet his hatred did not turn against this West End, but rather against the "Prussian" city.

It was truly often enough to drive one to despair.

This skill of the Jew in diverting public attention from himself and occupying it elsewhere can be studied again today.

In the year 1918, there could be no talk of a systematic anti-Semitism. I still remember the difficulties one encountered as soon as one even took the word Jew into one's mouth. One was either stared at stupidly, or one experienced the most violent resistance. Our first attempts to show the public the true enemy seemed almost hopeless at that time, and only very slowly did things begin to turn for the better. As flawed as the "Schutz- und Trutzbund" (League for Protection and Defiance) was in its organizational structure, its merit was nonetheless great for having reopened the Jewish question as such. In any case, in the winter of 1918/19, something like anti-Semitism slowly began to take root. Later, however, the National Socialist movement pushed the Jewish question forward in a completely different way. Above all, it succeeded in lifting this problem out of the narrow circle of upper and petty-bourgeois layers and transforming it into the driving motive of a great popular movement. But hardly had it succeeded in giving the German people...

to devote the great, unifying idea of struggle to this question, just as the Jew was already proceeding to counter-attack. He resorted to his old means. With fabulous speed, he threw the torch of discord into the völkisch movement itself and sowed division. In the raising of the ultramontane question and in the resulting mutual struggle between Catholicism and Protestantism lay, as circumstances were, the only possibility of occupying public attention with other problems in order to prevent the concentrated onslaught against Jewry. How the men who threw this very question into our people sinned against them, they can never make right again. The Jew has in any case achieved the desired goal: Catholics and Protestants wage a merry war with one another, and the mortal enemy of Aryan humanity and of all Christendom laughs up his sleeve.

Just as one once understood how to occupy public opinion for years with the struggle between federalism and unitarism and to wear it out therein, while the Jew bartered away the nation's freedom and betrayed our fatherland to international high finance, so he is now succeeding again in letting the two German denominations storm against each other, while the foundations of both are being eaten away and undermined by the poison of the international world-Jew.

One should keep in mind the devastations which Jewish bastardization inflicts on our people every day, and consider that this blood poisoning can only be removed from our national body after centuries or not at all; consider further how racial decomposition pulls down, indeed often destroys, the last Aryan values of our German people, so that our strength as a culture-bearing nation is visibly more and more in retreat, and we fall prey to the danger, at least in our large cities, of arriving where Southern Italy is already today. This

The poisoning of our blood, which hundreds of thousands of our people pass by as if blind, is being systematically pursued by the Jew today. Systematically, these black parasites of the people defile our inexperienced, young blonde girls and thereby destroy something that can no longer be replaced in this world. Both, yes indeed, both Christian denominations look on indifferently at this desecration and destruction of a noble and unique living being given to the earth by God's grace. For the future of the earth, however, the significance lies not in whether the Protestants defeat the Catholics or the Catholics defeat the Protestants, but in whether the Aryan man is preserved for it or dies out. Nevertheless, the two denominations today do not fight against the destroyer of these people, but seek to destroy each other. Precisely the person with a völkisch orientation would have the most sacred obligation, each within his own denomination, to ensure that one does not only

always outwardly talk of God's will,
but also actually fulfills God's
will and does not let God's work
be defiled.

For God's will once gave humans their form, their essence, and their abilities. He who destroys His work thereby declares war on the Lord's creation, on the divine will. Therefore, let everyone be active, and indeed let everyone kindly do so within his own denomination, and let everyone feel it as his first and most sacred duty to take a stand against anyone who, in his activity through speech or action, steps out of the framework of his own faith community and attempts to stir up trouble in the other. For the combating of the essential characteristics of a denomination within our existing religious division leads inevitably in Germany to a war of annihilation between both denominations. Our circumstances here permit no comparison at all with, for example, France or Spain or even Italy. One can, for example, in all three countries, lead a struggle against clericalism or propagate Ultramontanism without running the risk that in this attempt the French, Spanish, or Italian people as such would fall apart. However, one must not do this in Germany, as the Protestants here would certainly also participate in such an undertaking. With this, however, the defense, which elsewhere would only take place by Catholics against encroachments of a political nature by their own high pastors, immediately takes on the character of an attack by Protestantism against Catholicism. What is still endured from members of one's own denomination, even if it is unjust, finds the sharpest rejection from the outset as soon as the combatant stems from another religious community.

This goes so far that even people who would otherwise be readily prepared to remedy an obvious grievance within their own religious community, immediately desist from doing so and turn their resistance outward as soon as such a correction is recommended or even demanded by a source not belonging to their community. They perceive this as an attempt that is as unjustified as it is inadmissible, indeed indecent, to interfere in matters that are none of the person's business. Such attempts are not excused even when they are justified by the higher right of the interests of the national community, since today religious feelings still sit deeper than all national and political expediencies. And this is not changed at all by the fact that the two denominations are now driven into a mutual bitter struggle; rather, it could only become different by granting the nation a future through mutual tolerance, which in its greatness would gradually have a reconciling effect in this area as well.

I do not hesitate to declare that I see in the men who today drag the völkisch movement into the crisis of religious disputes, worse enemies of my people than in the next best internationally minded Communist. For to convert the latter is the national-socialist movement. But whoever removes them from their real mission from within their own ranks acts most reprehensibly. Whether consciously or unconsciously, it plays no role at all; he is a fighter for Jewish interests. For it is in the Jewish interest today to let the völkisch movement bleed to death in a religious struggle at the very moment when it begins to become a danger to the Jew. And I expressly emphasize the words "let bleed to death"; for only a man who is historically completely uneducated can imagine being able to solve a question with this movement today on which centuries and great statesmen have been shattered.

Otherwise, the facts speak for themselves. The gentlemen who in 1924 suddenly discovered that the supreme mission of the völkisch movement was the struggle against "Ultramontanism" did not break Ultramontanism, but tore the völkisch movement apart. I must also protest against the fact that in the ranks of the völkisch movement some immature mind imagines being able to do what even a Bismarck could not do.

It will always be the supreme duty of the leadership of the National Socialist movement to take the sharpest stand against any attempt to place the National Socialist movement in the service of such struggles and to immediately remove the propagandists of such an intention from the ranks of the movement. In fact, this had been completely successful until the autumn of 1923. In the ranks of our movement, the most devout Protestant could sit next to the most devout Catholic without ever having to fall into the slightest conflict of conscience with his religious conviction. On the contrary, the common mighty struggle which both waged against the destroyer of Aryan humanity taught them to respect and value each other. And yet, precisely in these years, the movement fought the sharpest battle against the Center Party, though never for religious reasons, but exclusively for national, racial, and economic-political reasons. Success spoke just as much for us then as it testifies against the know-it-alls today.

In recent years, things have sometimes gone so far that völkisch circles, in the godforsaken blindness of their denominational disputes, did not even recognize the madness of their actions from the fact that atheistic Marxist newspapers suddenly became advocates of religious faith communities as needed, in order to burden one side or the other by carrying back and forth sometimes truly stupid remarks and thereby fanning the fire to the extreme.

Especially with a people, however, who, like the German people, have already proven so often in their history that they are capable of waging wars for phantoms until they bleed white, every such battle cry will be deathly dangerous. Our people were always distracted by this from the truly real questions of their existence. While we consumed ourselves in religious disputes, the rest of the world was divided up. And while the völkisch movement ponders whether the ultramontane danger is greater than the Jewish one or vice versa, the Jew destroys the racial foundations of our existence and thereby destroys our people forever. As far as this type of "völkisch" fighters is concerned, I can only wish the National Socialist movement and thus also the German people from the bottom of my heart: Lord, preserve them from such friends; they will then surely deal with their enemies on their own.

* * *

The struggle between federalism and unitarism, so cleverly propagated by the Jews in the years 1919/20/21 and onwards, forced the National Socialist movement, despite all rejection of the same, to take a position on its essential problems. Should Germany be a federal or unitary state, and what is one to understand practically by both? It seems to me the more important question is the second be, because it is not only fundamental to the understanding of the entire problem, but also because it is clarifying and possesses a reconciling character.

What is a Federal State?

By a federal state, we understand an association of sovereign states that join together of their own free will by virtue of their sovereignty, and in doing so, cede that part of their sovereign rights in detail to the whole, which enables and guarantees the existence of the common federation.

In practice, this theoretical formulation does not fully apply to any of the federal states existing on earth today. Least of all in the American Union, where for the vast majority of the individual states, one cannot speak of any original sovereignty at all; rather, many of them were, in a sense, drawn into the total area of the Union only over the course of time. Therefore, in most cases, the individual states of the American Union are more like smaller and larger territories formed for administrative-technical reasons, often demarcated with a ruler, which previously had not possessed their own state sovereignty and could not have possessed it at all. For it was not these states that had formed the Union, but rather the Union first shaped a large part of such so-called states. The highly extensive self-rights left to, or rather granted to, the individual territories correspond not only to the entire nature of this confederation of states, but above all to the size of its surface area, its spatial dimensions, which almost equal the extent of a continent. One cannot, therefore, speak of the state sovereignty of the states of the American Union, but only of their constitutionally established and guaranteed rights, or perhaps better, powers.

Even for Germany, the above formulation is not fully and entirely applicable. Although in Germany, without a doubt, the individual states first existed as states, and indeed as states—

existed and from which the Reich was formed. However, the formation of the Reich did not occur on the basis of the free will or equal contribution of the individual states, but rather through the exercise of hegemony by one state among them, Prussia. Even the purely territorial disparity of the German states permits no comparison with the formation of, for example, the American Union. The difference in size between the former smallest German federal states and the larger ones, or even the largest, proves the lack of uniformity in contributions, but also the unevenness of the share in the founding of the Reich and the shaping of the federal state. In fact, however, one could not speak of real sovereignty in the case of most of these states, unless the word "state sovereignty" had no other meaning than that of an official phrase. In reality, not only the past but also the present had cleared away numerous of these so-called "sovereign states," thereby most clearly demonstrating the weakness of these "sovereign" entities.

It is not intended here to establish how these states were formed historically in detail, but rather that in almost no case do they coincide with tribal boundaries. They are purely political phenomena and have their roots mostly in the saddest period of the impotence of the German Reich and the fragmentation of our German fatherland which conditioned it, and which, conversely, was itself conditioned by it.

The constitution of the old Reich also took all this into account, at least in part, insofar as it did not grant the individual states equal representation in the Federal Council (Bundesrat), but instead made gradations according to the size and actual significance as well as the contribution of the individual states in the formation of the Reich.

The sovereign rights ceded by the individual states to enable the formation of the Reich were given up of their own free will only to a very small extent; for the most part, they were practically non-existent anyway, or they were simply taken under the pressure of Prussian superiority. However, Bismarck did not proceed from the principle of giving to the Reich whatever could possibly be taken from the individual states, but rather of demanding from the individual states only what the Reich absolutely needed. A principle as moderate as it was wise, which on the one hand took the highest consideration of habit and tradition and on the other hand ensured from the outset a great measure of love and joyful cooperation for the new Reich. It is, however, fundamentally wrong to attribute this decision of Bismarck's perhaps to a conviction that the Reich would thereby possess sufficient sovereign rights for all time. Bismarck by no means held this conviction; on the contrary, he only wanted to leave to the future what would have been difficult to carry out and endure at the moment. He hoped for the slowly balancing effect of time and for the pressure of development itself, to which in the long run he attributed more strength than to an attempt to immediately break the momentary resistance of the individual states. He thereby showed and best proved the greatness of his statesmanship. For in reality, the sovereignty of the Reich has steadily increased at the expense of the sovereignty of the individual states. Time has fulfilled what Bismarck hoped from it.

With the German collapse and the destruction of the monarchical form of government, this development was inevitably accelerated. For since the individual German states owed their existence less to tribal foundations than to purely political causes, the significance of these individual states had to sink into nothingness at the moment when the most essential embodiment of the political development of these states, the monarchical form of government and its dynasties, were eliminated. A whole number of these "state entities" thereby lost so much of any internal support that they voluntarily renounced further existence and, out of pure expediency—

reasons of security, merged with others or, of their own free will, were absorbed into larger entities; the most striking proof of the extraordinary weakness of the actual sovereignty of these small formations and the low esteem they found even among their own citizens.

If, therefore, the elimination of the monarchical form of state and its representatives already dealt a severe blow to the federal character of the Reich, it was even more so by the assumption of the obligations resulting from the "Peace" Treaty.

That the financial sovereignty previously held by the states was lost to the Reich was natural and self-evident at the very moment when the Reich, through the lost war, was subjected to a financial obligation that could never have been covered by individual contributions from the states. The further steps that led to the takeover of the postal service and railways by the Reich were also inevitable consequences of the enslavement of our people gradually initiated by the peace treaties. The Reich was forced to take possession of more and more assets in order to be able to meet the obligations that arose as a result of further extortions.

As insanely frequent as the forms were under which the "Reichification" took place, the process itself was logical and self-evident. The blame for this lay with the parties and men who once had not done everything to end the war victoriously. The blame lay, especially in Bavaria, with the parties which, in pursuit of selfish personal goals, had withdrawn from the idea of the Reich during the war what they had to replace tenfold after its loss. Avenging history! Only rarely did the punishment of Heaven come as abruptly after the sin as in this case. The same parties which, only a few years before, had placed the interests of their individual states—and this especially in Bavaria—above the interest of the Reich, now had to experience how, under the pressure of events, the interest of the

Reich strangled the existence of the individual states. All through their own complicity.

It is a hypocrisy beyond compare to complain to the masses of voters (for the agitation of our current parties is directed only at them) about the loss of sovereign rights of the individual states, while all these parties without exception have outbidden each other in a policy of fulfillment, which in its ultimate consequences naturally had to lead to profound changes within Germany. The Bismarckian Reich was free and unburdened externally. This Reich did not possess financial obligations of such a heavy and at the same time completely unproductive nature as today's Dawes-Germany has to bear. However, internally as well, it was limited in its competence to a few and absolutely necessary matters. Thus, it could very well dispense with its own financial sovereignty and live off the contributions of the states; and it is self-evident that, on the one hand, the preservation of their own sovereign rights and, on the other hand, relatively low financial levies to the Reich were very conducive to the states' loyalty to the Reich. But it is incorrect, even insincere, to want to make propaganda today with the claim that the current lack of loyalty to the Reich is merely attributable to the financial bondage of the states toward the Reich. No, that is not how things really are. The diminished joy in the idea of the Reich is not to be attributed to the loss of sovereign rights on the part of the states, but is rather the result of the wretched representation that the German people currently experience through their State. Despite all Reich-banner and constitutional celebrations, today's Reich has remained foreign to the hearts of the people in all strata, and republican protection laws may well deter a violation of republican institutions, but can never win the love of even a single German. In the excessive concern to protect the Republic from its own citizens through paragraphs and penitentiaries lies the most devastating criticism and disparagement of the entire institution itself.

However, for another reason as well, the assertion made by certain parties today—that the waning of enthusiasm for the Reich is attributable to the Reich's encroachments on specific sovereign rights of the states—is untrue. Assuming the Reich had not undertaken the expansion of its competencies, one should not believe for a moment that the love of the individual states for the Reich would then be any greater if, nevertheless, the total expenditures had to be the same as they are now. On the contrary: if the individual states today had to bear taxes in the amount that the Reich needs to fulfill the dictates of enslavement, the hostility toward the Reich would be infinitely greater. The contributions of the states to the Reich would not only be very difficult to collect but would actually have to be driven in by way of compulsory execution. For since the Republic stands once and for all on the ground of the peace treaties and possesses neither the courage nor in any way the intention to break them, it must reckon with its obligations. The fault for this, however, lies again only with the parties who continuously talk to the patient masses of voters about the necessary independence of the states, while at the same time promoting and supporting a Reich policy that must quite inevitably lead to the elimination of even the last of these so-called "sovereign rights."

I say inevitably because the current Reich has no other possibility at all of meeting the burdens imposed upon it by a wicked domestic and foreign policy. Here, too, one wedge drives the other, and every new debt that the Reich incurs through its criminal representation of German interests abroad, must be compensated internally by stronger downward pressure, which in turn requires the gradual elimination of all sovereign rights of the individual states, so as not to allow seeds of resistance to arise or even exist within them.

In general, a characteristic difference between today's national policy compared to that of the past must be established: The old Reich gave freedom internally and demonstrated strength externally, while the Republic shows weakness externally and oppresses its citizens internally. In both cases, one conditions the other: The powerful nation-state needs fewer laws internally as a result of the greater love and devotion of its citizens; the international slave state can only compel its subjects to forced labor through violence. For it is one of the most shameless impudences of the current regime to speak of "free citizens." Only the old Germany possessed such. The Republic, as a slave colony of foreign countries, has no citizens, but at best subjects. It therefore also possesses no national flag, but only a registered trademark introduced and guarded by official decrees and legal provisions. This symbol, perceived as the Gessler hat of German democracy, will therefore always remain inwardly alien to our people. The Republic, which at the time kicked the symbols of the past into the mud without any feeling for tradition and without any reverence for the greatness of the past, will one day be astonished at how superficially the subjects cling to their own symbols. It has given itself the character of an intermezzo in German history.

Thus, this state is today forced, for the sake of its own existence, to [curtail] the sovereign rights of the individual states...

to curtail more and more, not only from general material perspectives, but also from ideal ones. For by extracting the last drop of blood from its citizens through its financial extortionist policy, it must inevitably also take away their last rights, if it does not want the general dissatisfaction to break out into open rebellion one day.

In reversing the above sentence, the following fundamental rule results for us National Socialists: A powerful national Reich, which perceives and protects the interests of its citizens abroad to the highest degree, is able to offer freedom internally without having to fear for the stability of the state. On the other hand, a powerful national government can itself undertake and justify major interventions in the freedom of the individual as well as of the states without damage to the idea of the Reich, if the individual citizen recognizes in such measures a means to the greatness of his nationality.

Certainly, all states in the world are moving towards a certain unification in their internal organization. Germany, too, will be no exception in this regard. It is already nonsense today to speak of a "state sovereignty" of individual states, which in reality is already non-existent due to the ridiculous size of these entities. In both the fields of transport and administrative technology, the importance of the individual states is being pushed down more and more. Modern transport, modern technology, causes distance and space to shrink more and more. A state of former times represents today only a province, and states of the present were formerly equivalent to continents. The difficulty, measured purely technically, of administering a state like Germany is no greater than the difficulty of managing a province like Brandenburg one hundred and twenty years ago. The overcoming of

The distance from Munich to Berlin is easier today than that from Munich to Starnberg a hundred years ago. And the entire territory of the Reich today is, in relation to current transport technology, smaller than any medium-sized German federal state at the time of the Napoleonic Wars. Anyone who closes their eyes to the consequences resulting from once-given facts simply remains behind the times. People who do this have existed at all times and will always exist in the future. However, they can hardly hinder the wheel of history, and never bring it to a standstill.

We National Socialists must not blindly pass by the consequences of these truths. Here, too, we must not allow ourselves to be captured by the phrases of our so-called national bourgeois parties. I use the term "phrases" because these parties themselves do not seriously believe in the possibility of carrying out their intentions, and because, secondly, they themselves are partly and primarily to blame for today's development. Especially in Bavaria, the cry for the dismantling of centralization is really nothing more than party-mongering without any serious ulterior motive. In every moment when these parties should have truly made good on their phrases, they failed miserably without exception. Every so-called "robbery of sovereign rights" of the Bavarian state by the Reich was, apart from a disgusting yapping, accepted practically without resistance. Indeed, if someone actually dared to seriously take a stand against this insane system, then he, "as one not standing on the ground of the current state," was ostracized and condemned by these same parties and persecuted until he was silenced either through imprisonment or an illegal ban on speaking. It is precisely from this that our supporters must most clearly recognize the inner mendacity of these so-called federalist circles. Just as in part religion; to them, the federalist idea of the state is also only a means for their often dirty party interests.

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As much as a certain unification, especially in the field of transport, appears natural, so much can the obligation exist for us National Socialists to take the strongest possible stand against such a development in today's state, namely when the measures only have the purpose of covering and enabling a disastrous foreign policy. Precisely because today's Reich has undertaken the so-called "Reich-ification" of railways, postal services, finances, etc., not from higher national-political points of view, but only to get the means and pledges into its hands for a boundless policy of fulfillment, we National Socialists must do everything that appears in any way suitable to make the implementation of such a policy more difficult, and if possible, to prevent it. This includes, however, the struggle against the current centralization of vital institutions of our people, which is only undertaken in order to make the billions in amounts and collateral objects liquid for our post-war policy toward foreign countries.

For this reason, the National Socialist movement has also taken a stand against such attempts.

The second reason that can cause us to offer resistance to such centralization is that it could strengthen the internal power of a government system which, in all its effects, has brought the gravest misfortune upon the German nation. The today's Jewish-democratic Reich, which has become a true curse for the German nation, seeks to silence the criticism of the individual states, which have not yet...

all of which are filled with this spirit of the times, to make them ineffective by reducing them to complete insignificance. In contrast, we National Socialists have every reason to try not only to give the opposition of these individual states the basis of a promising state power, but to make their struggle against centralization in general the expression of a higher national general German interest. While, therefore, the Bavarian People's Party, from narrow-minded particularistic viewpoints, strives to maintain "special rights" for the Bavarian state, we have to use this special position in the service of a higher national interest standing against today's November democracy.

The third reason that can further determine us to fight against the current centralization is the conviction that a large part of the so-called "Reichification" is in reality no unification, and in no case a simplification, but that in many cases it is only a matter of withdrawing institutions from the sovereign rights of the states in order to then open their gates to the interests of the revolutionary parties. Never before in German history has more shameless patronage been practiced than in the democratic republic. A large part of today's mania for centralization is to be blamed on those parties who once promised to clear the way for the capable, but in doing so, when filling offices and posts, had exclusively party membership in mind. In particular, Jews have poured into the economic enterprises and administrative apparatuses scraped together by the Reich in incredible quantities since the existence of the Republic, so that both have today become a domain of Jewish activity.

Above all, this third consideration must oblige us, for tactical reasons, to most strictly examine every further measure on the path of centralization and, if necessary, to take a stand against it. But our points of view must always be higher national-political ones and never petty particularist ones.

This latter remark is necessary so as not to let the opinion arise among our followers as if we National Socialists would not grant the Reich in itself the right to embody a higher sovereignty than that of the individual states. About this right there shall and can be no doubt among us. Since for us the state in itself is only a form, but the essential thing is its content, the nation, the people, it is clear that everything else has to subordinate itself to their sovereign interests. In particular, we cannot grant any individual state within the nation and the Reich representing it a power-political sovereignty and state authority. The mischief of individual federal states maintaining so-called representations abroad and among each other must stop and will one day stop. As long as such things are possible, we must not be surprised if foreign countries still place doubt in the stability of our Reich structure and behave accordingly. The mischief of these representations is all the greater as, besides the damage, not the slightest benefit can be attributed to them. Interests of a German abroad that cannot be safeguarded by the envoy of the Reich can be perceived even much less by the envoy of a small state that appears ridiculous within the framework of today's world order. In these small federal states, one can really only see points of attack for efforts at dissolution within and outside of Ger-

German Reich. For this, too, we National Socialists must have no understanding: that some noble lineage that has become decrepit should find new nourishment for its mostly already very withered branch by occupying a diplomatic post. Our diplomatic representations abroad were already so miserable at the time of the old Reich that further additions to the experiences gained then are highly superfluous.

The significance of the individual states will in the future necessarily have to be shifted more to the cultural-political field. The monarch who did the most for the significance of Bavaria was not some stubborn, anti-German-minded particularist, but rather Ludwig I, who was as Great-German-minded as he was artistically sensitive. By using the forces of the state primarily for the expansion of Bavaria's cultural position and not for the strengthening of its power-political position, he achieved something better and more lasting than would otherwise have ever been possible. By lifting Munich at that time out of the framework of an insignificant provincial residence into the format of a great German art metropolis, he created a spiritual center that even today is able to bind the essentially different Franks to this state. Assuming Munich had remained what it once was, a process similar to that in Saxony would have repeated itself in Bavaria, only with the difference that the Bavarian Leipzig, Nuremberg, would not have become a Bavarian city, but a Franconian one. It was not the "Down-with-Prussia" shouters who made Munich great; rather, significance was given to this city by the King, who wanted to gift the German nation an artistic gem within it that had to be seen and noticed, and was seen and noticed. And therein lies a lesson for the future as well.

The significance of the individual states will in the future no longer lie at all in the field of state and power politics; I see it either in the tribal or in the cultural-political field. Yet even here time will have a leveling effect. The ease of modern transport shakes people together to such an extent that the tribal boundaries are slowly and steadily being blurred, and thus even the cultural image is beginning to gradually equalize.

The army is to be kept particularly strictly away from all individual state influences. The coming National Socialist state should not fall into the error of the past and foist a task upon the army which it does not have and must not have at all. The German army is not there to be a school for the preservation of tribal peculiarities, but rather a school of mutual understanding and adaptation for all Germans. Whatever else in the life of the nation may be divisive should be brought to a unifying effect through the army. It should further lift the individual young man out of the narrow horizon of his small territory and place him within the German nation. He must learn to see not the borders of his home region, but those of his fatherland; for these he must also one day protect. It is therefore nonsensical to leave the young German in his home region; rather, it is expedient to show him Germany during his time in the army. This is all the more necessary today, as the young German no longer goes on travels as he once did and thereby broadens his horizon. In light of this realization, is it not contradictory to leave the young Bavarian, if possible, in Munich again, the Franconian in Nuremberg, the Badenian in Karlsruhe, the Württemberger in Stuttgart, etc., and is it not more sensible to show the young Bavarian the Rhine for once and the North Sea for once, the Hamburger the Alps, the East Prussian the German central mountains, and so on? The regional character should remain in the troops, but not in the garrison. Any attempt at centralization may find our disapproval, but that of the army never! On the contrary, even if we wished to welcome no such attempt, we would have to...

we are pleased. Quite apart from the fact that, given the size of today's Reich Army, the maintenance of individual state troop units would be absurd, we see in the achieved unification of the Reich Army a step which we must never again abandon in the future, even with the reintroduction of a national army.

Furthermore, a young, victorious idea will have to reject every shackle that could paralyze its activity in driving its thoughts forward. National Socialism must fundamentally claim the right to impose its principles on the entire German nation, regardless of previous federal state borders, and to educate it in its ideas and thoughts. Just as the churches do not feel bound and limited by political borders, neither does the National Socialist idea feel limited by the individual state territories of our fatherland.

The National Socialist doctrine is not the servant of the political interests of individual federal states, but is intended to one day become the mistress of the German nation. It has to determine and reorganize the life of a people and must therefore imperiously claim for itself the right to pass over borders drawn by a development which we reject.

The more complete the victory of its ideas becomes, the greater may then be the freedom in detail which it offers internally.

Chapter 11

Propaganda and Organization

The year 1921 had gained a special significance for me and the movement in several respects. After my entry into the German Workers' Party, I immediately took over the leadership of propaganda. I considered this department to be by far the most important at the moment. For the time being, it was less a matter of racking one's brains over organizational questions than of conveying the idea itself to a larger number of people. Propaganda had to precede the organization by a long way and first win over the human material to be worked on. Furthermore, I am an enemy of organizing too quickly and too pedantically. This usually results only in a dead mechanism, but rarely a living organization. For organization is something that owes its existence to organic life, to organic development.

Ideas that have gripped a certain number of people will always strive for a certain order, and this internal shaping is of very great value. However, one must also reckon here with the weakness of men, which misleads the individual, at least initially, to instinctively resist a superior mind. As soon as an organization is set up mechanically from the top down, there is a great danger that a head once appointed, who is perhaps not yet precisely recognized and possibly of little ability, will seek to prevent the rise of more capable elements within the movement out of jealousy. The damage that arises in such a case can be of disastrous significance, especially for a young movement.

For this reason, it is more expedient to first spread an idea propagandistically from a central office for a period of time and then carefully search through and examine the gradually accumulating human material for leadership qualities. In doing so, it will often turn out that people who are inconspicuous in themselves are nevertheless to be regarded as born leaders.

It would be entirely wrong, however, to wish to see in a wealth of theoretical knowledge characteristic evidence of leadership qualities and leadership ability.

The opposite is frequently the case.

The great theoreticians are only in the rarest cases also great organizers, since the greatness of the theoretician and program-maker lies primarily in the recognition and establishment of abstractly correct laws, whereas the organizer must primarily be a psychologist. He has to take man as he is, and must therefore know him. He must neither overestimate him nor hold him in too low esteem in his masses. On the contrary, he must try to take account of weakness and brutality alike, in order to create, by considering all factors, a formation which, as a living organism, is filled with the strongest and steadiest strength and is thus suited to carry an idea and clear the way for its success.

But even rarer is a great theoretician a great leader. Much sooner will that be the agitator, something that many who only work scientifically on a question do not like to hear; and yet that is understandable. An agitator who exhibits the ability to convey an idea to the broad masses must always be a psychologist, even if he were only a demagogue. He will then still be better suited for leadership than the misanthropic, world-remote theoretician. For to lead means: to be able to move masses. The gift of shaping ideas has nothing at all to do with leadership ability. It is thereby it is quite idle to argue about which is of greater importance, to set up human ideals and human goals or to realize them. It is here as so often in life: one would be completely meaningless without the other. The most beautiful theoretical insight remains without purpose and value if the leader does not set the masses in motion toward it. And conversely, what would all leader-genius and all leader-momentum be if the soulful theorist did not set up the goals for the human struggle? However, the union of theorist, organizer, and leader in one person is the rarest thing that can be found on this earth; this union creates the great man.

In the early period of my activity in the movement, as already noted, I devoted myself to propaganda. It had to succeed in gradually filling a small core of people with the new doctrine, so as to train the material that could later provide the first elements of an organization. In this process, the goal of propaganda usually went beyond that of the organization.

If a movement intends to tear down a world and build a new one in its place, then complete clarity must prevail in the ranks of its own leadership regarding the following principles: Every movement will first have to sift the human material it has won into two large groups: into followers and members.

The task of propaganda is to recruit followers, the task of organization is to win members.

A follower of a movement is one who declares himself in agreement with its goals; a member is one who fights for them.

The follower is made inclined toward a movement through propaganda. The member is induced by the organization to participate personally in...

Recruitment of new followers, from whom members can then be formed again.

Since followership only requires a passive recognition of an idea, while membership demands active representation and defense, there will always be at most one or two members for every ten followers.

Followership is rooted only in recognition, membership in the courage to represent what has been recognized and to spread it further.

Recognition in its passive form corresponds to the majority of humanity, which is sluggish and cowardly. Membership requires an activist mindset and thus corresponds only to the minority of people.

Propaganda will accordingly have to work tirelessly to ensure that an idea wins followers, while the organization must be most strictly intent on making only the most valuable among the followers into members. Propaganda therefore does not need to worry about the significance of every individual it instructs, about their ability, skill, and understanding, or their character, while the organization has to collect most carefully from the mass of these elements what truly makes the victory of the movement possible.

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Propaganda attempts to force a doctrine upon the entire people; the organization encompasses within its framework only those who do not threaten to become a hindrance to the further dissemination of the idea for psychological reasons.

* * *

Propaganda works on the community in the sense of an idea and makes it ripe for the time of the victory of this idea, while the organization fights for the victory through the permanent, organic, and combat-ready union of those supporters who appear capable and willing to lead the struggle for victory.

* * *

The victory of an idea will be all the more possible the more comprehensively propaganda has processed people in their entirety and the more exclusive, disciplined, and solid the organization is that practically carries out the struggle.

From this it follows that the number of supporters cannot be large enough, but the number of members can more easily be too large than too small.

* * *

When propaganda has filled a whole people with an idea, the organization can draw the consequences with a handful of men. Propaganda and organization, that is, supporters and members, thus stand in a certain mutual relationship. The better the propaganda has worked, the smaller the organization can be, and the lar-

The larger the number of followers is, the more modest the number of members can be, and vice versa: The worse the propaganda is, the larger the organization must be, and the smaller the following of a movement remains, the more extensive its membership must be if it still wants to count on any success at all.

* * *

The first task of propaganda is the winning of people for the later organization; the first task of the organization is the winning of people for the continuation of propaganda. The second task of propaganda is the disruption of the existing state of affairs and the permeation of this state with the new doctrine, while the second task of the organization must be the struggle for power, in order to achieve the final success of the doctrine through it.

* * *

The most decisive success of a world-view revolution will always be won when the new world-view is taught to as many people as possible and, if necessary, later imposed upon them, while the organization of the idea, that is, the movement, should only embrace as many as are absolutely necessary to occupy the nerve centers of the state in question.

In other words, this means the following:

In every truly great world-transforming movement propaganda will first have to spread the idea of this movement. It will therefore tirelessly attempt to make the new lines of thought clear to others, thus drawing them over to its own ground or at least making them uncertain in their own previous convictions. Since the dissemination of a doctrine, i.e., propaganda, must possess a backbone, the doctrine will have to give itself a firm organization. The organization receives its members from the general body of supporters won over by propaganda. This will grow all the more rapidly the more intensively propaganda is carried out, and the latter, in turn, is able to work all the better the stronger and more powerful the organization is that stands behind it.

The highest task of the organization is therefore to ensure that no internal disagreements within the membership of the movement lead to a split and thus to a weakening of the work in the movement; further, that the spirit of determined attack does not die out, but constantly renews and strengthens itself. The number of members does not need to grow boundlessly; on the contrary, since only a fraction of humanity is energetically and boldly disposed, a movement that increases its organization endlessly would necessarily be weakened one day as a result. Organizations, i.e., membership numbers, that grow beyond a certain level gradually lose their fighting power and are no longer capable of supporting or utilizing the propaganda of an idea resolutely and aggressively.

The larger and more internally revolutionary an idea is, the more activist its membership will become, since the subversive power of the doctrine is associated with a danger for its bearers that appears suitable to keep small, cowardly philistines away from it. They will feel themselves to be supporters in private, but refuse to [show] this through mem-

membership to be confessed in all publicity. Through this, however, the organization of a truly revolutionary idea receives only the most active of the adherents won over by propaganda as members. It is precisely in this activity of the membership of a movement, guaranteed by natural selection, that the prerequisite lies for an equally active further propagation of the same, as well as for the successful struggle for the realization of the idea.

The greatest danger that can threaten a movement is a membership that has grown abnormally through too rapid successes. For as much as a movement, as long as it has to fight bitterly, is avoided by all cowardly and egoistically inclined people, they are usually just as quick to acquire membership when, through development, a great success of the party has become probable or has already occurred.

It is to this that it must be attributed why many victorious movements suddenly fall behind before success, or rather before the final completion of their will, due to inexplicable inner weakness, cease the struggle, and finally die out. As a result of their first victory, so many bad, unworthy, but especially cowardly elements have entered their organization that these inferiors finally gain the upper hand over the combative ones and now force the movement into the service of their own interests, press it down to the level of their own meager heroism, and do nothing to complete the victory of the original idea. The fanatical goal is thus blurred, the fighting power paralyzed or, as the bourgeois world is very fond of saying in such cases: "Water has now been added to the wine." And then, indeed, the trees can no longer grow into the sky.

It is therefore very necessary that a movement, out of pure instinct for self-preservation, as soon as success turns to its side, immediately [stops] the membership-blocks admission and continues to undertake an enlargement of its organization only with extreme caution and after the most thorough examination. Only by doing so will it be able to keep the core of the movement unadulterated, fresh, and healthy. It must ensure that then exclusively this core alone continues to lead the movement, i.e., determines the propaganda which is to lead to its general recognition and, as the possessor of power, undertakes the actions necessary for the practical realization of its ideas.

From the basic stock of the old movement, it must not only fill all important positions of the conquered structure but also form the entire leadership. And this for as long as the previous principles and teachings of the Party have become the foundation and content of the new state. Only then can the reins slowly be handed over to the special constitution of this state born of its spirit. However, this usually takes place again only in mutual struggle, since it is less a question of human insight than of the play and effect of forces which can well be recognized in advance but cannot be guided forever.

All great movements, whether they be of a religious or political nature, owe their immense successes only to the recognition and application of these principles; but above all, all lasting successes are completely unthinkable without consideration of these laws.

* * *

As the propaganda leader of the Party, I took great pains not only to prepare the ground for the greatness of the later movement but, through a very radical conception in this work, also worked toward the end that the organization receive only the best material. For the more radical and stirring my propaganda was, the more it deterred weaklings and timid natures, preventing their penetration into the inner core of our organization. They may have remained supporters, but certainly not with loud emphasis, but rather while anxiously concealing this fact. How many thousands assured me at that time that they were entirely in agreement with everything in principle, but nevertheless could under no circumstances be a member. The movement was so radical, they said, that membership in it would subject the individual to the most severe objections, even dangers, so that one could not blame the honorable, peaceful citizen for standing aside, at least for the time being, even if his heart belonged completely to the cause. And that was just as well.

If these people, who were inwardly not in agreement with the revolution, had all come into our party at that time, and as members at that, then today we could consider ourselves a pious brotherhood, but no longer a young movement eager for battle.

The lively and aggressive form that I gave to our propaganda at that time strengthened and guaranteed the radical tendency of our movement, since now truly only radical people —with few exceptions—were prepared for membership.

At the same time, this propaganda worked in such a way that after only a short time, hundreds of thousands inwardly not only agreed with us, but wished for our victory, even if they were personally too cowardly to make sacrifices for it or even to stand up for it.

Until mid-1921, this purely recruitment activity could still suffice and be of benefit to the movement. Special events in the midsummer of this year, however, made it appear advisable that now, after the slowly visible success of the propaganda, the organization should be adapted and brought into line with it.

The attempt of a group of völkisch visionaries, under...

supportive assistance of the then chairman of the party to gain control of the same, led to the collapse of this small intrigue and, in a general membership meeting, unanimously handed over the entire leadership of the movement to me. At the same time, a new statute was adopted which transfers full responsibility to the first chairman of the movement, fundamentally abolishes committee resolutions, and introduces in its place a system of division of labor that has since proven itself in the most beneficial way.

As of August 1, 1921, I took over this internal reorganization of the movement and, in doing so, found the support of a number of excellent individuals whom I consider it necessary to mention in a special appendix.

In the attempt to utilize the results of the propaganda organizationally and thereby solidify them, I had to sweep away a series of previous habits and introduce principles that none of the existing parties possessed or would have even recognized.

In the years 1919 to 1920, the movement had a committee for its leadership, which was elected by membership meetings that were themselves prescribed by law. The committee consisted of a first and second treasurer, a first and second secretary, and at the head, a first and second chairman. Added to this were a membership warden, the head of propaganda, and various assessors.

This committee embodied, as comical as it was, exactly what the movement itself wanted to fight most fiercely, namely PARLIAMENTARIANISM. For it was a matter of course that this involved a principle that embodied the very same system—from the smallest local group through the later districts, regions, and states, up to the national leadership—under which we all suffered and still suffer today.

It was urgently necessary to create a change here one day, lest the movement, as a result of the poor...

basis of its internal organization would be permanently corrupted and thereby become incapable of one day fulfilling its high mission.

The committee meetings, for which minutes were kept and in which votes were taken by majority and decisions were made, actually represented a parliament in miniature. Here, too, there was a total lack of personal responsibility and accountability. Here, too, the same absurdity and the same lack of reason reigned as in our large state representative bodies. Secretaries were appointed for this committee, men for treasury matters, men for the membership of the organization, men for propaganda and for God knows what else, but then they were allowed to take a joint position on every single question and decide by vote. Thus, the man who was there for propaganda voted on a matter concerning the man of finance, and he in turn voted on a matter concerning the organization, and he again on a matter that should only have concerned the secretaries, etc.

Why a special man was designated for propaganda in the first place, if treasurers, secretaries, membership wardens, etc., had to judge these pending questions, seems just as incomprehensible to a healthy brain as it would be if, in a large factory enterprise, the directors or designers of other departments and other branches always had to decide questions that had nothing at all to do with their affairs.

I did not submit to this madness, but stayed away from the meetings after a very short time. I did my propaganda and that was that, and otherwise I forbade any incompetent person in this field from trying to interfere. Just as I, conversely, did not interfere in the business of others.

When the adoption of the new statutes and my ap-

appointment to the post of first chairman had given me the necessary authority and the corresponding rights, this nonsense also came to an immediate end. In place of committee resolutions, the principle of absolute responsibility was introduced.

The first chairman is responsible for the entire leadership of the movement. He assigns the work to be performed to the committee members standing under him as well as to any other necessary collaborators. Each of these gentlemen is thus fully responsible for the tasks assigned to him. He is subordinate only to the first chairman, who must ensure the cooperation of all, or rather, must bring about this cooperation himself through the selection of persons and the issuance of general guidelines.

This law of fundamental responsibility has gradually become a matter of course within the movement, at least as far as the party leadership is concerned. In the small local groups and perhaps also in districts and regions, it will take years before these principles can be pushed through, as naturally cowards and incompetents will always resist them; sole responsibility for an undertaking will always be unpleasant to them; they feel freer and more comfortable when they have the cover of a majority of a so-called committee for every difficult decision. However, it seems necessary to me to take a stand against such an attitude with the utmost severity, to make no concession to the cowardice of responsibility, and thereby—even if only after a long time—to achieve a conception of leader-duty and leader-ability that will bring to leadership exclusively those who are truly called and chosen for it.

In any case, a movement that wants to combat parliamentary madness must itself be free of it. Only on such a basis can it gain the strength for its struggle.

A movement, which in a time of

Rule of the majority in each and every thing, fundamentally establishing itself on the principle of the leadership concept and the responsibility resulting therefrom, will one day overcome the previous state with mathematical certainty and emerge as the victor.

This thought led to a complete reorganization within the movement itself. And in its logical consequence, it also led to a very sharp separation of the business operations of the movement from the general political leadership. Fundamentally, the concept of responsibility was also extended to the entire party operations and now inevitably led to a recovery of the same to the extent that they, freed from political influences, were adjusted to purely economic perspectives.

When I came to the then six-man party in the fall of 1919, it had neither an office nor an employee, not even forms or stamps; nothing printed was available. The committee meeting place was first an inn in Herrnstraße and later a café at Gasteig. That was an impossible state of affairs. Shortly thereafter, I set myself in motion and searched through a large number of Munich restaurants and taverns with the intention of being able to rent a private room or some other space for the party. In the former Sterneckerbräu in the Tal, there was a small vault-like room that had once served the Imperial Councilors of Bavaria as a kind of pub room. It was dark and gloomy and thus suited its former purpose just as well as it poorly corresponded to the new use intended for it. The alley into which its only window opened was so narrow that even on the brightest summer day the room remained dismal and dark. This became our first office. Since the rent was only fifty marks per month (a giant sum for us at the time!), we were able to...

could not make great demands and were not even allowed to complain when, shortly before our move, the paneling of the walls, once intended for the Imperial Councilors, was quickly torn out, so that the room now truly left more the impression of a crypt than that of an office.

And yet this was already an enormous step forward. Slowly we received electric light, even more slowly a telephone; a table with a few borrowed chairs was brought in, finally an open shelving unit, and a little later a cupboard; two sideboards, which belonged to the landlord, were to serve for the storage of leaflets, posters, etc.

The previous operation, that is to say, the leadership of the movement through a committee meeting held once a week, was unsustainable in the long run. Only an official paid by the movement could guarantee ongoing business operations.

That was very difficult at the time. The movement still had so few members that it was an art to find a suitable man among them who, with the lowest demands for his own person, could satisfy the most diverse demands of the movement.

In a soldier, a former comrade of mine, Schüßler, the first business manager of the party was found after a long search. At first, he only came to our new office daily between six and eight o'clock, later between five and eight o'clock, finally every afternoon, and a short time later he was taken on full-time and now performed his service from morning until late into the night. He was a man as industrious as he was upright and fundamentally honest, who personally took every trouble and who was particularly loyal to the movement itself. Schüßler brought a small Adler typewriter with him, which was his own property. It was the first such instrument in the service of our movement. It was later acquired by the party through installment payments. A small safe seemed necessary to secure the card index and the membership books from the fingers of thieves. The acquisition was therefore not made to deposit large sums of money, that we might have possessed at that time. On the contrary, everything was infinitely poor, and I often had to contribute from my own small savings.

One and a half years later, the office was too small, and the move to the new premises on Corneliusstraße took place. Again, it was a tavern into which we moved, but we no longer possessed just one room, but already three rooms and a large counter area as well. At that time, that already seemed like a lot to us. We remained here until November 1923.

In December 1920, the acquisition of the "Völkischer Beobachter" took place. This, which already according to its name generally advocated for völkisch interests, was now to be converted into the organ of the NSDAP. It first appeared twice weekly, became a daily newspaper at the beginning of 1923, and at the end of August 1923 received its later well-known large format.

At that time, as a complete novice in the field of journalism, I also had to pay some bitter lessons.

In itself, the fact that, compared to the enormous Jewish press, hardly a single truly significant völkisch newspaper existed, should have given one cause for thought. This was due, as I was then able to determine for myself countless times in practice, to a very large extent to the lack of business-like presentation of the so-called völkisch enterprises in general. They were managed far too much from the point of view that conviction should take precedence over performance. A completely false standpoint, insofar as conviction must not be something external, but rather finds its most beautiful expression in performance. Whoever creates something truly valuable for his people thereby manifests an equally valuable conviction, while another, who merely feigns conviction without actually performing useful services for his people, is a parasite of any real conviction. He also burdens the community with his conviction.

The "Völkischer Beobachter" was also, as already...

as the name suggests, a so-called "völkisch" organ with all the advantages and even more faults and weaknesses that were inherent in völkisch institutions. As honorable as its content was, the commercial management of the enterprise was just as impossible. It too was based on the opinion that völkisch newspapers had to be maintained through völkisch donations, instead of the view that they had to assert themselves in the competitive struggle with others, and that it is an indecency to want to cover the negligence or errors of the business management of the enterprise through donations from well-meaning patriots.

In any case, I endeavored to eliminate this state of affairs, the precariousness of which I soon recognized, and luck helped me in this regard insofar as it allowed me to meet the man who has since performed infinitely meritorious service for the movement, not only as the business manager of the newspaper but also as the managing director of the party. In the year 1914, that is, in the field, I met (at that time still as my superior) the current General Manager of the party, Max Amann. During the four years of wartime, I had the opportunity to observe almost continuously the extraordinary ability, the diligence, and the meticulous conscientiousness of my later collaborator.

In the high summer of 1921, when the movement was in a severe crisis and I could no longer be satisfied with a number of employees—indeed, I had had the bitterest experience with one individual—I turned to my former regimental comrade, whom chance brought to me one day, with the request that he should now become the business manager of the movement. After long hesitation—Amann was in a promising position—he finally agreed, albeit under the express condition that he would never have to act as a beadle for any incompetent committees, but would recognize exclusively only one single master.

It is the indelible merit of this commercially truly comprehensively educated first business manager of the movement, to have brought order and cleanliness into the party operations. They have remained exemplary ever since and could not be reached, let alone surpassed, by any of the sub-organizations of the movement. As always in life, however, outstanding efficiency is not infrequently the cause of envy and resentment. This was naturally to be expected in this case as well and had to be patiently accepted.

Already in the year 1922, there were generally firm guidelines for both the commercial and purely organizational development of the movement. There was already a complete central card index, which included all members belonging to the movement. Likewise, the financing of the movement had been put on a healthy track. Current expenses had to be covered by current income; extraordinary income was used only for extraordinary expenses. Despite the difficulty of the times, the movement remained, apart from smaller current bills, almost debt-free; indeed, it even succeeded in making a permanent increase in its assets. Work was carried out as in a private business: the employed personnel had to distinguish themselves through performance and could by no means rely only on the famous "conviction." The conviction of every National Socialist proves itself first in his willingness, in his diligence and ability to perform the work assigned to him by the national community. Whoever does not fulfill his duty here should not boast of a conviction against which he himself in truth sins. By the new business manager of the party, contrary to all possible influences, the standpoint was represented with the utmost energy that party operations must not be a sinecure for followers or members with little desire for work. A movement that fights in such a sharp form against the party-based corruption of our current administrative apparatus must keep its own apparatus clean of such vices. It happened in one case that in the adminismanagement of the newspaper, employees were taken on who, according to their former convictions, belonged to the Bavarian People's Party, but measured solely by their performance, proved to be excellently qualified. The result of this experiment was generally outstanding. Precisely through this honest and open recognition of the actual achievement of the individual, the movement won the hearts of these employees more quickly and more thoroughly than would otherwise ever have been the case. They later became good National Socialists and remained so, not only by word of mouth, but proved it through the conscientious, orderly, and honest work they performed in the service of the new movement. It goes without saying that the well-qualified party comrade was preferred over the equally well-regarded non-party comrade. However, no one received a position based on their party membership alone. The determination with which the new business manager represented these principles and gradually, despite all resistance, pushed them through, was later of the greatest benefit to the movement. Only through this was it possible that during the difficult period of inflation, when tens of thousands of enterprises perished and thousands of newspapers had to close, the business management of the movement not only remained standing and was able to fulfill its tasks, but that the "Völkischer Beobachter" experienced an ever-increasing expansion. At that time, it had entered the ranks of the great newspapers.

The year 1921 further had the significance that, through my position as chairman of the party, I slowly succeeded in also withdrawing the individual party enterprises from the criticism and interference of so many committee members. This was important because one could not win a truly capable head for a task if incompetent people were constantly chattering in between, who understood everything better, only to actually leave behind a hopeless muddle. Whereupon, of course, these know-it-alls usually withdrew quite modestly to find another field for their controlling and inspiring...

to spy on activities. There were people who were possessed by a formal illness to find something behind everything and everyone, and who were in a kind of permanent pregnancy of excellent plans, thoughts, projects, and methods. Their most ideal and highest goal was then usually the formation of a committee, which, as a supervisory body, had to professionally sniff around the orderly work of others. However, many of these committee members probably did not realize how insulting and how un-National Socialist it is when people who do not understand a matter constantly interfere with the real experts. In any case, I considered it my duty during these years to protect all those in the movement who were working properly and burdened with responsibility from such elements, to provide them with the necessary backing and a free field of work ahead.

The best means of rendering such committees, which did nothing or only brewed up practically unfeasible resolutions, harmless was, however, to assign them some real work. It was laughable how silently such a group then evaporated and suddenly became completely unfindable. I thought of our greatest such institution, the Reichstag. How everyone would suddenly vanish there if one were to assign them real work instead of talk, and indeed work that every single one of these windbags would have to perform under the most personal responsibility.

Even then, I always made the demand that, as everywhere in private life, in the movement as well, a search must be conducted for individual operations until the demonstrably capable and honest official, administrator, or leader had been found. This person was then to be given absolute authority and freedom of action downwards, while being burdened with total responsibility upwards, whereby no one receives authority over subordinates who is not himself more capable in the work concerned. In the course of two years, I have, with my view has become more and more established, and today it is already a matter of course in the movement, at least as far as the top leadership is concerned.

The visible success of this action, however, was shown on November 9, 1923: When I joined the movement four years earlier, not even a rubber stamp existed. On November 9, 1923, the dissolution of the party and the confiscation of its assets took place. These already amounted, including all valuables and the newspaper, to over one hundred and seventy thousand Goldmarks.

Chapter 12

The Trade Union Question

The rapid growth of the movement forced us, in the year 1922, to take a position on a question that even today has not been completely resolved.

In our attempts to study those methods which could most easily and quickly pave the way for the movement to reach the hearts of the broad masses, we constantly encountered the objection that the worker could never belong to us completely as long as the representation of his interests in purely professional and economic fields remained in the hands of those with different views and their political organizations.

This objection, of course, had much merit. The worker who was active in an enterprise could, according to general conviction, not exist at all if he did not become a member of a trade union. Not only did his professional interests seem protected by this alone, but his position in the enterprise was also only conceivable in the long run as a member of a trade union. The majority of workers were in trade union associations. These had generally fought through the wage struggles and concluded the collective agreements which now ensured a certain income for the worker. Without doubt, the results of these struggles benefited all workers in the enterprise, and conflicts of conscience had to arise, especially for the decent person, if he pocketed the wages won by the trade unions but excluded himself from the struggle.

It was difficult to speak about these problems with the normal bourgeois entrepreneur. They had neither understanding (or did not want to have any) for the material side of the question, nor for the moral one. Finally, their supposed own economic interests speak from the outset against any organizational consolidation of the labor force subordinate to them, so that for this reason alone, an unbiased judgment can hardly be formed by most. It is therefore necessary here, as so often, to turn to outsiders who are not subject to the temptation of not seeing the forest for the trees. These will then, with good will, much more easily gain an understanding of a matter that, one way or another, belongs to the most important of our present and future lives.

I have already expressed myself in the first volume on the nature and purpose and on the necessity of trade unions. I took the standpoint there that, as long as no change in the employer's attitude toward the employee occurs either through state measures (which, however, are mostly fruitless) or through a general new education, the latter has no choice but to safeguard his interests himself by invoking his right as an equal contractor in economic life. I further emphasized that such a safeguarding would be entirely in the interest of a whole national community if social injustices, which must subsequently lead to severe damage to the entire community life of a people, can be prevented by it. I further declared that the necessity must be considered given as long as there are people among entrepreneurs who, of their own accord, possess not only no feeling for social duties but not even for the most primitive human rights; and I drew from this the conclusion that, if such self-defense is once regarded as necessary, its form can logically only consist of a consolidation of employees on a trade union basis.

Nothing has changed in this general view for me in the year 1922 either. However, a...

a clear and definite formulation for the attitude toward these problems had to be sought. It was not possible to simply continue being satisfied with insights; rather, it was necessary to draw practical conclusions from them.

It was a matter of answering the following questions:

1. Are trade unions necessary?
2. Should the NSDAP itself engage in trade union activity or lead its members in some form toward such activity?
3. What kind of nature must a National Socialist trade union have? What are our tasks and their goals?
4. How do we arrive at such trade unions?

I believe I have actually answered the first question sufficiently. As things stand today, in my conviction, trade unions cannot be dispensed with at all. On the contrary, they belong to the most important institutions of the economic life of the nation. Their significance, however, lies not only in the socio-political field, but much more in a general national-political one. For a people whose broad masses receive the satisfaction of their life necessities through a proper trade union movement, but at the same time also receive an education, will thereby achieve an extraordinary strengthening of its entire power of resistance in the struggle for existence.

The trade unions are above all necessary as building blocks of the future economic parliament or the chambers of estates.

The second question is also still easy to answer. If the trade union movement is important, then it is clear that National Socialism must take a stand toward it not only purely theoretically, but also practically. However, the how is then already more difficult to clarify.

The National Socialist movement, which as the goal of its...

Whoever has the National Socialist völkisch state in mind during their actions must not be in doubt that all future institutions of this state must one day grow out of the movement itself. It is the greatest mistake to believe that one can suddenly, out of nothing, merely by possessing power, undertake a certain reorganization without already possessing a certain stock of people who are, above all, ideologically pre-trained. Here, too, the principle applies that the spirit that fills such a form remains more important than the external form, which can be created mechanically very quickly. By command, for example, one can very well dictatorially graft the leadership principle (Führerprinzip) onto a state organism. However, this will only be alive if it has gradually formed itself in its own development from the smallest beginnings and has received, through the constant selection that the harsh reality of life continuously carries out, the leadership material necessary for the implementation of this principle over the course of many years.

One must therefore not imagine being able to suddenly pull the drafts for a new state constitution out of a briefcase and "introduce" them by a decree from above. One can try such a thing, but the result will certainly not be viable, usually being a stillborn child. This reminds me very much of the origin of the Weimar Constitution and the attempt to present the German people with a new flag along with a new constitution, which had no inner connection with the experience of our people in the last half-century.

The National Socialist state must also guard against such experiments. It can only grow out of an organization that has already existed for a long time. This organization must originally possess National Socialist life within itself in order to finally create a living National Socialist state.

As already emphasized, the germ cells for the economic chambers will be in the various professional representations, must therefore lie primarily in the trade unions. If, however, this later representation of estates and the central economic parliament are to represent a National Socialist institution, then these important germ cells must also be carriers of a National Socialist spirit and outlook. The institutions of the Movement are to be transferred into the State, but the State cannot suddenly conjure up corresponding institutions out of nothing if they are not to remain completely lifeless structures.

From this highest point of view alone, the National Socialist Movement must recognize the necessity of its own trade union activity.

It must do so further because a truly National Socialist education of both employers and employees, in the sense of a mutual integration into the common framework of the national community, does not occur through theoretical instructions, appeals, or admonitions, but through the struggle of daily life. In and through this struggle, the Movement has to educate the individual large economic groups and bring them closer to one another in terms of the major viewpoints. Without such preliminary work, every hope for the emergence of a future true national community remains a pure illusion. Only the great ideological ideal championed by the Movement can slowly form that general style which will one day make the new era appear as one truly internally well-founded and not merely externally manufactured.

Thus, the Movement must not only adopt a positive attitude toward the idea of the trade union as such, but it must also grant the vast number of its members and followers the necessary education for the coming National Socialist State through practical activity.

The answer to the third question follows from what has been said above.

The National Socialist trade union is not an organ of class struggle, but—

but rather an organ of professional representation. The National Socialist state knows no "classes," but in political respects only citizens with completely equal rights and accordingly also equal general duties, and alongside them state subjects, who in state-political respects, however, are completely without rights.

The trade union in the National Socialist sense does not have the task, by grouping certain people within a national body, of gradually transforming them into a class, in order to then take up the struggle with it against others, similarly organized entities within the national community. We cannot attribute this task to the trade union in itself at all; rather, it was only bestowed upon it at the moment in which it became an instrument of struggle for Marxism. Not the trade union is "class-struggle-oriented," but Marxism has made of it an instrument for its class struggle. It created the economic weapon which the inter-national world-Jew applies for the shattering of the eco-nomic basis of free, independent national states, for the destruction of their national industry and their national trade, and thus for the enslavement of free peoples in the service of supra-state world-finance Jewry.

The National Socialist trade union has, by contrast, through the organiza-tional grouping of certain groups of participants in the national economic process, to increase the security of the na-tional economy itself and to strengthen its power through the correc-tive elimination of all those mal-practices which, in their ultimate consequences, have a destructive effect on the national body politic, the living force...

of the national community, but thereby also damage those of the state and, last but not least, the economy itself, leading to calamity and ruin.

For the National Socialist trade union, the strike is therefore not a means of smashing and shattering national production, but rather of increasing it and making it fluid by combating all those grievances which, due to their anti-social character, hinder the productivity of the economy and thus the existence of the whole. For the productivity of the individual is always causally related to the general legal and social position he occupies in the economic process and the resulting insight into the necessity of the prosperity of this process for his own benefit.

The National Socialist employee must know that the prosperity of the national economy means his own material happiness.

The National Socialist employer must know that the happiness and satisfaction of his employees is the prerequisite for the existence and development of his own economic greatness.

National Socialist employees and National Socialist employers are both representatives and trustees of the entire national community. The high degree of personal freedom granted to them in their work is to be explained by the fact that experience shows that the productivity of the individual is increased more by the extensive granting of freedom than by coercion from above, and it is further suitable to prevent the natural selection process, which is intended to promote the most capable, most talented, and most industrious, from being suppressed.

For the National Socialist trade union, the strike is therefore a means that may and probably must be used only as long as a National Socialist folkish state does not exist. This state, however, shall take over the care for justice and the legal protection of all in place of the mass struggle of the two large groups—employers and employees—(which, in its consequences as a reduction in production, always harms the national community as a whole!). The chambers of commerce themselves will be responsible for the obligation to keep the national economy running and to eliminate the deficiencies and errors that harm it. What is fought out today through the struggles of millions must one day find its resolution in chambers of estates and in the central economic parliament. Thus, employers and workers no longer rage against each other in wage and collective bargaining disputes, damaging the economic existence of both, but instead solve these problems together at a higher level, where above all the welfare of the entire people and the state must always hover in glowing letters.

Here too, as everywhere, the iron principle must apply that the fatherland comes first and then the party.

The task of the National Socialist trade union is the education and preparation for this very goal, which is then called: Joint work of all on the preservation and securing of our people and its state, according to the abilities and strengths innate to the individual and brought to development by the national community.

The fourth question: How do we arrive at such trade unions? seemed at the time by far the most difficult to answer.

It is generally easier to undertake a foundation in a new territory than in an old area that already possesses a similar foundation. In a place where no business of a certain kind is yet on the premises, one can one can easily establish such a thing. It is more difficult if a similar undertaking already exists, and most difficult when conditions are present under which only one alone is able to thrive. For here the founders face the task not only of introducing their own new business, but they must, in order to survive, destroy that which has hitherto been located in the place.

A National Socialist trade union alongside other trade unions is senseless. For it, too, must feel permeated by its ideological task and the obligation born of this toward intolerance against other similar or even hostile formations and toward the emphasis on the exclusive necessity of its own self. Here, too, there is no reaching an understanding and no compromise with related endeavors, but only the maintenance of the absolute sole right.

There were now two ways to arrive at such a development:

1. One could found one's own trade union and then gradually take up the struggle against the international Marxist trade unions, or one could

2. penetrate into the Marxist trade unions and seek to fill these themselves with the new spirit, or rather to transform them into instruments of the new world of thought.

The following concerns spoke against the first way: Our financial difficulties were still very considerable at that time, the means at our disposal quite insignificant. The inflation, which was gradually spreading more and more, further aggravated the situation because in these years a tangible material benefit of the trade union for the member could hardly have been spoken of. The individual worker, viewed from such a standpoint, had no reason at all at that time to pay into the trade union. Even the already existing Marxist ones were almost at the point of collapse, until millions suddenly fell into their laps through the ingenious Ruhr action of Mr. Cuno. This so-called "national" Reich Chancellor may be described as the savior of the Marxist trade unions.

At that time, we could not count on such financial possibilities; and it could entice no one to join a new trade union which, as a result of its financial impotence, would not have been able to offer him the slightest thing. On the other hand, I must absolutely resist creating in such a new organization merely a cushy job for more or less great spirits.

In general, the question of personality played the very greatest role. At that time, I did not have a single head to whom I would have entrusted the solution of this enormous task.

Whoever in that time would have truly shattered the Marxist trade unions, in order to help the National Socialist trade union idea to victory in place of this institution of destructive class struggle, would have belonged among the very greatest men of our people, and his bust would one day have had to be dedicated to posterity in the Walhalla at Regensburg.

But I knew of no skull that would have fit on such a pedestal.

It is quite wrong to allow oneself to be confused in this view by the fact that the international trade unions themselves also only have purely average heads at their disposal. This in reality means nothing at all; for when those were once founded, there was nothing else. Today, the National Socialist movement must fight against a long-existing, gigantic giant organization that is developed down to the smallest detail. The conqueror, however, must always be more ingenious than the defender if he wishes to subdue him. The Marxist trade union fortress can today well be administered by ordinary functionaries, but it will be stormed only by wild energy and ingenious ability of a towering great man on the other side. If such a person is not found, it is futile to quarrel with fate, and even more nonsensical to try to force the matter with an inadequate substitute.

Here it is necessary to utilize the realization that in life it is sometimes better to leave a matter aside for the time being than to begin it only halfway or poorly for lack of suitable forces.

Another consideration, which should certainly not be called demagogic, was added to this. I had then, and still possess today, the unshakeable conviction that it is dangerous to link a great political-ideological struggle too early with economic matters. This is especially true for our German people. For here, in such a case, the economic struggle will immediately withdraw energy from the political struggle. As soon as people have first gained the conviction that through thrift they could also attain a little house, they will devote themselves solely to this task and spare no more time for the political struggle against those who, one way or another, intend to take away their saved pennies again one day. Instead of wrestling in the political struggle for the insight and conviction they have gained, they then only become absorbed in their "settlement" thoughts and in the end usually sit between all stools.

The National Socialist movement stands today at the beginning of its struggle. To a large extent, it must first form and complete its ideological image. It has to fight with every fiber of its energy for the enforcement of its great ideals, and success is only conceivable if the entire strength enters restlessly into the service of this struggle.

But how much the preoccupation with only economic problems can paralyze active fighting power, we see right today in a classic example before us:

The revolution of November 1918 was not made by trade unions, but prevailed against them. And the German

The bourgeoisie carries out no political struggle for the German future, because it believes that this future is sufficiently secured in the constructive work of the economy.

We should learn from such experiences; for with us, it would be no different. The more we concentrate the entire strength of our movement for the political struggle, the sooner we will be able to count on success all along the line; however, the more we burden ourselves prematurely with trade union, settlement, and similar problems, the smaller the benefit for our cause, taken as a whole, will be. For as important as these interests may be, their fulfillment will only occur on a large scale when we are already in a position to place public power at the service of these ideas. Until then, these problems would paralyze the movement all the more, the earlier they are dealt with and the more their ideological will would be impaired as a result. It could then easily happen that trade union elements steer the political movement, instead of the ideology forcing the trade union into its paths.

Real benefit for the movement as well as for our people in general can only grow out of a National Socialist trade union movement if it is already so strongly filled with our National Socialist ideas ideologically that it no longer runs the risk of falling into Marxist tracks. For a National Socialist trade union that sees its mission only in competition with the Marxist one would be worse than none. It has to declare its struggle against the Marxist trade union not only as an organization, but above all as an idea. It must strike the herald of class struggle and the class concept within it and should instead of that, become the guardian of the professional interests of German citizens.

All these points of view spoke then and still speak today against the founding of our own trade unions, unless a Leader should suddenly appear who is evidently called by fate to the solution of precisely this question.

There were therefore only two other possibilities: either to recommend to our own party comrades to leave the trade unions, or to remain in the existing ones in order to work there as destructively as possible.

In general, I recommended this latter path.

Especially in the years 1922/23, one could do this without further ado: for the financial benefit which the trade union reaped from the members in its ranks—who were still not very numerous due to the youth of our movement—during the period of inflation was practically nil. The damage to them, however, was very great, for the National Socialist supporters were their sharpest critics and thereby their internal disintegrators.

At that time, I completely rejected all experiments which carried failure within them from the very start. I would have regarded it as a crime to take so-and-so much from a worker's meager earnings for an institution of whose benefit to its members I did not possess the inner conviction.

If a new political party disappears again one day, it is hardly ever a loss, but almost always a benefit, and no one has any right to complain about it; for what the individual gives to a political movement, he gives *à fonds perdu*. But whoever pays into a trade union has a right to the fulfillment of the counter-services promised to him. If this is not taken into account, then the makers of such a trade union are fraudsters, or at the very least, reckless people who must be held accountable.

According to this view, we acted accordingly in the year 1922. Others apparently understood it better and founded trade unions. They accused us of the lack of such as the most visible sign of our faulty and limited insight. However, it did not take long before these foundations themselves disappeared again, so that the final result was the same as ours. Only with the one difference, that we had deceived neither ourselves nor others.

Chapter 13

German Alliance Policy after the War

The fragmentation of the Reich's foreign policy leadership in establishing fundamental guidelines for an expedient alliance policy not only continued after the Revolution but was even surpassed. For if, before the war, general political confusion of concepts could be considered the primary cause of our failed state leadership abroad, then after the war it was a lack of honest will. It was natural that those circles which finally saw their destructive goals achieved through the Revolution could have no interest in an alliance policy whose ultimate result would have to be the restoration of a free German state. Not only would such a development have contradicted the inner meaning of the November crime, not only would it have interrupted or even ended the internationalization of German economy and labor: the internal political impact as a consequence of a foreign policy struggle for freedom would also have been disastrous for the holders of today's Reich powers in the future. One simply cannot conceive of the uprising of a nation without a preceding nationalization of the same, just as, conversely, every powerful foreign policy success inevitably results in repercussions in the same sense. Experience shows that every struggle for freedom leads to an increase in national feeling, self-confidence, and thus also to a sharper sensitivity toward anti-national elements and similar endeavors. Conditions and persons that are tolerated in peaceful times, indeed often not even noticed, find, in periods of stirring national enthusiasm, not only rejection, but a resistance that not infrequently becomes their undoing. One need only recall, for example, the general fear of spies that suddenly breaks out at the boiling point of human passions upon the outbreak of wars and leads to the most brutal, sometimes even unjust persecutions, although anyone can tell themselves that the danger of espionage will be greater during the long years of peacetime, even if, for natural reasons, it does not find general attention to the same extent.

For this reason alone, the fine instinct of the state parasites washed to the surface by the November events already senses the possible destruction of their own criminal existence in a freedom movement of our people supported by clever alliance policies and the resulting ignition of national passions.

Thus it becomes understandable why the government offices that have been decisive since the year 1918 failed in terms of foreign policy and why the leadership of the state almost always systematically worked against the real interests of the German nation. For what might appear at first glance to be aimless reveals itself upon closer inspection merely as the consistent pursuit of the path that the November Revolution of 1918 trod for the first time in full public view.

To be sure, one must distinguish here between the responsible or rather "supposed-to-be-responsible" leaders of our state affairs, the average of our parliamentary politicasters, and the great stupid herd of wethers of our sheepishly patient people.

The ones know what they want. The others go along, either because they know it or are yet too cowardly to ruthlessly oppose what they have recognized as harmful. The rest, however, submit out of lack of understanding and stupidity.

As long as the National Socialist German Workers' Party had only the size of a small and little-known

As long as the association remained small, foreign policy problems could possess subordinate importance in the eyes of many supporters. This was especially so because our movement always fundamentally represented and must represent the view that external freedom is given as a gift neither from heaven nor by earthly powers, but rather can only be the fruit of an internal development of strength. Only the elimination of the causes of our collapse as well as the destruction of the beneficiaries of the same can create the prerequisite for the external struggle for freedom.

One can therefore already understand if, from such points of view, in the early days of the young movement, the value of foreign policy questions was set back compared to the importance of its internal reformatory intentions.

However, as soon as the framework of the small, insignificant association was widened and finally burst, and the young entity received the importance of a large organization, the necessity already arose to take a position on the questions of foreign policy development. It was necessary to establish guidelines that not only do not contradict the fundamental views of our world-conception, but even represent an outgrowth of this way of looking at things.

Precisely from the lack of foreign policy training of our people, there arises an obligation for the young movement to convey to the individual leaders as well as to the broad mass, through generous guidelines, a form of foreign policy thinking which is the prerequisite for any practical implementation of foreign policy preparations that may one day take place for the work of regaining the freedom of our people as well as a real sovereignty of the Reich.

The most essential fundamental and guiding principle that must always hover before us in the assessment of this question is that foreign policy, too, is only a means to an end, the purpose, however, is exclusively the promotion of our own nationality. No foreign policy consideration can be guided by any other point of view than this: Does it benefit our people now or in the future, or will it be harmful to them?

This is the only preconceived opinion that may apply in the treatment of this question. Party-political, religious, humanitarian—indeed, all other points of view—are completely excluded.

* * *

If before the war the task of a German foreign policy was the safeguarding of the sustenance of our people and its children on this globe by preparing the ways that could lead to this goal, as well as the acquisition of the necessary auxiliary forces in the form of expedient allies, then today it is the same, only with the difference: Before the war it was a matter of serving the preservation of the German nationality while taking into account the existing strength of the independent power-state; today it is a matter of first giving back to the people the strength in the form of the free power-state, which is the prerequisite for the later implementation of a practical foreign policy in the sense of the preservation, promotion, and sustenance of our people for the future.

In other words: The goal of a German foreign policy of today must be the preparation for the regaining of the freedom of tomorrow.

In this regard, one fundamental principle must always be kept in mind: The possibility of regaining independence for a nationality is not absolutely bound to the closed nature of a state territory, but rather to the presence of a...

even if it be but a tiny remnant of this people and state, which, being in possession of the necessary freedom, is capable not only of being the bearer of the spiritual community of the entire nationality, but also of being the preparer of the military struggle for freedom.

If a people of a hundred million people, in order to preserve state unity, together endure the yoke of slavery, this is worse than if such a state and such a people had been shattered and only a part of it remained in possession of full freedom. Provided, of course, that this remnant were fulfilled by the holy mission, not only to permanently proclaim the spiritual and cultural inseparability, but also to make the armed preparations for the final liberation and the reunification of the unfortunate oppressed parts.

Furthermore, it must be considered that the question of the recovery of lost parts of the territory of a people and state is always primarily the question of the recovery of the political power and independence of the motherland, that consequently in such a case the interests of lost territories must be ruthlessly set aside in favor of the sole interest of the recovery of the freedom of the main territory. For the liberation of oppressed, severed splinters of a nationality or of provinces of an empire does not take place on the basis of a wish of the oppressed or a protest of those left behind, but through the instruments of power of the more or less sovereign remaining remnants of the former common fatherland.

Therefore, the prerequisite for the recovery of lost territories is the most intensive promotion and strengthening of the remaining remnant state as well as the unshakable determination slumbering in the heart to dedicate the new strength forming thereby, at a given hour, to the service of the liberation and unification of the entire nation: thus the *subordination* of the interests of the separated territories to the single interest of winning for the remaining remnant that measure of political power and strength which is the prerequisite for a correction of the will of hostile victors. For *oppressed countries are not led back into the lap of a common Reich through flaming protests, but through a powerful sword.*

To forge this sword is the task of the domestic political leadership of a people; to secure the work of the forge and to seek comrades-in-arms is the task of the foreign policy leadership.

* * *

In the first volume of this work, I dealt with the half-heartedness of our alliance policy before the war. Of the four paths for a future preservation of our nationhood and the nourishment of the same, the fourth and most unfavorable had been chosen. Instead of a sound European land policy, one resorted to colonial and trade policy. This was all the more erroneous as it was then believed that one could thereby escape a military confrontation. The result of this attempt to want to sit on all chairs was the well-known fall between them, and the World War formed only the last receipt presented to the Reich for its failed leadership abroad.

The correct path even then would have been the *third: Strengthening of the continental power through the acquisition of new soil in Europe,* whereby precisely through this a supplement through later colonial territories appeared to have moved into the realm of the naturally possible. This policy, however, would only have been feasible in alliance with England or under such an abnormal promotion of military power that for forty or fifty years cultural tasks would have been pushed completely into the background. This could very well have been justified. The cultural significance of a nation is almost always tied to its political freedom and independence; therefore, this is the prerequisite for the existence or, better yet, the emergence of the former. Thus, no sacrifice can be too great for the securing of political freedom. What is withdrawn from general cultural interests through an excessive promotion of the state's military power can later be recovered most abundantly. Indeed, one may say that after such a compressed effort solely in the direction of maintaining state independence, a certain relaxation or compensation usually occurs through an often downright surprising blossoming of the previously neglected cultural forces of a people. From the hardship of the Persian Wars grew the bloom of the Periclean age, and amidst the concerns of the Punic Wars, the Roman state began to dedicate itself to the service of a higher culture.

Admittedly, such a complete subordination of all other interests of a people to the single task of preparing for a coming conflict for the later security of the state cannot be entrusted to the decisiveness of a majority of parliamentary fools and good-for-nothings. The father of a Frederick the Great was able to prepare for conflict while setting aside everything else, but the fathers of our democratic parliamentary nonsense of Jewish coinage are unable to do so.

For this reason alone, in the pre-war period, the military preparation for an acquisition of land and soil in Europe could only be moderate, so that the support of expedient allies was difficult to dispense with.

But since there was a general refusal to know anything about a systematic preparation for war, the acquisition of land in Europe was renounced and, by turning instead to colonial and trade policy, the otherwise possible alliance with England was sacrificed, without, however, logically leaning on Russia; and finally, abandoned by all except the Habsburg hereditary evil, the nation stumbled into the World War.

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To characterize our current foreign policy, it must be said that there is no visible or even understandable guideline at all. If before the war the fourth path was taken in a misguided manner, only to be followed half-heartedly, then since the Revolution, no path is recognizable even to the sharpest eye. Even more than before the war, any systematic reflection is lacking, unless it be the attempt to smash even the last possibility of a resurgence of our people.

A cool assessment of today's European power relations leads to the following result:

For three hundred years, the history of our continent has been decisively determined by England's attempt to secure the necessary rear cover for great, global British goals through the detour of balanced, mutually binding power relations among the European states.

The traditional tendency of British diplomacy, which in Germany can only be countered by the tradition of the Prussian army, has since the time of Queen Elizabeth systematically aimed at preventing any rise of a European great power beyond the framework of the general order of magnitude by all means and, if necessary, breaking it through military intervention. The instruments of power that England in customarily applied in this case, were various, depending on the existing situation or the task at hand; however, the determination and willpower for their deployment were always the same. Indeed, the more difficult England's position became over time, the more necessary it seemed to the British imperial leadership to maintain a state of general paralysis of the individual national forces of Europe, occurring as a result of mutually rivaling magnitudes. The political detachment of the former North American colonial territory subsequently led all the more to the greatest efforts to maintain an absolute European rear support. Thus—after the destruction of Spain and the Netherlands as great maritime powers—the strength of the English state concentrated against the rising France for so long until finally, with the fall of Napoleon I, the danger of hegemony from this most dangerous military power for England could be regarded as broken.

The realignment of British statesmanship against Germany was undertaken only slowly, not only because initially, due to the lack of national unity of the German nation, no apparent danger to England existed, but also because public opinion, cultivated propagandistically for a specific state purpose, is only slowly able to follow new goals. The sober realization of the statesman appears here converted into emotional values, which are not only more sustainable in their respective effectiveness but also more stable in terms of their duration. Consequently, the statesman may, after achieving an objective, readily turn his thoughts to new goals; the masses, however, can only be emotionally reshaped into the instrument of the new view of their lives through slow, propagandistic work.

By the year 1870/71, England had already established its new position. Fluctuations, which occurred several times as a result of the global economic importance of America as well as the power-political development of Russia, were unfortunately not utilized by Germany, so that an ever-increasing consolidation of the original tendency of British statesmanship had to occur.

England saw in Germany the power whose commercial and thus world-political significance was increasing to such a threatening extent, not least as a result of its enormous industrialization, that it was already possible to weigh the strength of the two states in the same fields. The "economically peaceful" conquest of the world, which appeared to our leaders of state as the ultimate conclusion of the highest wisdom, became for the English politician the reason for organizing resistance against it. That this resistance took the form of a comprehensively organized attack then corresponded completely to the essence of a statesmanship whose goals lay precisely not in the preservation of a questionable world peace, but in the consolidation of British world hegemony. That England thereby made use of all states as allies that could possibly be considered militarily corresponded just as much to its traditional caution in estimating the strength of the opponent as to the insight into its own momentary weakness. This cannot be described as "ruthlessness" because such a comprehensive organization of a war is not to be judged according to heroic viewpoints, but according to expedient ones. A diplomacy has to ensure that a people does not perish heroically, but is preserved practically. Every path that leads to this is then expedient, and its non-pursuit must be described as a crime of dereliction of duty.

With the revolutionizing of Germany, the British concern over a threatening Germanic world hegemony found its redeeming end for English statesmanship.

An interest in the complete erasure of Germany from the European map has since then no longer existed for England either. On the contrary, precisely the appalling collapse that occurred in the November days of 1918 took place, presented British diplomacy with a new situation, initially not even considered possible:

For four and a half years, the British Empire had fought to break the supposed preponderance of a continental power. Now, suddenly, a collapse occurred that seemed to remove this power from the scene altogether. There was such a lack of even the most primitive instinct for self-preservation that the European balance seemed unhinged by an act of barely forty-eight hours: Germany destroyed, and France the first continental-political power in Europe.

The enormous propaganda which, in this war, kept the British people at their posts, incited them immeasurably, and stirred up all their primal instincts and passions, now had to weigh like a lead weight on the decisions of British statesmen. With the colonial, economic, and commercial destruction of Germany, the British war aim was achieved; anything beyond that was a curtailment of English interests. Only the enemies of England could gain from the erasure of a German power-state in continental Europe. Nevertheless, in the days of November 1918 and until the high summer of 1919, a reorientation of English diplomacy—which in this long war had used the emotional forces of the broad masses more than ever before—was no longer possible. It was not possible from the point of view of the established attitude of its own people, and it was not possible in view of the distribution of military power relations. France had seized the law of action for itself and could dictate to the others. The only power, however, that could have brought about a change in these months of haggling and bargaining, Germany itself, lay in the throes of internal civil war and, through the mouths of its so-called statesmen, repeatedly announced its readiness to accept any dictate.

If now in the life of nations a nation, as a result of the complete lack of an inherent instinct for self-preservation, ceases to be a possible "active" ally, it tends to sink down to a slave people and its land to fall to the fate of a colony.

Precisely in order not to let France's power grow excessively large, England's participation in its predatory desires was the only possible form of its own action.

In fact, England has not achieved its war aim. The rise of a European power beyond the strength ratios of the continental state system of Europe was not only not prevented, but established to an increased degree.

Germany as a military state was in the year 1914 wedged between two countries, one of which possessed the same power and the other a greater one. Added to this was the superior maritime validity of England. France and Russia alone offered obstacles and resistance to any excessive development of German greatness. The extraordinarily unfavorable military-geographical position of the Reich could be considered a further safety coefficient against an excessive increase in power of this country. Especially the coastal area was, viewed militarily, unfavorable for a struggle with England, small and cramped; the land front, by contrast, was excessively wide and open.

Different is the position of France today: Militarily the first power, without a serious rival on the continent; within its borders to the south against Spain and Italy as good as protected; secured against Germany by the impotence of our fatherland; stretched out along its coast in a long front before the life nerves of the British Empire. Not only for airplanes and long-range batteries do the English centers of life form rewarding targets, but also against the effect of the submarine the traffic arteries of British trade would be exposed. A submarine war, supported by the long Atlantic coast as well as by the no less extensive stretches of the French peripheral areas of the Mediterranean Sea in Europe and North Africa, would lead to devastating effects.

Thus the fruit of the struggle against the development of Germany's power was politically the bringing about of French hegemony on the continent. The military result: the consolidation of France as the primary power on land and the recognition of the Union as an equally strong naval power. In terms of economic policy: the surrender of major British areas of interest to the former allies.

Just as England's traditional political goals desire and require a certain Balkanization of Europe, so exactly do those of France require a Balkanization of Germany.

England's wish is and remains the prevention of the excessive rise of a continental power to world-political significance, i.e., the maintenance of a certain balance of power among the European states; for this appears as a prerequisite for British world hegemony.

France's wish is and remains the prevention of the formation of a unified German power, the maintenance of a system of German small states, balanced in their power relations, without unified leadership, under occupation of the left bank of the Rhine as a prerequisite for the creation and securing of its position of hegemony in Europe.

The ultimate goal of French diplomacy will eternally stand in opposition to the final tendency of British statesmanship.

* * *

Anyone who undertakes an examination of today's *alliance possibilities* for Germany from the above point of view must arrive at the conviction that the only remaining feasible bond is an alignment with England. However appalling the consequences of English war policy were and are for Germany, one must not close one's eyes to the insight that an inevitable interest of England in a *destruction* of Germany *today* no longer exists; indeed, that on the contrary, England's policy must from year to year lead more toward a containment of the excessive French drive for hegemony. Now, however, alliance policy is not conducted from the viewpoint of retrospective resentments, but rather fertilized by the realization of retrospective experiences. Experience, however, should have taught us by now that alliances for the implementation of *negative* goals suffer from internal weakness. *The fates of nations are forged firmly together* only by the prospect of a common success in the sense of common acquisitions, conquests, in short, a mutual expansion of power.

How little our people think in terms of foreign policy can be seen most clearly from the ongoing press reports about the more or less significant "pro-German sentiment" of one or another foreign statesman, whereby a special guarantee for a helpful policy toward us is then perceived in this presumed attitude of such personalities toward our national character. This is quite incredible nonsense, a speculation on the unparalleled simplicity of the normal politicking German philistine. There is neither an English...

nor American or Italian statesman who was ever "**pro-German**" inclined. Every Englishman as a statesman will, of course, first and foremost be an **Englishman**, every American an **American**, and no Italian will be found ready to pursue any policy other than a **pro-Italian** one. Anyone, therefore, who believes they can build alliances with foreign nations based on a **pro-German** sentiment of the leading statesmen there, is either a donkey or an untruthful person. The prerequisite for the linking of national destinies never lies in mutual respect or even affection, but rather in the foresight of expediency for both contracting parties. That is to say: however much, let us say, an English statesman will always pursue pro-English politics and never pro-German, quite specific interests of this **pro-English** policy can, for various reasons, resemble **pro-German** interests. This, of course, need only be the case to a certain degree and can one day turn into the exact opposite; **but the art of a** leading statesman shows itself precisely in always finding those partners for the implementation of one's own necessities in certain periods of time who must go the same way for the representation of their interests.

The practical application for the present can therefore only result from answering the following questions: **Which states currently** possess no vital interest in the fact that, through a complete elimination of a German Central Europe, the French economic and military power reaches an absolute, dominant position of hegemony? Indeed, which states will, on the basis of their own conditions of existence and their previous traditional political leadership perceive a threat to their own future in such a development?

For one must finally become completely clear about this: The inexorable mortal enemy of the German people is and remains France. It does not matter who ruled or will rule in France, whether Bourbons or Jacobins, Napoleonists or bourgeois democrats, clerical republicans or red Bolsheviks: the final goal of their foreign policy activity will always be the attempt to seize the Rhine frontier and to secure this river for France by means of a dissolved and shattered Germany.

England desires no Germany as a world power, but France desires no power called Germany: a very essential difference indeed! Today, however, we are not fighting for a world power position, but have to struggle for the existence of our fatherland, for the unity of our nation, and for the daily bread for our children. If we want to look out for European allies from this point of view, only two states remain: England and Italy.

England does not desire a France whose military fist, unhindered by the rest of Europe, is able to undertake the protection of a policy that must, one way or another, cross paths with English interests one day. England can never desire a France which, in possession of the immense Western European iron and coal mines, obtains the prerequisites for a threatening economic world position. And England, furthermore, can never desire a France whose continental-political situation appears so secure, thanks to the shattering of the rest of Europe, that the resumption of the larger line of a French world policy is not only made possible but virtually forced. The Zeppelin bomb —

of former times could multiply a thousandfold every night; the military superiority of France weighs heavily upon the heart of the British Empire.

But Italy, too, cannot and will not desire a further consolidation of the French position of supremacy in Europe. Italy's future will always be conditioned by a development that is geographically grouped around the Mediterranean basin. What drove Italy into the war was truly not the craving to enlarge France, but rather the intention of giving the death blow to its hated Adriatic rival. Every further continental strengthening of France, however, means a hindrance for Italy in the future, whereby one should never be deceived by the fact that kinship relations among peoples are in no way capable of eliminating rivalries.

Upon the most sober and coldest reflection, it is today primarily these two states, England and Italy, whose most natural interests do not stand in opposition to the existential requirements of the German nation, at least in the most essential respects, and indeed, to a certain extent, identify with them.

* * *

However, in assessing such a possibility for an alliance, we must not overlook three factors. The first lies with us, the other two with the states in question themselves.

Can one ally oneself with today's Germany at all? Can a power that wishes to see in an alliance a help for the execution of its own offensive goals ally itself with a state whose leadership for years has presented a picture of most miserable incompetence, of pacifist cowardice, and whose larger part of the people, in democratic-Marxist blindness, betrays the interests of its own people and country in a heaven-crying manner? Can any power today hope to be able to establish a valuable relationship with a state, in the belief that one day to champion common interests together, if this state obviously possesses neither the courage nor the desire to stir even a finger for the defense of its own naked life? Will any power, for whom an alliance is and should be more than a guarantee treaty for the maintenance of a state of slow rotting away—similar to the sense of the disastrous old Triple Alliance—commit itself for better or for worse to a state whose characteristic expressions of life consist only of crawling submissiveness abroad and shameful suppression of national virtues at home; to a state that no longer possesses any greatness, since it no longer deserves it on the basis of its entire behavior; with governments that cannot boast of any respect on the part of their citizens, so that foreign countries cannot possibly harbor greater admiration for them?

No, a power that values its own reputation and that hopes for more from alliances than commissions for booty-hungry parliamentarians will not ally itself with present-day Germany; indeed, it cannot. In our current inability to form alliances lies the deepest and ultimate reason for the solidarity of the hostile robbers. Since Germany never defends itself, except through a few flaming "protests" from our parliamentary elite, and the rest of the world has no reason to fight for our protection, and since the dear Lord does not, in principle, set cowardly peoples free—contrary to the whining of our patriotic associations aimed in that direction—nothing else remains even for those states that possess no *direct* interest in our complete destruction but to participate in France's predatory raids, if only for the reason of preventing the exclusive strengthening of France alone through such cooperation and participation in the robbery.

Secondly, the difficulty must not be overlooked of achieving a shift in those countries hitherto hostile to us, which have been influenced by mass propaganda in a certain...

direction influenced large sections of the population. One simply cannot for years portray a nationality as "Hun-like," "predatory," "vandalistic," etc., only to suddenly discover the opposite overnight and recommend the former enemy as the ally of tomorrow.

Even more attention, however, must be paid to a third fact, which will be of essential importance for the shaping of future European alliance relations:

As small as England's interest in a further destruction of Germany is from the perspective of the British state, the interest of international stock-exchange Jewry in such a development is equally great. The rift between official or, better said, traditional British statesmanship and the authoritative Jewish stock-exchange forces is nowhere better shown than in the differing positions taken on questions of English foreign policy. Financial Jewry desires, contrary to the interests of the British state welfare, not only the complete economic destruction of Germany, but also its total political enslavement. The internationalization of our German economy, i.e., the transfer of German labor into the possession of Jewish world finance, can only be fully carried out in a politically Bolshevist state. If the Marxist fighting force of international Jewish stock-exchange capital is to finally break the backbone of the German national state, this can only happen with friendly assistance from the outside. France's armies must therefore besiege the German state structure until the Reich, having become internally brittle, succumbs to the Bolshevist fighting force of international world-finance Jewry.

Thus the Jew today is the great agitator for the total destruction of Germany. Wherever we in the world see attacks against read Germany, Jews are their manufacturers, just as in peace and during the war the Jewish stock exchange and Marxist press systematically stirred up hatred against Germany, until state after state gave up neutrality and, renouncing the true interests of the peoples, entered the service of the World War coalition.

The thought processes of Jewry in this are clear. The Bolshevization of Germany, i.e., the extermination of the national völkisch German intelligentsia and the resulting exploitation of German labor under the yoke of Jewish world finance, is intended only as a prelude to the further spread of this Jewish world-conquest tendency. As so often in history, Germany is the great pivot in this mighty struggle. Should our people and our state become the victim of these blood- and money-hungry Jewish tyrants of nations, then the entire earth will sink into the entanglement of this octopus; if Germany frees itself from this embrace, then this greatest danger to nations may be considered broken for the entire world.

As surely as Jewry will use all its subversive work not only to maintain the enmity of nations against Germany, but if possible to increase it even further, so surely does this activity coincide only to a fraction with the real interests of the peoples poisoned thereby. In general, Jewry within the individual national bodies will always fight with those weapons which, based on the recognized mentality of these nations, appear most effective and promise the most success. In our racially extraordinarily torn national body, it is therefore the "cosmopolitan," pacifist-ideological thoughts arising from it—in short, the international tendencies—which it uses in its struggle for the uses power; in France it works with the recognized and correctly assessed chauvinism, in England with economic and world-political perspectives; in short, it always makes use of the most essential characteristics that represent the mentality of a people. Only when it has achieved a certain predominant influence of economic and political power in such a way does it cast off the fetters of these adopted weapons and now reveals, to that same extent, the real inner intentions of its will and its struggle. It now destroys ever more rapidly, until it thus transforms one state after another into a field of ruins, upon which the sovereignty of the eternal Jewish empire is then to be established.

In England as well as in Italy, the conflict between the views of better, native statesmanship and the will of Jewish world stock-exchange interests is clear, indeed sometimes glaringly obvious.

Only in France does there exist today, more than ever, an inner *harmony* between the *intentions of the Stock Exchange, the Jews who support it,* and the wishes of a *chauvinistically oriented* national statesmanship. Yet it is precisely in this identity that an immense danger for Germany lies. For this very reason, France is and remains by far the most terrible enemy. *This people, which in itself is increasingly falling prey to negrification*, represents, in its bond with the goals of Jewish world domination, a lurking danger for the existence of the *white race of Europe*. For the contamination by Negro blood on the Rhine in the heart of Europe corresponds just as much to the sadistic-perverse thirst for revenge of this chauvinistic hereditary enemy of our people as to the ice-cold calculation of the Jew, to begin in this way the bastardization of the European continent at its center.

and to deprive the white race of the foundations for a self-sufficient existence by infecting it with lower humanity.

What France, spurred on by its own thirst for revenge, systematically led by the Jew, is carrying out in Europe today, is a sin against the continued existence of white humanity and will one day unleash all the spirits of vengeance of a generation upon this people, a generation that has recognized original sin in racial pollution.

For Germany, however, the French danger means the obligation, setting aside all emotional factors, to extend a hand to those who, just as threatened as we are, will not tolerate and endure France's lust for dominance.

In Europe, there can only be two allies for Germany in the foreseeable future: England and Italy.

* * *

Anyone who takes the trouble today to look back and follow the foreign policy leadership of Germany since the Revolution will be unable to do otherwise, in view of the continuous, incomprehensible failure of our governments, than to clutch their head, either to simply despair or to declare war on such a regime in flaming indignation. These actions no longer have anything to do with lack of understanding: for what would have appeared unthinkable to any thinking brain, the spiritual Cyclopes of our November parties have managed: they courted France's favor.

Yes, indeed, in all these years, with the touching simplicity of an incorrigible visionary, they have repeatedly tried to ingratiate themselves with the French, repeatedly fawned before the "great nation," and believed that in every cunning trick of the French executioner they immediately...

to be allowed to see the first sign of a visible change of heart. The actual wire-pullers of our policy have, of course, never indulged in this insane belief. For them, the cringing to France was only the self-evident means of sabotaging any practical alliance policy in such a way. They were never in the dark about the goals of France and its backers. What forced them to act as if they nevertheless honestly believed in the possibility of a change in German fate was the sober realization that, in the other case, our people themselves would probably have taken another path.

It is, of course, also difficult for us to present England as a possible ally for the future within the ranks of our own movement. Our Jewish press always knew how to concentrate hatred particularly on England, whereby many a good German simpleton most willingly flew onto the lime-twig held out by the Jew, prattled about the "re-strengthening" of a German naval power, protested against the theft of our colonies, recommended their recovery, and thus helped to provide the material that the Jewish scoundrel could then pass on to his tribal comrades in England for practical propagandistic utilization. For that we do not have to fight today for "naval prestige," etc., should gradually dawn even in the heads of our politicking bourgeois simpletons. The orientation of German national strength toward these goals, without the most thorough prior securing of our position in Europe, was already nonsense before the war. Today, such a hope belongs to those stupidities which, in the realm of politics, are labeled with the word crime.

It was really sometimes enough to drive one to despair to have to watch how the Jewish wire-pullers managed to occupy our people with things that are today highly incidental, to call for rallies and protests—

to incite, while in those same hours France tore piece by piece from the body of our national organism, and the foundations of our independence were systematically withdrawn from us.

I must here recall a particular hobby-horse which the Jew rode with extraordinary skill during these years: South Tyrol.

Yes, South Tyrol. If I concern myself here at this point specifically with this question, it is not least to settle accounts with that most mendacious pack which, building on the forgetfulness and stupidity of our broader strata, presumes here to mimic a national indignation, which is further removed from these parliamentary swindlers than honest concepts of property are from a magpie.

I would like to emphasize that I personally belonged to the people who, when the fate of South Tyrol was being co-decided—that is, starting from August 1914 until November 1918—placed themselves where the practical defense of this territory also took place, namely in the army. I fought my part during these years, not so that South Tyrol would be lost, but so that it, just like every other German land, would be preserved for the Fatherland.

Those who did not fight then were the parliamentary highwaymen, this entire politicking party-rabble. On the contrary, while we fought in the conviction that only a victorious outcome of the war alone would preserve this South Tyrol for the German people, the mouths of these Ephialteses agitated and burrowed against this victory until finally the fighting Siegfried succumbed to the treacherous stab in the back. For the preservation of South Tyrol in German possession was naturally not guaranteed by the mendacious fire-and-brimstone speeches of dashing parliamentarians at the Vienna City Hall Square or in front of the Munich Feldherrnhalle, but only by the battalions of the fighting front. Whoever broke this has betrayed South Tyrol, just as they have betrayed all other German territories.

But anyone who believes today that the South Tyrol question can be solved through protests, declarations, club-like parades, etc., is either a very particular scoundrel or else a German philistine.

One must surely be clear about the fact that the recovery of the lost territories does not occur through solemn invocations of the dear Lord or through pious hopes for a League of Nations, but only through force of arms.

The only question, then, is who is prepared to force the recovery of these lost territories by force of arms.

As far as I am concerned, I could assure you here with a good conscience that I would still muster enough courage to participate in the victorious conquest of South Tyrol at the head of a parliamentary storm battalion to be formed, consisting of parliamentary chatterboxes and other party leaders as well as various court councilors. The devil knows, it should please me if suddenly a few shrapnel shells were to burst over the heads of such a "flaming" protest rally. I believe that if a fox were to break into a chicken coop, the cackling could hardly be worse and the scurrying to safety of the individual poultry could not occur more rapidly than the bolting of such a magnificent "protest association."

But the most despicable thing about the matter is that the gentlemen themselves do not believe at all that they can achieve anything in this way. They personally know the impossibility and harmlessness of their whole fuss best of all. However, they act this way because it is naturally easier today to chatter for the recovery of South Tyrol than it once was to fight for its preservation. Everyone contributes their part; back then, sacri-

...shed our blood, and today this society whets its beaks.

It is particularly delightful to see how the Viennese Legitimist circles literally swell with pride during their current work for the "re-conquest" of South Tyrol. Seven years ago, however, their sublime and illustrious ruling house helped, through the villainous act of a perjured betrayal, to ensure that the world coalition was also able to win South Tyrol as a victor. At that time, these circles supported the policy of their treacherous dynasty and did not care a whit about South Tyrol or anything else. Of course, today it is easier to take up the fight for these territories, as it is now only fought with "spiritual" weapons, and it is after all easier to talk oneself hoarse in a "protest meeting" — out of inner sublime indignation — and to smear one's fingers sore in a newspaper article, than, for example, to blow up bridges during the occupation of the Ruhr area.

The reason why certain circles have made the "South Tyrol" question the pivot of German-Italian relations in recent years is quite obvious. Jews and Habsburg Legitimists have the greatest interest in preventing a German alliance policy that could one day lead to the resurrection of a free German fatherland. This fuss is not being made today out of love for South Tyrol — for that is not helped by it, but only harmed — but out of fear of a possible German-Italian understanding.

It is merely in line with the general mendacity and slanderous tendency of these circles when they attempt, with icy cold and brazen forehead, to present things as if we had somehow "betrayed" South Tyrol.

This must be said to these gentlemen with all possible clarity: South Tyrol was "betrayed," firstly, by every German who, in the years 1914–1918, being of sound limb, did not stand somewhere at the front and place his services at the disposal of his Fatherland;

secondly, by everyone who, during these years, did not help to strengthen the resilience of our national body for the conduct of the war and to fortify the endurance of our people for the sustaining of this struggle;

thirdly, South Tyrol was betrayed by everyone who participated in the outbreak of the November Revolution—be it directly through action or indirectly through the cowardly toleration of the same—and thereby shattered the weapon which alone could have saved South Tyrol;

and fourthly, South Tyrol was betrayed by all those parties and their followers who set their signatures to the shameful treaties of Versailles and St. Germain.

Yes indeed, that is how things stand, my brave gentlemen of verbal protests!

Today I am guided only by the sober realization that lost territories are not won back through the glibness of polished parliamentary mouths, but must be conquered by a polished sword, that is, through a bloody struggle.

In that regard, however, I do not hesitate to declare that now, since the dice have been cast, I not only consider a recovery of South Tyrol through war to be impossible, but am also personally of the convicwould reject the notion that for this question the flaming national enthusiasm of the entire German people could not be achieved to an extent that would offer the prerequisite for a victory. I believe, on the contrary, that if this blood were one day to be shed, it would be a crime to carry out the deployment for two hundred thousand Germans, while next door over seven million languish under foreign rule and the lifeblood of the German people runs through the playground of African Negro hordes.

If the German nation wants to end the state of its threatened extermination in Europe, then it must not fall into the error of the pre-war period and make enemies of God and the world, but then it will have to recognize the most dangerous opponent in order to strike at him with the entire concentrated force. And if this victory is won through sacrifices elsewhere, then the coming generations of our people will nevertheless not condemn us. They will know how to appreciate the heavy distress and the deep worries and the bitter decision born therefrom all the more, the more radiant the success arising from it will be.

What must guide us today is, again and again, the fundamental insight that the recovery of lost territories of a Reich is primarily a matter of the recovery of the political independence and power of the mother country.

To enable and secure this through a clever alliance policy is the first task of a powerful leadership of our statehood toward the outside world.

But we National Socialists in particular must guard against being taken in tow by our bourgeois word-patriots led by the Jew. Woe, if our movement, instead of preparing for the fight, should practice in protests!

Germany perished along with the fantastic conception of the Nibelungen alliance with the Habsburg state-cadaver. Fantastic sentimentality in the treatment of the foreign policy possibilities of today is the best means of preventing our resurgence forever.

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It is necessary that I also deal here very briefly with those objections which will relate to the three questions already posed previously, namely the questions of whether:

> firstly, one will ally oneself at all with today's Germany in its visible weakness lying before everyone's eyes;
>
> secondly, whether the enemy nations appear capable of such a reorientation and
>
> thirdly, whether the existing influence of Jewry is not stronger than all insight and all good will and will thus thwart and destroy all plans.

The first question I think I have sufficiently discussed in one half. Of course, no one will ally themselves with today's Germany. No power in the world will dare to chain its fate to a state whose governments must destroy all confidence. But as far as the attempt of many of our fellow countrymen is concerned, to give the government for its actions the...

to credit the current miserable mentality of our people or even to let it serve as an excuse, then one must take the strongest possible stand against this.

Certainly, the lack of character in our people for the past six years has been deeply saddening, the indifference toward the most important interests of the nation truly oppressive, and the cowardice at times heaven-crying. However, one should never forget that this is nevertheless a people who, only a few years earlier, offered the world the most admirable example of the highest human virtues. Starting from the days of August 1914 until the end of the mighty struggle of nations, no people on earth revealed more manly courage, tenacious endurance, and patient suffering than our German people, who have become so wretched today. No one will want to claim that the disgrace of our present time is the characteristic expression of our national character. What we must experience today around us and within us is only the gruesome, sense- and reason-destroying influence of the act of perjury of November 9, 1918. More than ever, the poet's word about evil applies here: that evil, continuously procreating, must give birth to evil. Yet even in this time, the good fundamental elements have not been entirely lost to our people; they only slumber unawakened in the depths, and at times one could see virtues flash like sheet lightning across the black-draped firmament, which the later Germany will one day remember as the first signs of a beginning recovery. More than once, thousands upon thousands of young Germans have come together with the self-sacrificing resolve to once again offer their youthful lives voluntarily and joyfully on the altar of the beloved Fatherland, just as in 1914. Again, millions of people are working busily and industriously, as if the destruction caused by a revolution had never occurred. The blacksmith stands again at the anvil, the farmer walks behind the plow, and the scholar sits in the study, all with the same effort and the same devotion to their duty.

The oppressions on the part of our enemies no longer find the judicial laughter of former times, but rather embittered and aggrieved faces. A great change in sentiment has undoubtedly taken place.

Even if all this does not yet manifest itself today in a rebirth of the idea of political power and the self-preservation instinct of our people, then the blame lies with those who, less by heaven's calling than by their own, have been governing our people to death since 1918.

Indeed, if one laments our nation today, one may still ask the question: What was done to improve it? Is the meager support for the decisions of our governments—which in reality were hardly there—by the people only a sign of the low vitality of our nationhood, or even more a sign of the complete failure in the treatment of this precious asset? What have our governments done to plant back into this people the spirit of

proud self-assertion, manly

defiance, and angry hatred?

When the peace treaty was burdened upon the German people in 1919, one would have been justified in hoping that precisely through this instrument of boundless oppression, the cry for German freedom would be powerfully promoted. Peace treaties, whose demands strike nations like lashes of a whip, not infrequently beat the first drumroll for a later uprising.

What could have been made out of the Peace Treaty of Versailles!

How could this instrument of boundless extortion and most shameful humiliation have become, in the hands of a willing government, a means to whip up national passions to a boiling point! How could, with a brilliant propagandistic utilization of these sadistic cruelties, the indifference of a people could be heightened to indignation, and that indignation to the brightest fury!

How could every single one of these points be burned into the brain and the emotion of this people for so long, until finally, in sixty million heads, among men and women, the jointly felt shame and the joint hatred would have become that single fiery sea of flames, from whose embers a will as hard as steel then rises and a cry forces itself out:

We want weapons again!

Yes, indeed, such a peace treaty can serve that purpose. In the immoderation of its oppression, in the shamelessness of its demands, lies the greatest propaganda weapon for the re-awakening of the slumbering life-spirits of a nation.

Then, however, starting from the child's primer to the last newspaper, every theater and every cinema, every advertising pillar and every vacant board fence must be placed in the service of this single great mission, until the prayer of fear of our present-day association-patriots "Lord, make us free!" is transformed in the brain of the smallest boy into the glowing plea: "Almighty God, bless our weapons one day; be as just as You have always been; judge now whether we now deserve freedom; Lord, bless our struggle!"

Everything has been neglected and nothing has been done.

Who will wonder now if our people are not as they should be and could be? If the rest of the world sees in us only the henchman, the compliant dog that gratefully licks the hands that have previously beaten him?

Certainly, our capacity for alliance is burdened today by our people, but most heavily by our governments. In their depravity, they are the guilty ones that after eight years of the most immoderate oppression, so little will for freedom exists.

Just as an active alliance policy is bound to the necessary estimation of the value of our people, so too is this in turn conditioned by the existence of a governmental power that does not wish to be a henchman for foreign states, nor a taskmaster over its own strength, but rather the herald of the national conscience.

If our people possess a state leadership that sees its mission in this, then not six years will pass before a bold foreign policy leadership of the Reich will have at its disposal an equally bold will of a people thirsting for freedom.

* * *

The second objection, the great difficulty of transforming hostile nations into friendly allies, can probably be answered as follows:

The general anti-German psychosis bred in other countries by war propaganda will inevitably persist as long as the German Reich has not regained the characteristics of a state through the visible resurrection of a German will for self-preservation, a state that plays on the general European chessboard and with which one can play. Only when the absolute security for a potential alliance capability appears to be given in both government and people can one power or another, out of concurrent interests, think about reshaping public opinion through propagandistic influences.

Naturally, this also requires years of continuous, skillful work. It is precisely in the necessity of this long duration for the changing of a people's mind that the caution in its undertaking is justified; i.e., one will not approach such an activity if one does not possess the absolute conviction of the value of such work and its fruits in the future. One will not...

...empty blathering of a more or less witty foreign minister, wanting to change the spiritual attitude of a nation without possessing the guarantee for the real value of a new one in a tangible way. This would otherwise lead to the complete fragmentation of public opinion. The most reliable security for the possibility of a later alliance with a state, however, is precisely not grounded in the bombastic phrases of individual government members, but rather in the evident stability of a certain, seemingly expedient government tendency as well as in an analogously oriented public opinion. Faith in this will be all the firmer, the greater the visible activity of a government authority in the field of propagandistic preparation and support of its work is, and conversely, the more unequivocally the will of public opinion is reflected in the government's tendency.

> One will therefore consider a people—in our position—capable of forming an alliance when the government and public opinion equally and fanatically proclaim and represent the will for the struggle for freedom.

This is the prerequisite for a realignment of the public opinion of other states, which is only then to be tackled; states which, based on their realization, are willing to go a way at the side of the partner appearing suitable to them for the representation of their very own interests, that is, to conclude an alliance.

Now, one more thing belongs to this: Since the realignment of a certain spiritual constitution of a people in itself requires difficult work and will initially not be understood by many, it is a crime and a stupidity at the same time to provide weapons for their counter-work to these elements who wish otherwise through one's own mistakes.

One must understand that it will necessarily take a period of time until a people completely [understands] the inner de-views of a government has taken hold, since explanations regarding the ultimate final goals of a specific political preliminary work cannot be given, but can only be reckoned with either through the blind faith of the masses or the intuitive insight of the intellectually superior leadership strata. Since, however, this clairvoyant political tactile sense and power of intuition is not present in many people, but explanations cannot be given for political reasons, a part of the intellectual leadership stratum will always turn against new tendencies which, due to their opacity, can easily be interpreted as mere experiments. Thus, the resistance of the concerned conservative state elements is awakened.

It is, however, for this very reason all the more a supreme obligation to ensure that such disturbers of an initiation of mutual understanding are deprived of all usable weapons as far as possible, especially when, as in our cases, it is anyway only a matter of completely unrealizable, purely fantastic chatter of puffed-up club patriots and petty-bourgeois coffeehouse politicians. For that the clamor for a new navy, the recovery of our colonies, etc., is really just silly talk, without possessing even a single thought of practical feasibility, one will hardly be able to deny upon calm reflection. How, however, these most nonsensical effusions of partly harmless, partly mad protest champions, who always stand in the silent service of our mortal enemies, are exploited politically in England, cannot be described as favorable for Germany. Thus, one exhausts oneself in harmful little demonstrations against God and the whole world and forgets the first principle which is the prerequisite for any success, namely: Whatever you do, do it completely! By grumbling against five or ten states, one neglects the concentration of all volitional and physical forces for the blow to the heart of our most wicked opponent and sacrifices the possi-

possibility of an alliance-based strengthening for this confrontation.

Here too lies a mission of the National Socialist movement. It must teach our people to look past trivialities toward the greatest goals, not to scatter themselves in secondary matters, but never to forget that the goal for which we have to fight today is the naked existence of our people, and the only enemy we must strike is and remains the power that robs us of this existence.

Many things may pain us bitterly. But this is by no means a reason to renounce reason and to quarrel with the whole world in senseless clamor, instead of standing with concentrated strength against the deadliest enemy.

Furthermore, the German people have no moral right to accuse the rest of the world for its behavior as long as they have not called to account the criminals who sold out and betrayed their own country. It is not a matter of holy earnestness when one scolds and protests from afar against England, Italy, etc., but allows the scoundrels to walk among them who, in the pay of enemy war propaganda, wrested the weapons from us, broke our moral backbone, and bartered away the paralyzed Reich for thirty pieces of silver.

The enemy does only what was to be foreseen. From his behavior and actions we should learn.

Whoever absolutely refuses to commit to the height of such a conception may consider as a final point that then only renunciation remains, because then every alliance policy is ruled out for all time. For if we are unable to ally ourselves with England because it robbed us of our colonies, nor with Italy because it possesses South Tyrol, nor with Poland and Czechoslovakia as such, then apart from France—which, incidentally, stole Alsace-Lorraine from us—no one would be left in Europe.

Whether the German people are served by this can hardly be in doubt. It is only ever doubtful whether such an opinion is represented by a simple-minded fool or a cunning rogue.

As far as leaders are concerned, I always believe in the latter.

Thus, according to human judgment, a transformation of the psyche of individual, previously hostile peoples, whose true interests in the future are situated similarly to ours, can very well take place if the internal strength of our state as well as the evident will to preserve our existence make us appear valuable as allies again, and furthermore, if the opponents of such a coming connection with formerly hostile peoples are not again given the fuel for their activities through our own clumsiness or even criminal acts.

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The third objection is the most difficult to answer. Is it conceivable that the representatives of the real interests of the nations capable of alliance are able to assert their views against the will of the Jewish mortal enemy of free popular and national states?

Can the forces, for example, of traditional British statesmanship still break the devastating Jewish influence or not?

This question, as already stated, is very difficult to answer. It depends on too many factors for a concise judgment to be passed. One thing is certain in any case: In a state, the current state power can be regarded as so firmly stabilized and so unconditionally the serving the interests of the country, so that one can no longer speak of a truly effective prevention of political necessities by international Jewish forces.

The struggle that Fascist Italy is waging against the three main weapons of Jewry, even if perhaps at the deepest level unconsciously (which I personally do not believe), is the best indication that, even if by indirect means, the poison fangs are being broken out of this supra-state power. The ban on Freemasonic secret societies, the persecution of the international press, as well as the permanent dismantling of international Marxism, and conversely, the steady consolidation of the Fascist conception of the state, will, in the course of the years, enable the Italian government to serve the interests of the Italian people more and more, without regard for the hissing of the Jewish world-hydra.

Things are more difficult in England. In this land of the "freest democracy," the Jew still dictates almost without restriction by way of public opinion. And yet, even there, a continuous struggle is taking place between the representatives of British state interests and the advocates of a Jewish world dictatorship.

How harshly these opposites often clash could be seen most clearly for the first time after the war in the differing attitudes of the British state leadership on the one hand and the press on the other toward the Japanese problem.

Immediately after the end of the war, the old mutual irritation between America and Japan began to reappear. Naturally, even the...

great European world powers do not remain in indifference toward this new threatening danger of war. All ties of kinship in England are nevertheless unable to prevent a certain feeling of envious concern regarding the growth of the American Union in all fields of international economic and power politics. From the former colonial land, the child of the great mother, a new mistress of the world seems to be arising. It is understandable if England today reviews its old alliances in anxious unrest and British statesmanship stares with trepidation toward a point in time when it will no longer be said:

"England over the seas!", but rather "The seas of the Union".

The gigantic American colossus of states, with its enormous riches of a virgin earth, is harder to get at than a hemmed-in German Reich. If ever the dice were to roll here for the final decision, England, if left to its own devices, would be doomed to fate. Thus, one eagerly reaches for the yellow fist and clings to an alliance which, thought of racially, is perhaps irresponsible, but in terms of state policy represents the only possibility of strengthening the British world position against the upward-striving American continent.

While the English state leadership, despite the common struggle on the European battlefields, did not want to decide to loosen the alliance with the Asian partner, the entire Jewish press stabbed this alliance in the back.

How is it possible that the Jewish organs, until 1918 the faithful shield-bearers of the British struggle against the German Reich, now suddenly practice breach of faith and go their own ways?

The destruction of Germany was not an English interest, but primarily a Jewish interest, just as today a destruction of Japan serves British state interests less than the far-reaching wishes of the...

leader of the hoped-for Jewish world empire. While England struggles to maintain its position in this world, the Jew organizes his attack for the conquest of the same.

He already sees the current European states as will-less tools in his fist, be it by way of a so-called Western democracy or in the form of direct domination through Russian Bolshevism. But he holds not only the Old World so ensnared, but the same fate also threatens the New. Jews are the regents of the stock market forces of the American Union. Every year allows them to rise more to the position of controller of the labor power of a people of one hundred and twenty million; only a very few still stand today, to their anger, completely independent.

With cunning skill, they knead public opinion and form from it the instrument of a struggle for their own future.

Already the greatest minds of Jewry believe they see the fulfillment of their testamentary motto of the great devouring of nations approaching.

Within this large herd of denationalized colonial territories, a single independent state could still bring the entire work to ruin at the last hour. For a Bolshevized world can only exist if it encompasses everything.

If even a single state is preserved in its national strength and greatness, the Jewish world-satrapy empire, like every tyranny in this world, will and must succumb to the power of the national idea.

Now the Jew knows all too well that in his thousand-year adaptation he is well able to undermine European peoples and raise them to be genderless bastards, but he would hardly be in a position to inflict this fate upon an Asiatic national state of the kind of Japan. Today he is able to mimic the German and the Englishman, American and Frenchman, but he lacks the bridges to the yellow Asian. Thus he seeks the Japanese national state still to be broken with the power of similar structures of today, in order to rid oneself of the dangerous adversary before the last state power in his fist is transformed into a despotism over defenseless beings.

In his thousand-year Jewish empire, he fears a Japanese national state and therefore desires its destruction even before the establishment of his own dictatorship.

Thus, today he incites the peoples against Japan as he once did against Germany, and so it may come to pass that, while British statesmanship still attempts to build on the alliance with Japan, the British-Jewish press already demands the struggle against the ally and, under the proclamation of democracy and under the battle cry: "Down with Japanese militarism and imperialism!", prepares for the war of annihilation.

Thus, the Jew has today become insubordinate in England. The struggle against the Jewish world-danger will therefore begin there as well.

And once again, it is precisely the National Socialist movement that has its most formidable task to fulfill:

It must open the eyes of the people to the foreign nations and must bring the true enemy of our world today back to mind again and again. In place of hatred against Aryans, from whom almost everything may separate us, but with whom common blood or the great line of a shared culture connects us, it must dedicate the evil enemy of humanity, as the true author of all suffering, to general wrath.

But it must ensure that at least in our country the deadliest opponent is recognized and the struggle against him, as a shining sign of a brighter time, also shows the way to the other peoples.

may point the way to the salvation of a struggling Aryan humanity.

For the rest, let reason then be our guide, and will be our strength. May the sacred duty to act thus give us perseverance, and may our faith remain our supreme protector.

Chapter 14

Eastern Orientation or Eastern Policy

There are two reasons that prompt me to subject Germany's relationship to Russia to a special examination:

1. it is in this case perhaps the most decisive matter of German foreign policy in general, and
2. this question is also the touchstone for the political ability of the young National Socialist movement to think clearly and act correctly.

I must confess that the second point in particular often fills me with anxious concern. Since our young movement does not draw the material of its followers from the camp of the indifferent, but from mostly very extreme worldviews, it is only too natural if these people are initially burdened in the field of foreign policy understanding with the prejudices or the lack of understanding of the circles to which they previously had to be counted politically and ideologically. This by no means applies only to the man who comes to us from the left. On the contrary. However harmful his previous instruction on such problems might have been, in not a few cases it was, at least partially, balanced out again by an existing remnant of natural and healthy instinct. It was then only necessary to replace the previously forced influence with a better attitude, and one could very frequently recognize the still existing, inherently healthy instinct and drive for self-preservation as the best ally.

On the other hand, it is much more difficult to determine a person toward clear political thinking whose previous education in the field was no less devoid of all reason and logic, but who, on top of everything else, had sacrificed the last remnant of natural instinct on the altar of objectivity. It is precisely the members of our so-called intelligentsia who are the hardest to move toward a truly clear and logical representation of their interests and the interests of their people toward the outside world. They are not only burdened with a literal lead weight of the most nonsensical ideas and prejudices, but to make matters worse, they have also lost and abandoned every healthy instinct for self-preservation. The National Socialist movement also has to endure difficult struggles with these people—difficult because, unfortunately, despite complete incompetence, they are not infrequently possessed by an extraordinary conceit that allows them to look down on others, usually even healthier people, from above without any inner justification. Snobbish, arrogant know-it-alls without any capacity for cool examination and weighing, which must, however, be regarded as the prerequisite for any foreign policy will and action.

Since these very circles are beginning today to divert the direction of our foreign policy in the most unfortunate way from a real representation of the folkish interests of our people, in order to place it instead in the service of their fantastic ideology, I feel obliged to treat the most important foreign policy question before my followers, namely the relationship to Russia, specifically and as thoroughly as is necessary for general understanding and possible within the framework of such a work.

In general, I would like to preface this with the following:

If we are to understand foreign policy as the regulation of a people's relationship to the rest of the world, then the nature of this regulation will be conditioned by very specific facts. As National Socialists, we can we may further establish the following sentence regarding the nature of the foreign policy of a folkish state:

The foreign policy of the folkish state must safeguard the existence of the race encompassed by the state on this planet, by creating a healthy, viable, natural relationship between the number and growth of the people on the one hand and the size and quality of the soil and territory on the other.

Only that condition may be regarded as a healthy relationship which ensures the sustenance of a people on its own soil and territory. Every other condition, even if it lasts for centuries or even millennia, is nevertheless unhealthy and will sooner or later lead to damage, if not to the destruction of the people concerned.

Only a sufficiently large space on this earth ensures a people the freedom of existence.

In this regard, the necessary size of the settlement area cannot be judged exclusively by the requirements of the present, nor even by the volume of the soil's yield, calculated relative to the number of the people. For, as I already explained in the first volume under "German Alliance Policy Before the War," the territory of a state, in addition to its significance as a direct source of food for a people, also possesses another, a military-political one. Even if a people has secured its sustenance within the size of its soil and territory, it is nonetheless necessary to consider the safeguarding of the existing soil itself. This lies in the general power-political strength of the state, which in turn is determined in no small measure by military-geographical considerations.

Thus, the German people will only [secure] its future as a world-be able to represent power. For nearly two thousand years, the representation of our people's interests, as we should designate our more or less fortunate foreign policy activity, was WORLD HISTORY. We ourselves have been witnesses to this: for the gigantic struggle of nations from the years 1914 to 1918 was only the struggle of the German people for its existence on the globe; the nature of the event itself, however, we designate as a World War.

In this struggle, the German people stepped forth as a supposed world power. I say supposed here, for in reality it was none. Had the German people in the year 1914 possessed a different relationship between land area and population size, then Germany would have truly been a world power, and the war could have, regardless of all other factors, been ended favorably.

It is not my task here, nor even my intention, to point to the "if," had the "but" not existed. However, I feel it to be an absolute necessity to present the existing condition unvarnished and soberly, to point out its alarming weaknesses, in order to deepen the insight into what is necessary, at least within the ranks of the National Socialist movement.

Germany is today no world power.

Even if our current military impotence were overcome, we would still have no claim to this title anymore. What does a formation mean today on this planet that is so miserably constituted in its relationship of population to land area as the current German Reich? In an age in which the earth is gradually being divided into the possession of states, some of which themselves span nearly entire continents, one cannot speak of a world power in the case of a formation whose political motherland is limited to the ridiculous land area of barely five hundred thousand square kilometers.

Viewed purely territorially, the surface area of the German Reich vanishes completely compared to that of the so-called world powers. One should not cite England as a counter-proof, for the English motherland is actuonly the great capital of the British Empire, which calls almost a quarter of the entire earth's surface its own. Furthermore, we must primarily regard the American Union, then Russia and China, as giant states. All of them are spatial entities with an area partly more than ten times larger than the current German Reich. And even France must be counted among these states. Not only is it supplementing its army to an ever-increasing extent from the colored human resources of its giant empire, but it is also making such rapid progress racially in its "negrification" that one can actually speak of the emergence of an African state on European soil. The colonial policy of today's France is not to be compared with that of the Germany of the past. If France's development were to continue in today's style for another three hundred years, the last Frankish remnants of blood would have perished in the emerging Euro-African mulatto state. A massive, contiguous settlement area from the Rhine to the Congo, filled with a lower race slowly forming from continuous bastardization.

That distinguishes French colonial policy from the old German one.

The former German colonial policy was half-hearted, like everything we did. It neither increased the settlement area of the German race, nor did it undertake the—albeit criminal—attempt to bring about a strengthening of the Reich's power through the use of black blood. The Askari in German East Africa were a small, hesitant step on this path. In fact, they served only for the defense of the colony itself. The idea of bringing black troops to a European theater of war was, quite apart from the actual impossibility during the World War, never present even as an intention to be realized under more favorable circumstances, whereas, conversely, it has always been viewed and felt by the French as the inner justification for their colonial activity.

Thus we see today on the earth a number of power-states, which not only in their population partly far exceed the strength of our German people, but which above all possess in their land area the greatest support for their political power position. Never before, measured by land area and population, has the relationship of the German Reich to other emerging world states been as unfavorable as at the beginning of our history two thousand years ago and then again today. At that time, we entered as a young people storming into a world of decaying large state structures, whose last giant, Rome, we ourselves helped to bring down. Today we find ourselves in a world of forming large power-states, in which our own Reich sinks more and more into insignificance.

It is necessary that we keep this bitter truth coolly and soberly before our eyes. It is necessary that we follow and compare the German Reich according to population and surface area in its relationship to other states through the centuries. I know that then everyone will come with dismay to the result which I already expressed at the beginning of this consideration:

Germany is no longer a world power,

regardless of whether it stands there militarily strong or weak.

We have fallen out of all proportion to the other great states of the earth, and this only thanks to the downright disastrous foreign policy leadership of our people, thanks to the complete lack of a, I would almost say testamentary, commitment to a specific foreign policy goal, and thanks to the loss of every healthy instinct and drive for self-preservation.

If the National Socialist movement really wants to receive the consecration of a great mission for our people before history, it must, permeated by the knowledge and filled with pain over its real situation on this earth, boldly and purposefully take up the struggle against the aimlessness and incapacity which have hitherto guided our German people on its foreign policy paths. It must then, regardless of "traditions" and prejudices, find the courage to gather our people and their strength for the advance on that road which leads this people out of the current confinement of its living space to new land and soil, and thus also frees it forever from the danger of perishing on this earth or of having to attend to the services of others as a slave nation.

The National Socialist movement must attempt to eliminate the disproportion between our population and our land area—viewed both as a source of nourishment and as a power-political base—between our historical past and the hopelessness of our impotence in the present. It must remain aware that we, as guardians of the highest humanity on this earth, are also bound by a supreme obligation, and it will be all the more able to fulfill this obligation the more it ensures that the German people attains racial self-awareness and, in addition to the breeding of dogs, horses, and cats, also takes pity on its own blood.

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If I describe the previous German foreign policy as aimless and incapable, the proof for my assertion lies in the actual failure of this policy. Had our people been mentally inferior or cowardly, the results of its struggle on earth could not be worse than those we see before us today. Also the

The development of the last decades before the war must not deceive us in this regard; for one cannot measure the strength of an empire by itself, but only by way of comparison with other states. However, precisely such a comparison provides the proof that the increase in strength of other states was not only more uniform but also, in the final effect, greater; that thus Germany's path, despite all apparent ascent, in truth moved further and further away from that of the other states and fell far behind—in short, the difference in size expanded to our disadvantage. Yes, even in terms of population, the longer it went, the more we fell behind. Since our people are certainly surpassed by no other on earth in heroic courage—indeed, taken all in all, they surely gave the greatest sacrifice of blood of all the peoples of the earth for the preservation of their existence—the failure can only lie in the failed manner of the commitment.

If, in this context, we review the political experiences of our people over more than a thousand years, let all the countless wars and struggles pass before our eyes, and examine the final result created by them that lies before us today, we must confess that from this sea of blood, only three phenomena have actually emerged which we may address as the lasting fruits of clearly defined foreign policy and political processes in general:

1. the colonization of the Ostmark, carried out mainly by Bavarians,
2. the acquisition and penetration of the territory east of the Elbe, and
3. the organization of the Brandenburg-Prussian state, carried out by the Hohenzollerns, as a model and crystallization core of a new Reich.

An instructive warning for the future!

Those first two great successes of our foreign policy have remained the most enduring. Without them, our people would play no role at all today. They were the first, but unfortunately also the only successful attempt to bring the rising population into harmony with the size of the land and soil. And it must be regarded as truly disastrous that our German historiography never understood how to properly appreciate these two by far most powerful achievements, which are most significant for posterity; instead, it glorifies all sorts of things, admiringly praises fantastic heroism, countless adventurous battles and wars, instead of finally recognizing how insignificant most of these events have been for the great line of development of the nation.

The third great success of our political activity lies in the formation of the Prussian state and the cultivation, brought about by it, of a special state concept as well as the instinct for self-preservation and self-defense of the German army, adapted to the modern world and brought into organized form. The transformation of the individual's concept of defense into the national compulsory military service sprang from this state entity and its new conception of the state. The significance of this process cannot be overestimated at all. Precisely the German people, decomposed in an over-individualistic manner by its blood-related fragmentation, regained at least a part of the organizational ability it had long since lost through the process of disciplining by the Prussian military organism. What is still originally present in other peoples in the instinct of their herd community, we received back, at least partially, artificially for our national community through the process of military training. Therefore, the elimination of general compulsory military service—which could be irrelevant for dozens of other peoples—is of the most momentous significance for us. Ten German generations without corrective and educational military training, left to the evil effects of their blood-related and thus ideological fragmentation—and our people would have truly lost the last remnant of an independent existence on this planets lost. The German spirit could only contribute to culture as an individual within the bosom of foreign nations, without even being recognized in its origin. Cultural fertilizer for as long as the last remnant of Aryan-Nordic blood in us would be corrupted or extinguished.

It is noteworthy that the significance of these real political successes, which our people achieved in their more than thousand-year struggles, is far better understood and appreciated by our opponents than by ourselves. Even today, we rave about a heroism that robbed our people of millions of its noblest blood-carriers, but in the final result remained completely unfruitful.

The separation of the real political successes of our people from the national blood deployed for unfruitful purposes is of the highest importance for our behavior in the present and in the future.

We National Socialists must never and never join in the usual hurrah-patriotism of our current bourgeois world. In particular, it is deadly dangerous to regard the latest development before the war as even in the slightest binding for our own path. From the entire historical period of the nineteenth century, not a single obligation can be inferred for us that would be justified in this period itself. We have, in contrast to the behavior of the representatives of this time, to commit ourselves again to the representation of the supreme viewpoint of every foreign policy, namely: to bring the soil into harmony with the population.

Yes, we can only learn from the past that we have to undertake the setting of goals for our political action in a double direction: Land and soil as the goal of our foreign policy, and a new, ideologically established, unified foundation as the goal of political action internally.

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I would like to briefly comment on the question of the extent to which the demand for land and soil appears ethically and morally justified. This is necessary because, unfortunately, even in so-called völkisch circles, all sorts of unctuous chatterers appear who endeavor to prescribe to the German people, as the goal of its foreign policy, the reparation of the injustice of 1918, but beyond that, find it necessary to assure the whole world of völkisch brotherhood and sympathy.

I would like to anticipate the following: The demand for the restoration of the borders of the year 1914 is a political absurdity of such proportions and consequences that it makes it appear as a crime. Quite apart from the fact that the borders of the Reich in the year 1914 were anything but logical. For in reality, they were neither complete in terms of the inclusion of people of German nationality, nor reasonable in terms of their military-geographical expediency. They were not the result of deliberate political action, but rather momentary borders of a political struggle that was in no way concluded, indeed partly the consequences of a game of chance. One could with the same right, and in many cases with more right, pick out any other reference year of German history in order to declare the restoration of the conditions of that time as the goal of foreign policy activity. The above demand, however, corresponds entirely to our bourgeois world, which even here does not possesses a single supporting political idea for the future, but rather lives only in the past, and indeed in the most recent past; for even the backward glance does not reach beyond its own time. The law of inertia binds it to a given state, lets it offer resistance against any change thereof, without, however, ever increasing the activity of this resistance beyond naked persistence. Thus it is a matter of course that the political horizon of these people does not reach beyond the border of the year 1914. By proclaiming the restoration of those borders as the political goal of their actions, however, they constantly reunite the crumbling alliance of our opponents. Only in this way is it explainable that eight years after a world struggle, in which states with partly most heterogeneous wishes and goals participated, the coalition of the victors of that time is still able to maintain itself in a more or less closed form.

All these states were at the time beneficiaries of the German collapse. The fear of our strength at that time allowed the greed and envy of the individual great powers among themselves to recede. They saw in a legacy of our Reich, carried out as generally as possible, the best protection against a coming uprising. A bad conscience and fear of the strength of our people is the most durable cement to keep the individual members of this alliance together even today.

And we do not deceive them. By our bourgeois world setting up the restoration of the borders of 1914 as a political program for Germany, it scares back every partner who might want to break out of the alliance of our enemies, as the latter must be afraid of being attacked in isolation and thereby losing the protection of the individual co-allies. Every single state feels affected and threatened by that slogan.

At the same time, it is nonsensical in two respects:

1. because the means of power are lacking to translate them from the haze of club evenings into reality, and

2. because, even if it could be realized, the result would again be so miserable that, by God, it would not be worth risking the blood of our people for it once more.

For it should hardly seem questionable to anyone that the restoration of the borders of the year 1914 could also only be achieved with blood. Only childishly naive spirits may indulge in the thought that a correction of Versailles can be brought about by stealthy and beggarly means. Quite apart from the fact that such an attempt would presuppose a Talleyrand-like nature, which we do not possess. One half of our political existences consists of very cunning but equally characterless elements who are generally hostile to our people, while the other is composed of good-natured, harmless, and compliant simpletons. Moreover, times have changed since the Congress of Vienna:

It is not princes and princely mistresses who haggle and bargain over state borders, but the inexorable world Jew who fights for his dominion over the peoples. No people removes this fist from its throat other than by the sword. Only the gathered, concentrated strength of a powerfully surging national passion is capable of defying the international enslavement of peoples. Such a process is and remains, however, a bloody one.

If, however, one holds the conviction that the German future, one way or another, demands the highest stake, one must, quite apart from all considerations of political wisdom in itself, set up and champion a goal worthy of this stake for the sake of this very commitment.

The borders of the year 1914 mean nothing at all for the future of the German nation. They contained neither a protection of the past, nor would they offer a strength for the future. Through them, the German people will neither maintain its internal cohesion, nor will its nourishment be secured by them, nor do these appear...

borders, viewed from a military standpoint, as expedient or even merely satisfactory, nor can they finally improve the relationship in which we currently find ourselves toward the other world powers or, better said, toward the real world powers. The distance from England is not shortened, the size of the Union is not reached; indeed, not even France would experience a significant reduction in its global political importance.

Only one thing would be certain: even with favorable success, such an attempt to restore the borders of 1914 would lead to a further bleeding of our national body to such an extent that no valuable sacrifice of blood would remain for the decisions and deeds that truly secure the life and future of the nation. On the contrary, in the intoxication of such a shallow success, one would be all the more willing to renounce any further goals, as "national honor" would have been repaired and some gates would have been opened again for commercial development, at least for the time being.

In contrast, we National Socialists must hold unswervingly to our foreign policy goal, namely to secure for the German people the land and soil on this earth to which they are entitled. And this action is the only one that appears justified before God and our German posterity for a sacrifice of blood: before God, insofar as we are placed in this world with the destiny of eternal struggle for daily bread, as beings to whom nothing is given, and who owe their position as masters of the earth only to the genius and courage with which they know how to fight for and maintain it; before our German posterity, however, insofar as we shed the blood of no citizen from which a thousand others are not given to posterity. The land and soil on which German peasant generations can one day beget powerful sons will permit the approval of the deployment of the sons of today, while the responsible statesmen, however, if also pursued by the present, will one day absolve from blood-guilt and the sacrifice of the people.

In this connection, I must turn most sharply against those völkisch scribblers who pretend to see in such an acquisition of territory a "violation of sacred human rights" and accordingly direct their scribblings against it. One never knows who is behind such a fellow. What is certain is that the confusion they are able to cause is welcome and convenient to the enemies of our people. Through such an attitude, they wickedly help to weaken and eliminate from within our people the will for the only correct way of representing its vital necessities. For no people on this earth possesses even a single square meter of soil by higher will and according to higher right. Just as Germany's borders are borders of chance and momentary borders in the respective political struggles of the time, so too are the borders of the living spaces of other peoples. And just as the shaping of our earth's surface may appear granitic and unchangeable only to the thoughtless blockhead, but in truth represents only a deceptive point of rest for any given time in an ongoing development, created in constant becoming by the mighty forces of nature, perhaps to experience destruction or transformation by even greater forces as early as tomorrow, so too in the life of nations are the borders of living spaces.

State borders are created by men and changed by men.

The fact of the success of an excessive acquisition of territory by a people is no higher obligation for the eternal recognition of the same. At most, it proves the strength of the conquerors and the weakness of the sufferers. And only in this strength alone does the right then lie. If the German people today, cramped together on an impossible area of land, face a miserable future, this is no more a command of fate than a rebellion against it represents an affront to the same.

Just as little as a higher power has promised more land and soil to any other people than to the German people, or is offended by the fact of this unjust distribution of soil. Just as our ancestors did not receive the soil on which we live today as a gift from heaven, but had to fight for it by risking their lives, so in the future, no divine grace will assign us the soil, and with it the life for our people, but only the force of a victorious sword.

However much we all recognize today the necessity of a confrontation with France, it would remain ineffective in the grand scheme of things if our foreign policy goal were exhausted in it. It can and will only gain meaning if it offers the rear cover for an expansion of our people's living space in Europe. For we are not to see the solution to this question in a colonial acquisition, but exclusively in the gain of a settlement area that increases the surface area of the motherland itself and thereby not only maintains the new settlers in the most intimate community with the ancestral land, but secures for the entire spatial mass those advantages that lie in their united size.

The völkisch movement must not be the advocate of other peoples, but the champion of its own people. Otherwise, it is superfluous and, above all, has no right at all to grumble about the past. For then it acts just like the past. Just as the old German policy was wrongly determined by dynastic considerations, the future policy must just as little be guided by völkisch universal sentimentalities. In particular, however, we are not the protective police of the well-known "poor, small nations," but soldiers of our own.

We National Socialists, however, have to go even further: The right to land and soil can become a duty if, without land expansion, a great people appears doomed to destruction. Even more especially then, when it is not a matter of just any Negro—

small people, but about the Germanic mother of all life, which has given the modern world its cultural image. Germany will either be a world power or not exist at all. To become a world power, however, it needs that size which gives it the necessary significance in the present day and gives life to its citizens.

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With this, we National Socialists consciously draw a line under the foreign policy direction of our pre-war period. We pick up where things ended six centuries ago. We stop the eternal Germanic march towards the south and west of Europe and point our gaze toward the land in the east. We finally conclude the colonial and trade policy of the pre-war period and move on to the soil policy of the future.

But if we speak of new land and soil in Europe today, we can primarily only think of Russia and the border states subject to it.

Fate itself seems to want to give us a hint here. By handing Russia over to Bolshevism, it robbed the Russian people of that intelligence which hitherto brought about and guaranteed its state existence. For the organization of a Russian state formation was not the result of the political abilities of Slavdom in Russia, but rather only a wonderful example of the state-building efficacy of the Germanic element in an inferior race. In this way, numerous mighty empires of the earth have been created. Lower peoples with Germanic organizers and masters as their leaders have more than once swelled into powerful state formations and remained in existence as long as the racial core of the formative state-race was preserved. For centuries, [it] consumed...

Russia from this Germanic core of its upper leading strata. Today it can be regarded as almost completely exterminated and extinguished. In its place the Jew has stepped. As impossible as it is for the Russian himself to shake off the yoke of the Jews by his own strength, so impossible is it for the Jew to maintain the mighty empire in the long run. He himself is not an element of organization, but a ferment of decomposition. The giant empire in the East is ripe for collapse. And the end of Jewish rule in Russia will also be the end of Russia as a state. We are chosen by fate to be witnesses of a catastrophe that will be the most powerful confirmation of the correctness of the völkisch racial theory.

> Our task, the mission of the National Socialist movement, however, is to bring our own people to that political insight that it does not see its future goal fulfilled in the intoxicating impression of a new campaign of Alexander, but rather in the diligent work of the German plow, for which the sword only has to provide the soil.

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That Jewry announces the sharpest resistance to such a policy is self-evident. It feels better than anyone else the significance of this action for its own future. Precisely this fact should teach all truly nationally minded men about the correctness of such a reorientation. Unfortunately, however, the opposite is the case. Not only in German-national, but even in "völkisch" circles, the idea of such an Eastern policy is most vehemently opposed, whereby, as almost always on similar occasions, one appeals to a greater man. Bismarck's spirit is cited to cover a policy that is as nonsensical as it is impossible and harmful to the German people in the highest degree.

It is said that Bismarck himself always placed value on good relations with Russia. This is absolutely correct. However, one completely forgets to mention that he placed just as much value on good relations with Italy, for example; indeed, that the same Mr. von Bismarck once allied himself with Italy in order to better deal with Austria. Why then does one not continue this policy as well? "Because the Italy of today is not the Italy of then," one will say. Good. But then, esteemed gentlemen, allow the objection that the Russia of today is also no longer the Russia of then. It never occurred to Bismarck to want to tactically fix a political path in principle forever. He was far too much the master of the moment here for him to have imposed such a binding obligation upon himself. The question therefore must not be: What did Bismarck do then?, but rather: What would he do today? And this question is easier to answer. With his political wisdom, he would never ally himself with a state that is doomed to ruin.

Furthermore, Bismarck already viewed German colonial and trade policy with mixed feelings at the time, as he was initially only concerned with enabling the consolidation and internal strengthening of the state structure he had created in the most secure way. This was also the only reason why he welcomed the Russian rear-protection at that time, which freed his arm toward the West. However, what brought benefit to Germany then would bring harm today.

Already in the years 1920/21, when the young National Socialist movement slowly began to stand out from the political horizon and was addressed here and there as a freedom movement of the German nation, the party was approached from various sides with the attempt to establish a certain connection between it and the freedom movements of other countries. This was in line with the...

many propagated "Leagues of Oppressed Nations." Primarily, these involved representatives of individual Balkan states, and further, those of Egypt and India, who individually always made the impression on me of being talkative busybodies, devoid of any real background. However, there were not a few Germans, especially in the national camp, who allowed themselves to be blinded by such inflated Orientals and believed they were dealing with a "representative" of India or Egypt in any stray Indian or Egyptian student. These people did not realize at all that these were mostly individuals behind whom stood nothing at all, who above all were authorized by no one to conclude any treaty with anyone, so that the practical result of every relationship with such elements was zero, unless one wanted to book the lost time as an additional loss. I have always resisted such attempts. Not only did I have better things to do than to waste weeks in such fruitless "discussions," but I also considered the whole thing to be unsuitable, even harmful, even if it had involved authorized representatives of such nations.

It was already bad enough in peacetime that German alliance policy, due to the lack of its own active offensive intentions, ended up in a defensive association of old states that were historically retired. Both the alliance with Austria and that with Turkey had little to recommend them. While the largest military and industrial states on earth joined together in an active offensive alliance, a few old, impotent state structures were gathered, and an attempt was made to stand up to an active world coalition with this junk destined for destruction. Germany received the bitter receipt for this foreign policy error. Yet this receipt still does not seem to have been bitter enough to prevent our eternal dreamers from promptly falling into the same error. For the attempt, through a "League of Oppressed Nations" to be able to disarm the almighty victors is not only ridiculous but also disastrous. It is disastrous because it repeatedly distracts our people from real possibilities, so that they instead indulge in imaginative but fruitless hopes and illusions. The German of today truly resembles a drowning man who grasps at every straw. These can be otherwise very well-educated people. As soon as the will-o'-the-wisp of even the most unreal hope becomes visible anywhere, these people immediately set off at a trot and chase after the phantom. Whether this be a league of oppressed nations, a League of Nations, or some other new fantastic invention, it will nonetheless find thousands of believing souls.

I still remember the equally childish and incomprehensible hopes that suddenly appeared in völkisch circles in the years 1920/21, that England was on the verge of a collapse in India. Some Asian jugglers, perhaps for all I care even real Indian "freedom fighters," who were hanging around Europe at that time, had managed to fill even otherwise quite sensible people with the fixed idea that the British Empire, which has its pivot in India, was standing right there on the brink of collapse. That in this case, too, only their own wish was the father of all thoughts naturally did not enter their consciousness. Nor did the absurdity of their own hopes. For by expecting the end of the British Empire and British power from a collapse of English rule in India, they themselves admit that India is of the most eminent importance for England.

However, this most vital question is likely known as the deepest secret not only to some German-völkisch prophet, but presumably also to the leaders of English history themselves. It is truly childish to assume that in England they do not recognize the significance of the Indian Empire for the British world-union does not know how to estimate correctly. And it is only a bad sign of the absolute failure to learn from the World War and for the complete misunderstanding and failure to recognize Anglo-Saxon determination, if one imagines that England would let India go without staking the very last. It is further proof of the ignorance that the German possesses of the entire nature of the British penetration and administration of this empire. England will only lose India if it either falls prey to racial decomposition within its own administrative machinery (something that is currently completely out of the question in India), or if it is conquered by the sword of a powerful enemy. Indian rebels, however, will never succeed in this. We Germans have experienced enough how difficult it is to conquer England. Quite apart from the fact that, as a Germanic man, I would still, despite everything, rather see India under English rule than under any other.

Just as wretched are the hopes for the legendary uprising in Egypt. The "Holy War" can give our German Schafkopf players the pleasant shudder that others are now ready to bleed to death for us—for this cowardly speculation has, honestly spoken, always been the silent father of such hopes—in reality, it would come to a hellish end under the direct fire of English machine-gun companies and the hail of high-explosive bombs.

It is simply an impossibility to storm a powerful state that is determined to stake, if necessary, the last drop of blood for its existence, through a coalition of cripples. As a völkisch man, who estimates the value of humanity based on racial foundations, I must not link the fate of my own people with theirs, simply out of the recognition of the racial inferiority of these so-called "oppressed nations."

However, we have exactly the same position today also to take towards Russia. The current Russia, stripped of its Germanic upper class, is, quite apart from the internal intentions of its new masters, no ally for a struggle for freedom of the German nation. Purely from a military perspective, the conditions in the event of a war of Germany-Russia against Western Europe, but probably against the entire rest of the world, would be downright catastrophic. The struggle would not take place on Russian, but on German soil, without Germany being able to receive even the slightest effective support from Russia. The means of power of the current German Reich are so miserable and so impossible for an external struggle that any border protection against Western Europe, including England, could not be carried out, and precisely the German industrial area would lie defenseless against the concentrated offensive weapons of our opponents. Added to this is the fact that between Germany and Russia lies the Polish state, which rests entirely in French hands. In the event of a war of Germany-Russia against Western Europe, Russia would first have to strike down Poland in order to bring the first soldier to a German front. However, this is not so much a matter of soldiers as of technical armament. In this respect, the situation of the World War would repeat itself, only much more appallingly. Just as back then German industry was tapped for our glorious allies and Germany had to contest the technical war almost entirely alone, so in this struggle Russia would be completely eliminated as a technical factor. Almost nothing could be opposed by us to the general motorization of the world, which will already appear in an overwhelming way as a factor determining the battle in the next war. For not only has Germany itself remained shamefully far behind in this most important field, but it would also have to maintain Russia from the little that it possesses, which even today does not yet call a single factory its own in which a truly functioning motor vehicle can be produced. With that, however, such a struggle would only take on the character of a slaughter. Germany's youth would bleed out even more than before, for as always, the burden of the struggle would lie only on us, and the result would be unavoidable defeat.

But even assuming the case that a miracle were to happen and such a struggle did not end with the complete destruction of Germany, the final success would still only be that the bled-out German people would remain as before, surrounded by great military states; consequently, its real situation would have changed in no way.

One should not now object that in an alliance with Russia, a war must not be thought of immediately, or if so, that one could thoroughly prepare for such a thing. No. An alliance whose goal does not include the intention for a war is meaningless and worthless. Alliances are concluded only for struggle. And even if the confrontation at the moment of concluding an alliance treaty lies in ever so distant a future, the prospect of a warlike involvement is nonetheless the inner occasion for it. And one should certainly not believe that any power would perceive the meaning of such an alliance differently. Either a German-Russian coalition would remain on paper alone, then it would be purposeless and worthless for us, or it would be translated from the letters of the treaty into visible reality—and the rest of the world would be warned. How naive to think that England and France would, in such a case, wait a decade until the German-Russian alliance had finished its technical preparations for the struggle. No, the storm would break over Germany with lightning speed.

Thus, the very fact of concluding an alliance with Russia contains the instruction for the next war. Its outcome would be the end of Germany.

But in addition to this, there is the following:

1. The present rulers of Russia do not even think of entering into an alliance in an honest way or even of keeping it.

One must never forget that the regents of present-day Russia are blood-stained common criminals, that we are dealing here with the scum of humanity, which, favored by the circumstances in a tragic hour, overran a great state, strangled and exterminated millions of its leading intelligence in wild bloodlust, and has now for nearly ten years exercised the most cruel tyrannical regime of all time. One must further not forget that these rulers belong to a people that combines bestial cruelty with an inconceivable art of lying in a rare mixture and today more than ever believes itself called to impose its bloody oppression on the whole world. One must not forget that the international Jew, who today completely dominates Russia, sees in Germany not an ally, but a state destined for the same fate. But one does not conclude a treaty with a partner whose only interest is the destruction of the other. One does not conclude it above all with subjects to whom no treaty would be sacred, since they do not live as representatives of honor and truthfulness in this world, but as representatives of lies, deceit, theft, plunder, and robbery. If man believes he can enter into contractual ties with parasites, this resembles the attempt of a tree to conclude an agreement with a mistletoe for its own benefit.

2. The danger to which Russia once succumbed is constantly present for Germany. Only the bourgeois simpleton is capable of imagining that Bolshevism is banished. In his superficial thinking, he has no idea that this is an instinctive process, i.e., that of the striv-

striving for the world domination of the Jewish people, it is a process that is just as natural as the impulse of the Anglo-Saxon to set himself in possession of the mastery of this earth. And just as the Anglo-Saxon pursues this path in his own way and fights the battle with his weapons, so does the Jew. He goes his way, the way of creeping into the nations and the internal hollowing out of the same, and he fights with his weapons, with lies and slander, poisoning and disintegration, intensifying the struggle to the point of bloody extermination of the opponents he hates. In Russian Bolshevism we must see the attempt undertaken by Jewry in the twentieth century to appropriate world mastery, just as it sought to strive toward the same goal in other time periods through other, albeit internally related, processes. His striving is deeply rooted in the nature of his being. Just as little as another people renounces of its own accord following the impulse to expand its kind and power, but is forced to do so by external circumstances or falls into impotence through signs of age, just as little does the Jew break off his path to world dictatorship out of self-willed renunciation or because he suppresses his eternal urge. He, too, will either be thrown back in his path by forces lying outside himself, or all his striving for world mastery will be settled by his own extinction. The impotence of the nations, their own death from old age, is however rooted in the abandonment of their blood purity. And the Jew preserves this better than any other people on earth. Thus he continues his fateful path until another force confronts him and, in a mighty struggle, throws the heaven-stormer back to Lucifer.

Germany is today the next great combat objective of Bolshevism. It requires all the strength of a young missionary idea to tear our people up once more, out of the entanglement of this international snake to solve and to put a stop to the poisoning of our blood within, so that the forces of the nation thereby released can be used for a securing of our folkdom, which is capable of preventing a repetition of the last catastrophes until the most distant times. But if one pursues this goal, it is madness to ally oneself with a power that has the mortal enemy of our own future as its master. How does one intend to release our own people from the fetters of this poisonous embrace if one enters into it oneself? How to make clear to the German worker that Bolshevism is a damnable crime against humanity if one allies oneself with the organizations of this spawn of hell, thus recognizing them on a large scale? With what right does one then condemn the member of the broad masses for his sympathy for a worldview when the leaders of the state themselves choose the representatives of this worldview as allies?

The struggle against Jewish world Bolshevization requires a clear attitude toward Soviet Russia. One cannot drive out the Devil with Beelzebub.

If even völkisch circles today rave about an alliance with Russia, then they should only look around in Germany and become aware of whose support they find in their undertaking. Or do völkisch people recently view an action as beneficial for the German people that is recommended and promoted by the international Marxist press? Since when do völkisch people fight with armor held out to us by the Jew as a shield-bearer?

One could make one main reproach against the old German Reich regarding its alliance policy: that it spoiled its relationship with everyone as a result of constant swinging back and forth, in the morbid weakness of wanting to preserve world peace at any price. However, one thing could one could not reproach it for no longer maintaining the good relationship with Russia.

I openly admit that even in the pre-war period, I would have considered it more correct if Germany, renouncing the nonsensical colonial policy and renouncing the merchant and naval fleets, had sided with England in an alliance against Russia, and thus had moved from a weak global policy to a determined European policy of continental land acquisition.

I do not forget the constant insolent threat that the Pan-Slavist Russia of that time dared to offer Germany; I do not forget the constant trial mobilizations, whose only purpose was an affront to Germany; I cannot forget the mood of public opinion in Russia, which even before the war outdid itself in hate-filled attacks against our people and Reich; I cannot forget the great Russian press, which was always more enthusiastic for France than for us.

However, despite all this, before the war there would also have been the second way: one could have leaned on Russia in order to turn against England.

Today, circumstances are different. If before the war one could still have gone with Russia by swallowing all possible feelings, one can no longer do so today. The hand of the world clock has since moved forward, and with mighty strokes it announces to us that hour in which our people's fate must be decided one way or the other. The consolidation in which the great states of the earth currently find themselves is for us the last warning signal to take stock and to bring our people back from the dream world into the harsh reality, and to show them the path into the future which alone leads the old Reich to new prosperity.

If the National Socialist movement, in view of this great and most important task, frees itself from all illusions and accepts reason as its sole guide allows to stand, the catastrophe of the year 1918 can one day become an infinite blessing for the future of our people. Out of this collapse, our people can then achieve a complete reorientation of its foreign policy actions and further, strengthened by its new worldview internally, also arrive at a final stabilization of its foreign policy externally. It can then finally obtain what England possesses and even Russia possessed, and what repeatedly allowed France to make the same and, for its interests, fundamentally correct decisions, namely: a political testament.

The political testament of the German nation for its external actions, however, shall and must forever meaningfully read:

Never tolerate the emergence of a second continental power in Europe! See in every attempt to organize a second military power on the German borders, even if only in the form of the formation of a state capable of becoming a military power, an attack against Germany, and see therein not only the right but the duty to prevent the emergence of such a state by all means, up to the use of armed force, or to smash such a state again if it has already arisen! — Ensure that the strength of our people finds its foundations not in colonies, but in the soil of the homeland in Europe! Never consider the Reich secure if it is not able to give every sprout of our people his own piece of land and soil for centuries to come! Never forget that the ho-

holiest right in this world is the right to the soil which one wishes to till oneself, and the holiest sacrifice is the blood shed for this soil!

* * *

I do not wish to conclude these reflections without pointing out once more the sole possibility of an alliance that exists for us in Europe at the moment. In the preceding chapter on the German alliance problem, I already identified England and Italy as the only two states in Europe with whom achieving a closer relationship would be desirable and promising for us. At this point, I will briefly touch upon the military significance of such an alliance.

The military consequences of concluding this alliance would be, in every respect, the opposite of those of an alliance with Russia. The most important thing is first the fact that an rapprochement with England and Italy in no way conjures up a danger of war in itself. The only power that could be considered for taking a stand against the alliance, France, would not be in a position to do so. With that, however, the alliance would give Germany the possibility to make, in complete tranquility, those preparations which, within the framework of such a coalition, would have to be made one way or another for a settlement with France. For the significance of such an alliance lies precisely in the fact that Germany, upon its conclusion, is not suddenly abandoned to a hostile invasion, but that the opposing alliance itself breaks apart—the Entente, to which we owe so much infinite misfortune, dissolves itself, and thus the mortal enemy of our people, France, falls prey to isolation.

Even if this success initially were only of a moral ef-

effect would be; it would suffice to give Germany a measure of freedom of movement hardly imaginable today. For the law of action would lie in the hands of the new European Anglo-German-Italian alliance and no longer with France.

The further success would be that at one stroke Germany would be freed from its unfavorable strategic position. The most powerful flank protection on the one hand, the full security of our supply of food and raw materials on the other, would be the beneficial effect of the new order of states.

Almost more important, however, would be the fact that the new association encompasses states of a technical capability that is almost complementary in many respects. For the first time, Germany would receive allies who do not suck like leeches on our own economy, but could and would even contribute their part to the richest completion of our technical armament.

One should not overlook the final fact that in both cases these would be allies who cannot be compared with Turkey or present-day Russia. The greatest world power on earth and a youthful national state would offer different prerequisites for a struggle in Europe than the decaying state corpses with which Germany had allied itself in the last war.

Certainly, as I already emphasized in the previous chapter, the difficulties facing such an alliance are great. However, was the formation of the Entente a less difficult task? What a King Edward VII succeeded in, succeeding in part almost against natural interests, must and will also succeed for us, if the realization of the necessity of such a development so inspires us that we determine our own actions accordingly in wise self-conquest.

And this is precisely possible at the moment in which one, filled with the admonishing need, instead of the foreign policy aimlessness of the last decades, treads a single goal-oriented path and perseveres on it. Neither West- nor East-orientation may be the future goal of our foreign policy, but rather Ostpolitik in the sense of acquiring the necessary soil for our German people. Since strength is required for this, but the mortal enemy of our people, France, relentlessly strangles us and robs us of our strength, we have to take upon ourselves every sacrifice that is suitable in its consequences to contribute to a destruction of the French effort for hegemony in Europe. Every power today is our natural ally that, like us, finds France's lust for mastery on the continent intolerable. No approach to such a power may be too difficult for us and no renunciation appear unspeakable, if the final result only offers the possibility of an overthrow of our grimmest hater. Let us then calmly leave the healing of our smaller wounds to the soothing effects of time, if we are able to cauterize and close the greatest one.

Of course, today we fall victim to the hate-filled barking of the enemies of our people within. But let us National Socialists never be misled by this into proclaiming what is absolutely necessary according to our innermost conviction. We must indeed today stand against the stem the tide of public opinion, which has been beguiled by Jewish cunning through the exploitation of German thoughtlessness; admittedly, the waves may sometimes surge fiercely and maliciously around us, but he who swims with the current is more easily overlooked than he who resists the waters. Today we are a reef; in just a few years, fate can raise us into a dam against which the general current breaks, only to flow into a new bed.

It is therefore necessary that the National Socialist movement in particular be recognized and established in the eyes of the rest of the world as the bearer of a specific political intent. Whatever Heaven may have in store for us, we should already be recognized by our visor.

As soon as we ourselves recognize the great necessity that must determine our foreign policy actions, the power of perseverance will flow from this recognition—a power we sometimes desperately need when, under the drumfire of our opposing press pack, one or another feels anxious and is crept upon by a slight inclination to grant a concession in this or that area, just to avoid having everyone against him, and to howl with the wolves.

Chapter 15

Self-Defense as a Right

With the laying down of arms in November 1918, a policy was initiated which, by human foresight, was bound to lead slowly to total subjugation. Historical examples of a similar kind show that peoples who lay down their arms without compelling reasons would rather accept the greatest humiliations and extortions in the following period than attempt to change their fate by a renewed appeal to force.

This is humanly explainable. A clever victor will, if possible, always impose his demands on the vanquished in installments. He can then expect that a people who have lost their character—and this applies to every people who voluntarily submit—will no longer find sufficient reason in any of these individual acts of oppression to take up arms once more. The more extortions are willingly accepted in such a manner, the more unjustified it then appears to people to finally take a stand against a new, seemingly isolated, but nonetheless recurring oppression, especially when, taking everything into account, they have already endured so much more and greater misfortune in silence and patience.

The fall of Carthage is the most terrible depiction of such a slow, self-inflicted execution of a people.

In his "Three Confessions," Clausewitz therefore also singles out this thought in an incomparable way and nails it down for all time, stating:
"that the stain of a cowardly submission can never be

is to be blurred; that this drop of poison in the blood of a people passes into posterity and will paralyze and undermine the strength of later generations"; that, on the other hand, "even the downfall of this freedom after a bloody and honorable struggle ensures the rebirth of the people and is the core of life from which one day a new tree will strike secure roots."

Naturally, a nation that has become honorless and characterless will not concern itself with such a teaching. For whoever takes it to heart cannot sink so low; rather, only those who forget it or no longer wish to know it collapse. Therefore, one must not expect from the carriers of a characterless submission that they will suddenly search their souls to act differently than before on the basis of reason and all human experience. On the contrary, these very people will reject any such teaching far from them, until either the people have finally become accustomed to their yoke of slavery or until better forces push to the surface to strike the power from the hands of the wicked corrupter. In the first case, these people usually do not feel so bad at all, since they not infrequently receive from the clever victors the office of slave overseers, which these characterless natures then usually exercise over their own people even more mercilessly than any foreign beast placed there by the enemy himself.

The development since the year 1918 now shows us that in Germany the hope of being able to win the mercy of the victors through voluntary submission has, unfortunately, determined the political insight and the actions of the broad masses in a disastrous way. I would therefore like to place value on the emphasis of the broad masses, because I cannot profess the conviction that the actions and omissions of the leaders of our people are to be attributed to the same ruinous delusion. Since the management of our destinies since the end of the war has been handled, now quite undisguisedly, by Jews, one really cannot assume that only faulty knowledge is the cause of our misfortune, but one must in opposite of the conviction that a conscious intent is ruining our people. And as soon as one examines the apparent madness of our people's foreign policy leadership from this point of view, it reveals itself as highly sophisticated, ice-cold logic in the service of the Jewish idea of world conquest and struggle.

Thus it also appears understandable that the same span of time, which from 1806 to 1813 had been sufficient to fill the completely collapsed Prussia with new vital energy and determination to fight, has today not only passed unused, but on the contrary has led to an ever-increasing weakening of our state.

Seven years after November 1918, the Treaty of Locarno was signed!

The course of events was the one already indicated above: once the shameful armistice had been signed, people lacked both the energy and the courage to suddenly offer resistance to the opponents' measures of oppression, which were repeated again and again later on. These, however, were too clever to demand too much at once. They always limited their extortions to that extent which, in their own opinion—and that of our German leadership—would for the moment still be tolerable enough that an explosion of public sentiment need not be feared. But the more of such individual dictates had been signed and swallowed, the less it seemed justified to suddenly do, because of a single further extortion or demanded humiliation, what had not been done because of many others: to offer resistance. This is precisely that "drop of poison" of which Clausewitz speaks: the first act of characterlessness committed, which must continue to increase itself and which gradually burdens every future decision as the worst legacy. It can become a terrible lead weight that a people is then hardly able to shake off, but by which it is finally dragged down into the existence of a slave race.

Thus, in Germany as well, edicts of disarmament and enslavement, political defenselessness, and economic plunder alternated with one another, in order to finally produce that moral spirit which is capable of seeing a blessing in the Dawes Plan and a success in the Treaty of Locarno. From a higher vantage point, one can then indeed speak of a single piece of luck in this misery: the luck that one could well delude men, but could not bribe Heaven. For its blessing remained absent: since then, hardship and worry have become the constant companions of our people, and our only faithful ally is misery. In this case, too, fate has made no exception, but has given us what we deserved. Since we no longer know how to value honor, it teaches us at least to appreciate freedom through the need for bread. People have already learned to cry out for bread, but for freedom they will one day yet pray.

As bitter and as evident as the collapse of our people was in the years after 1918, just as resolutely had people in precisely this period persecuted most vehemently anyone who dared to prophesy what has subsequently always come to pass. As wretchedly poor as the leadership of our people has been, it was equally conceited, and especially so when it came to dismissing unwelcome, because unpleasant, warners. There one could experience (and one can still experience it today!) how the greatest parliamentary blockheads, real "Master Saddler" and "Glovemaker" types—not merely by profession, which would mean nothing at all—suddenly elevated themselves onto the pedestal of the statesman, only to lecture the "little mortals" from up there. It did not, and does not, matter at all that such a "statesman" is usually unmasked as the most wind-blown bungler by the sixth month of his art, surrounded by the mockery and scorn of the entire rest of the world, knowing neither in nor out, and having provided striking and infallible proof of his complete incompetence! No, that does not matter at all to the point; on the contrary: the more the parliamentary statesmen of this Republic lack real achievements, the more furiously they pursue those who expect achievements from them, who dare to point out the failure of their previous activities and predict the failure of their future ones. But if one finally pins down such a parliamentary "man of honor," and if the political artist can then no longer deny the collapse of his entire activity and its results, then they find a thousand and yet another thousand reasons to excuse their lack of success, and will refuse to admit only one thing: that they themselves are the primary cause of all evil.

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By the winter of 1922/23 at the latest, it should have been generally understood that even after the conclusion of peace, France was striving with iron consistency to achieve the war aim it had originally envisioned. For no one will likely believe that France, in the most decisive struggle of its history, spent the blood of its people—which was not too abundant in itself—for four and a half years merely to later have the previously caused damages compensated through reparations. Even Alsace-Lorraine alone would not explain the energy of the French conduct of the war if it had not already been a part of the truly great political program for the future of French foreign policy. This goal, however, is: the dissolution of Germany into a mixture of small states. For this, chauvinistic France has fought, although in truth it sold its people as mercenaries to the international world Jew.

This French war aim would have been achievable through the war itself if, as was initially hoped in Paris, the struggle had taken place on German soil. Imagine if the bloody battles of the World War had not taken place on the Somme, in Flanders, in Artois, before Warsaw, Ivangorod, Kovno, Riga and where else they would have taken place, but rather in Germany, on the Ruhr and on the Main, on the Elbe, before Hanover, Leipzig, Nuremberg, etc., and one will probably have to agree that the possibility of a shattering of Germany would have existed. It is very doubtful whether our young federative state would have withstood the same test of endurance for four and a half years as France, which has been strictly centralized for centuries and looks only toward the undisputed center, Paris. That this most powerful struggle of nations unfolded outside the borders of our fatherland was not only the immortal merit of the unique old army, but also the greatest fortune for the German future. It is my rock-solid, sometimes almost oppressive inner conviction that in the other case, there would today have long since been no German Reich, but only "German states." This is also the only reason why the blood of our fallen friends and brothers has at least not flowed entirely in vain.

So everything turned out differently! Germany did indeed collapse with lightning speed in November 1918. However, when the catastrophe occurred at home, the armies of the field army were still deep in enemy lands. France's first concern at that time was not Germany's dissolution, but rather this: How does one get the German armies out of France and Belgium as quickly as possible? And so, for the Paris state leadership, the first task for ending the World War was to disarm the German armies and, if possible, first push them back to Germany; and only in the second instance could one devote oneself to the fulfillment of the original and actual war aim. However, France was already paralyzed in this regard. In England, with the destruction of Germany as a colonial and commercial power and its suppression to the rank of a second-class state, the war was truly ended victoriously. An interest in the complete eradication of the German state was not only non-existent, but there was even every reason to...

to wish for rivals against France in Europe for the future. Thus, French policy first had to continue in determined peace-work what the war had initiated, and Clemenceau's dictum, that for him peace was only the continuation of war, gained increased significance.

Constantly, on every possible occasion, the structure of the Reich had to be shaken. By imposing ever new disarmament notes on the one hand, and through the economic extortion made possible by this on the other, Paris hoped to be able to slowly loosen the structure of the Reich. The more national honor died out in Germany, the sooner economic pressure and eternal distress could lead to politically destructive effects. Such a policy of political oppression and economic plunder, carried out for ten or twenty years, must gradually ruin and, under certain circumstances, dissolve even the best state body. With that, however, the French war aim is then finally achieved.

This must have been recognized as France's intention long ago in the winter of 1922/23. This left only two possibilities: one could hope either to gradually blunt the French will against the tenacity of the German national body or to finally do what cannot be avoided, namely, in some particularly blatant case, to wrench the helm of the ship of state around and turn the ram against the enemy. This would then, of course, mean a struggle for life and death, and a prospect for life was only present if it succeeded beforehand in isolating France to such an extent that this second struggle no longer had to be a wrestling match of Germany against the world, but represented a defense of Germany against France, which was constantly disturbing the world and its peace.

I emphasize it and am firmly convinced that this second case must and will come one day, one way or another. I never believe that France's intentions toward us could ever change, for they lie at its deepest core only in the sense of the self-preservation of the French nation. If I were French myself, and if France's greatness were as dear to me as Germany's is sacred, I too could not and would not act otherwise than a Clemenceau does in the end. Frenchdom, which is slowly dying out not only in its population figures but especially in its racially best elements, can only maintain its significance in the world in the long run by the destruction of Germany. French policy may take a thousand detours, but somewhere at the end this goal will always exist as the fulfillment of ultimate desires and deepest longing. It is, however, incorrect to believe that a purely passive will, wishing only to preserve itself, could in the long run offer resistance to one that is no less powerful but proceeds aktively.

> As long as the eternal conflict between Germany and France is carried out only in the form of a German defense against French attack, it will never be decided; rather, Germany will lose one position after another from century to century. One need only follow the migration of the German linguistic border starting from the twelfth century until today, and one will hardly continue to build on the success of an attitude and development that has already brought us so much damage.

Only when this is fully understood in Germany, so that the will to live of the German nation is no longer allowed to wither in merely passive defense, but is pulled together for a final active settlement with France and thrown into a final decisive struggle with the greatest ultimate goals on the German side: only then will one be able to bring the eternal and in itself so fruitless struggle between us and France to a conclusion; provided, however, that Germany sees in the destruction of France really only a means to subsequently provide our people finally to be able to give the possible expansion elsewhere. Today we count eighty million Germans in Europe! But that foreign policy will only be recognized as correct when, after barely a hundred years, two hundred and fifty million Germans will live on this continent, and not squeezed together as factory coolies of the rest of the world, but rather: as farmers and workers who, through their labor, mutually grant each other life.

In December 1922, the situation between Germany and France seemed to have sharpened again to a threatening intensity. France had new, enormous extortions in mind and needed pledges for them. Political pressure had to precede economic plundering, and only a violent grip into the nerve center of our entire German life seemed sufficient to the French to be able to take our "stubborn" people under a harsher yoke. With the occupation of the Ruhr region, it was hoped in France not only to finally break the moral backbone of Germany but also to place us economically in a position of constraint in which we would, for better or worse, have to take on every obligation, even the heaviest.

It was a matter of bend or break. And Germany bent right at the beginning, only to end later with a complete break.

With the occupation of the Ruhr region, fate once again offered the German people a hand for resurgence. For what at first glance had to appear as a heavy misfortune, upon closer inspection, contained the infinitely promising possibility of ending German suffering altogether.

In terms of foreign policy, the Ruhr occupation for the first time truly alienated England from France internally, and indeed not only among the circles of British diplomacy, who had entered into, viewed, and maintained the French alliance itself only with the sober eye of cold calculators, but also among the broadest circles of the English people.

The English economy in particular felt this further incredible strengthening of continental French power with ill-concealed unease. For not only did France, viewed purely from a military-political standpoint, now occupy a position in Europe such as even Germany itself had not previously possessed, but it now also received economic foundations that combined its political competitiveness with what was almost an economic monopoly. The larger iron mines and coal fields of Europe were thus united in the hands of a nation that, in stark contrast to Germany, had hitherto pursued its vital interests as resolutely as it had actively, and which had brought its military reliability in the Great War fresh to the memory of the entire world. With the occupation of the Ruhr coal fields by France, England's entire success in the war was again wrung from its hand, and the victor was no longer the industrious and active British diplomacy, but Marshal Foch and the France represented by him.

In Italy, too, the mood toward France, which in any case had not been exactly rosy since the end of the war, now turned into a formal hatred. It was the great historical moment in which the allies of yesterday could be the enemies of tomorrow. If things turned out differently and the allies did not, as in the Second Balkan War, suddenly fall into a feud with one another, then this was only to be attributed to the circumstance that Germany simply did not possess an Enver Pasha, but rather a Reich Chancellor Cuno.

However, the French incursion into the Ruhr was of the greatest future potential for Germany not only in terms of foreign policy but also in terms of domestic policy. A considerable part of our people, who, thanks to the incessant influence of their mendacious press, still regarded France as the champion of progress and liberality, was abruptly cured of this delusion. Just as the year 1914 had chased the dreams of international solidarity of peoples from the heads of our German workers and they sud-

...led back into the world of eternal struggle, where everywhere one being feeds on another and the death of the weaker means the life of the stronger; so too was the spring of 1923.

When the Frenchman made his threats come true and finally began to move into the Lower German coal region, at first very cautiously and hesitantly, a great, decisive hour of fate had struck for Germany. If at this moment our people had combined a change in their mindset with a change in their previous attitude, then the German Ruhr area could have become a Napoleonic Moscow for France. There were, after all, only two possibilities:

> *Either one submitted to this as well and did nothing, or one created in the German people, with a view to the region of glowing forges and smoking furnaces, the glowing will to end this eternal shame and rather take the terror of the moment upon oneself than continue to endure the endless terror.*

To have discovered a third way was the "immortal merit" of the then Reich Chancellor Cuno, and to have admired and participated in it, the even more "glorious" merit of our bourgeois party world.

I will first subject the second path to a consideration, as briefly as possible:

With the occupation of the Ruhr area, France had carried out a blatant breach of the Treaty of Versailles. It had thus also placed itself in opposition to a number of guarantor powers, but especially to England and Italy. France could no longer hope for any support from these states for its own selfish predatory expedition. The adventure—and it was such at first—therefore had to be brought to some happy conclusion by itself. For a national German government, there could be only one single path, namely the one dictated by honor. It was certain that at first one could not meet it with active...

could oppose France with force of arms; however, it was necessary to realize that all negotiations without power behind them would be ridiculous and fruitless. It was nonsensical to take the standpoint: "We will not enter into any negotiations" without the possibility of active resistance; but it was even more nonsensical to finally go to negotiations after all, without having created a power in the meantime.

Not as if one could have prevented the Ruhr occupation through military measures. Only a madman could advise such a decision. But under the impression of this action by France and during the time of its execution, one could and should have been intent on securing those military resources which could later be given to the negotiators on their way, regardless of the Treaty of Versailles, which had been torn up by France itself. For it was clear from the beginning that one day this territory occupied by France would be decided at some conference table. But it must have been equally clear that even the best negotiators are able to achieve little success as long as the ground on which they stand, and the chair on which they sit, is not the shield-arm of their people. A weak little tailor cannot dispute with athletes, and a defenseless negotiator always had to endure the sword of Brennus on the enemy's scale if he did not have his own to throw in as a balance. Or was it not truly a pity to have to watch the comedies of negotiation that had always preceded the respective dictates since the year 1918? This degrading spectacle offered to the whole world, in which we were invited to the conference table first, as if in mockery, only to then be presented with long-finished decisions and programs that could indeed be talked about, but which had to be regarded as unalterable from the outset. To be sure, our negotiators stood in hardly a single case above the most modest average and usually only too well justified the insolent remark of Lloyd George, who, in the presence of former Reich Minister Simon, mockingly noted "that the Germans did not understand how to choose men of spirit as leaders and representatives." However, even geniuses could have achieved very little in every respect in the face of the determined will to power of the enemy and the miserable defenselessness of their own people.

But whoever wanted to take the French occupation of the Ruhr in the spring of 1923 as an occasion for a restoration of military means of power first had to give the nation the spiritual weapons, strengthen the willpower, and destroy the corrupters of this most valuable national strength.

Just as it took a bloody revenge in 1918 that in 1914 and 1915 one did not proceed to crush the head of the Marxist snake once and for all, so it had to take the most disastrous revenge if in the spring of 1923 one did not seize the opportunity to finally put an end to the Marxist traitors and murderers of the people.

Any thought of real resistance against France was pure nonsense if one did not declare war on those forces that five years earlier had broken the German resistance on the battlefields from within. Only bourgeois minds could bring themselves to the unbelievable opinion that Marxism might now have become something else, and that the rascally creature-leaders of 1918, who at that time ice-coldly trampled on two million dead in order to better climb into the various government seats, were now in 1923 suddenly ready to pay their tribute to the national conscience. An unbelievable and truly senseless thought, the hope that the traitors of yesteryear would suddenly become fighters for German freedom! They did not think of it at all! Just as little as a hyena leaves the carrion, so little does a Marxist leave the betrayal of the fatherland.

One should kindly stay away with the stupidest objection, that so many workers once also bled for Germany. German workers, yes, but then they were simply no longer international Marxists. If in the year 1914 the German workforce had still consisted of Marxists according to their inner attitude, the war would have been over after three weeks. Germany would have collapsed before the first soldier had even set foot across the border. No, the fact that the German people still fought back then proved that the Marxist delusion had not yet been able to eat its way down to the final depths. But in the same measure as the German worker and German soldier returned to the hands of the Marxist leaders in the course of the war, in that same measure he was lost to the Fatherland. If at the beginning of the war and during the war, twelve or fifteen thousand of these Hebrew corrupters of the people had been held under poison gas, as hundreds of thousands of our very best German workers from all strata and professions had to endure in the field, then the sacrifice of millions at the front would not have been in vain. On the contrary: Twelve thousand scoundrels eliminated at the right time might have saved the lives of a million decent Germans, valuable for the future. But it was also part of bourgeois "statesmanship" to deliver millions to a bloody end on the battlefield without batting an eye, but to regard ten or twelve thousand traitors to the people, profiteers, usurers, and swindlers as a precious national sanctuary and thus openly proclaim their inviolability. One does not know what is greater in this bourgeois world, the stupidity, the weakness and cowardice, or the thoroughly depraved mindset. It is truly a class destined for destruction by fate, which unfortunately drags an entire people into the abyss with it.

However, one faced exactly the same situation in 1923 as in 1918. No matter what kind of resistance one decided upon, the first prerequisite was always the elimination of the Marxist poison from our national body. And it was, in my conviction, at that time the very first task of a truly national government to seek and find the forces that were determined to declare a war of annihilation against Marxism and then to give these forces a free path; it was their duty not to worship the nonsense of "peace and order" at a moment when the external enemy was dealing the fatherland the most crushing blow and, internally, treason lurked at every street corner. No, a truly national government should have desired disorder and unrest at that time, if only amidst its turmoil a fundamental reckoning with the Marxist mortal enemies of our people finally became possible and took place. If this was omitted, then any thought of resistance, of whatever kind, was pure madness.

Such a reckoning of true, world-historical magnitude does not, however, take place according to the scheme of some privy councillor or an old, dried-up ministerial soul, but according to the eternal laws of life on this earth, which are a struggle for this life and remain a struggle. One had to realize that from the bloodiest civil wars a steel-hard, healthy national body often grew, while from artificially cherished states of peace, the stench of decay rose to the heavens more than once. The fates of nations are not turned with kid gloves. Thus, in the year 1923, one had to seize with the most brutal grip to get hold of the vipers that were devouring our national body. Only if this succeeded did the preparation of an active resistance make sense.

At that time, I often talked myself hoarse and tried to make at least the so-called national circles understand what was at stake this time, and that, with the same mistakes as in 1914 and the following years, an end like 1918 would inevitably come again. I repeatedly begged them to let fate take its course and to give our movement the possibility of a confrontation with the to give to Marxism; but I preached to deaf ears. They all knew better, including the Chief of the Armed Forces, until they finally faced the most wretched capitulation of all time.

At that time, I became conscious to my very core that the German bourgeoisie was at the end of a mission and was no longer called to any further task. At that time, I saw how all these parties bickered with Marxism only out of competitive envy, without even seriously wanting to destroy it anymore; they had all long since inwardly resigned themselves to the destruction of the Fatherland, and what moved them was solely the great concern of being allowed to participate in the funeral feast themselves. It was only for this that they still "fought."

During this time—I confess it openly—I conceived the deepest admiration for the great man south of the Alps, who, in fervent love for his people, did not pact with Italy's internal enemies, but sought their destruction by all ways and by all means. What will rank Mussolini among the greats of this earth is the determination not to share Italy with Marxism, but, by abandoning internationalism to destruction, to save the Fatherland from it.

How miserably dwarfish, by contrast, appear our German so-called statesmen, and how one must be choked by disgust when these nonentities, with the most ill-bred conceit, venture to criticize the one who is a thousand times greater; and how painful it is to think that this happens in a country that, barely half a century ago, was still allowed to call a Bismarck its leader! —

With this attitude of the bourgeoisie and the sparing of Marxism, however, the fate of any active Ruhr resistance was decided from the outset in 1923. To want to fight against France with the mortal enemy in one's own ranks was sheer madness. What was done after that could at most be shadow-boxing, performed to somewhat satisfy the nationalist element in Germany, to calm the "boiling soul of the people," or to actually dupe them. Had they seriously believed in what they were doing, they would have had to recognize that the strength of a people lies primarily not in its weapons, but in its will, and that before external enemies can be defeated, the enemy within must first be destroyed; otherwise, woe if victory does not reward the struggle on the very first day! As soon as even the shadow of a defeat brushes over a people not internally free of enemies, its power of resistance will break and the opponent will ultimately become the victor.

That could already be predicted back then in the spring of 1923. Let no one speak at all of the doubtfulness of a military success against France! For if the result of German action regarding the French invasion of the Ruhr had only been the destruction of Marxism at home, then success would have already been on our side. A Germany redeemed from these mortal enemies of its existence and its future would possess strengths that no world could ever stifle again. On the day that Marxism is broken in Germany, our chains will in truth be broken forever. For never in our history have we been defeated by the strength of our opponents, but always only by our own vices and by the enemies in our own camp.

Since the German state leadership at that time was unable to rouse itself to such a heroic deed, it could logically have only taken the first path, namely, to do nothing at all and let things run as they were running.

However, in a great hour, Heaven also gave the German people a great man, Mr. Cuno. He was not actually a statesman or politician by profession, and even less so by birth, of course, but he represented a kind of political auxiliary who was only needed for the completion of certain tasks; otherwise, he was actually more well-versed in business. A curse for Germany because this politicizing merchant—

one now also viewed politics as an economic enterprise and adjusted one's actions accordingly.

"France occupies the Ruhr region; what is in the Ruhr region? Coal. So France occupies the Ruhr region because of the coal?" What was more natural for Mr. Cuno than the thought of now going on strike so that the French would get no coal, whereupon, in Mr. Cuno's opinion, they would surely one day evacuate the Ruhr region again due to the unprofitability of the enterprise. This was roughly the train of thought of this "significant," "national" "statesman," who was allowed to speak to "his people" in Stuttgart and other places, and whom these people gazed upon in utter bliss.

To strike, however, one naturally also needed the Marxists, for in the first place, it was the workers who had to strike. Thus it was necessary to bring the worker (and in the brain of such a bourgeois statesman, this is always synonymous with the Marxist) into a united front with all the other Germans. One really must have seen the glow of these bourgeois party-political mold cultures at the time in the face of such a brilliant slogan! National and brilliant at the same time—now they finally had what they had been searching for inwardly all along! The bridge to Marxism had been found, and the national swindler was now enabled, with a "Teutonic" mien and national phrases, to extend an honest hand to the international traitor to the country. And the latter shook it posthaste. For just as Cuno needed the Marxist leaders for his "united front," the Marxist leaders just as urgently needed Cuno's money. Thus, both parties were helped. Cuno received his united front, formed of national chatterboxes and anti-national rogues, and the international fraudsters could serve their most sublime combat mission while receiving state payment—that is, to destroy the national economy, and this time even at the state's expense. An immortal idea, to save a nation through a paid general strike, in any

But in any case, the slogan is one in which even the most indifferent good-for-nothing can join with full enthusiasm.

That a people cannot be made free through prayer is generally known. Whether one might perhaps be able to idle them into freedom, however, had first to be historically tested. Had Mr. Cuno at that time, instead of calling for a paid general strike and thereby establishing it as the basis of the "United Front," demanded only two hours more work from every German, then the swindle of this "United Front" would have taken care of itself by the third day. Nations are not liberated by doing nothing, but by sacrifice.

Admittedly, this so-called passive resistance could not be maintained for long in itself. For only a person completely foreign to war could imagine that occupying armies could be scared away with such ridiculous means. Yet that alone could have been the sense of an action whose costs ran into the billions, and which significantly helped to destroy the national currency to its very foundations.

Naturally, the French could settle themselves into the Ruhr district with a certain inner tranquility the moment they saw the resistance making use of such means. They already held the best recipes in their hands, provided by ourselves, on how to bring a stubborn civilian population to reason when their behavior poses a serious threat to the occupation authorities. How lightning-fast, nine years earlier, had we scattered the Belgian franc-tireur bands and made the seriousness of the situation clear to the civilian population when their activities put the German armies at risk of suffering serious harm. As soon as the passive Ruhr resistance had become truly dangerous to France, the occupation troops, in the course of just not even eight days, with playful ease, put a cruel end to all this childish mischief. For that is always the ultimate question: What is one to do when passive resistance finally truly gets on an opponent's nerves and he then takes up the struggle against it with bloody, brute force? Is one then determined to continue offering resistance? If so, one must, for better or worse, take upon oneself the most severe, bloodiest persecutions. But with that, one stands exactly where one also stands in active resistance—namely, before the struggle. Therefore, every so-called passive resistance only has an inner meaning if behind it waits the determination to continue this resistance, if necessary, in open struggle or in covert guerrilla warfare. In general, any such struggle will be bound to the conviction of a possible success. As soon as a besieged fortress, which is being hard-pressed by the enemy, is forced to give up the last hope of relief, it practically gives itself up, especially when in such a case the defender is lured by certain life instead of probable death. Rob the garrison of an enclosed castle of the belief in a possible liberation, and all the forces of defense will abruptly collapse.

Therefore, passive resistance in the Ruhr, in view of the ultimate consequences it could and had to bring with it if it were to be truly successful, only had a meaning if an active front were built up behind it. Then, indeed, one would have been able to draw something immeasurable from our people. Had every one of these Westphalians known that the homeland was raising an army of eighty or a hundred divisions, the French would have been treading on thorns. For success, however, more courageous men are always ready to sacrifice themselves than for an obvious futility.

It was a classic case that forced us National Socialists to take the sharpest possible stand against a so-called national slogan. And we did so. I was in these months was attacked not a little by people whose entire national sentiment was merely a mixture of stupidity and outward appearance, who all only joined in the shouting because they succumbed to the pleasant tickle of suddenly being able to act national without danger. I regarded this most miserable of all united fronts as one of the most ridiculous phenomena, and history proved me right.

As soon as the trade unions had approximately replenished their coffers with Cuno's money, and the passive resistance faced the decision of moving from lazy defense to active attack, the red hyenas immediately broke out of the national flock of sheep and became again what they had always been. Without a word or a sound, Mr. Cuno retreated to his ships, but Germany had become richer by one experience and poorer by one great hope.

Until late high summer, many officers, and they were certainly not the worst, had not inwardly believed in such a shameful development. They had all hoped that, if not openly, then at least in secret, preparations would be made to turn this most insolent incursion by France into a turning point in German history. In our ranks, too, there were many who placed their trust at least in the Reichswehr. And this conviction was so alive that it decisively determined the actions and especially the training of the countless young people.

But when the shameful collapse occurred and—after the sacrifice of billions in assets and many thousands of young Germans who had been stupid enough to take the promises of the leaders of the Reich seriously—they capitulated in such a devastatingly disgraceful manner, the indignation against such a way of betraying our unfortunate people flared up brightly. In millions of minds, the conviction suddenly stood bright and clear that only a radical elimination of the entire ruling system could save Germany.

Never was the time riper, indeed, it cried out more imperatively for such a solution than at the moment when, on the one hand, naked treason against the fatherland revealed itself shamelessly, while on the other, a people was economically abandoned to a slow death by starvation. Since the state itself trampled all laws of good faith underfoot, mocked the rights of its citizens, cheated millions of its most loyal sons of their sacrifices, and robbed millions of others of their last pennies, it no longer had any right to expect anything from its members other than hatred. And this hatred against the destroyers of the people and the fatherland pressed, one way or another, toward a discharge. At this point, I can only refer to the concluding sentence of my last speech in the great trial in the spring of 1924:

> "The judges of this state may calmly condemn us for our actions at that time; history, as the goddess of a higher truth and a better law, will nevertheless one day smilingly tear up this verdict to acquit us all of guilt and fault."

But she will then also summon before her judgment seat those who today, in possession of power, trample right and law underfoot, who led our people into distress and ruin, and who, in the misfortune of the fatherland, valued their own egos more highly than the life of the community.

I do not wish to follow here with a description of those events that led to November 8, 1923, and which concluded it. I do not wish to do so because I expect nothing useful from it for the future, and because it is, above all, pointless to tear open wounds that today hardly seem scarred over; because it is, moreover, pointless to talk about guilt among people who, perhaps in the deepest depths of their hearts, were all attached to their people with equal love, and who only missed the common path or did not understand one another upon it.

In view of the great common misfortune of our fatherland, I would also no longer like today to [those...]

offend and thereby perhaps separate those who one day in the future will nevertheless have to form the great united front of those Germans truly loyal at heart against the common front of the enemies of our people. For I know that the time will come when even those who stood hostilely against us then will remember in reverence those who went the bitter way of death for their German people.

These sixteen heroes, to whom I dedicated the first volume of my work, I wish at the end of the second to present to the followers and champions of our doctrine as those heroes who, in the clearest consciousness, sacrificed themselves for us all. They must repeatedly call back the wavering and the weak to the fulfillment of their duty, a duty which they themselves fulfilled in the best faith and to the ultimate consequence. And among them I also wish to include that man who, as one of the best, dedicated his life to the awakening of his, of our people, in poetry and in thought and, in the end, in deed:

Dietrich Eckart

Concluding Remarks

On November 9, 1923, in the fourth year of its existence, the National Socialist German Workers' Party was dissolved and banned throughout the entire territory of the Reich. Today, in November 1926, it stands before us again, free throughout the entire Reich, stronger and internally firmer than ever before.

All persecutions of the movement and its individual leaders, all blasphemies and slanders, were unable to harm it. The correctness of its ideas, the purity of its will, and the self-sacrificing spirit of its supporters have caused it to emerge from all suppressions stronger than ever.

If, in the world of our present parliamentary corruption, it reflects more and more on the deepest essence of its struggle and feels itself to be the pure embodiment of the value of race and person, and organizes itself accordingly, it will one day emerge victorious in its struggle on the basis of an almost mathematical regularity. Just as Germany must necessarily gain the position it deserves on this earth if it is led and organized according to the same principles.

A state that, in the age of racial poisoning, devotes itself to the care of its best racial elements, must one day become the master of the earth.

May the supporters of our movement never forget this, if ever the magnitude of the sacrifices should tempt them to a fearful comparison with the possible success.